



विद्या प्रसारक मंडळ, ठाणे

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# History of Medieval Deccan

(1295 - 1724)

Volume II  
(Mainly Cultural Aspects)

*Editor*

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## INTRODUCTION

In the Introduction to Volume I we have already given the genesis of the History of the Deccan adumbrated in the Department of History, Osmania University, as far back as 1940, and the impetus which was given to the whole scheme by the Address delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Committee for the Decommunalisation of Indian History by the late Sir Akbar Hydari, then President of the Executive Council of the Hyderabad State. In that Address he said,

“We must realise the higher purpose for which the main events of Indian History have occurred. There is always a sense of oneness, mutual co-operation and mutual help pervading right through our history, and this is persistent in spite of apparent rifts and apparently minor issues.”

The Project was launched under the aegis of the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam, and we are beholden to the successor government, the Government of Andhra Pradesh, for having undertaken to support it and continue it.

The two volumes consisting of the Early History of the Deccan, edited by the late Dr. Yazdani, could not come out till 1960, and it was only in 1964 that the work on the History of Medieval Deccan was taken up. The palm of resuscitating of the Project goes to Shri L. N. Gupta, I.A.S., then Special Education Secretary of Andhra Pradesh, who revived the scheme and at the same time strongly recommended it to the Government of India for financial co-operation.

We are beholden to Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur, then Constitutional Affairs Secretary, Hyderabad Government (now Governor of Maharashtra), who has a love for history in general and history of the Deccan in particular, to have given his unstinted support to the scheme and to have seen it through the State Executive Council. It was also agreed to by the late Dr. G. Yazdani the eminent archaeologist and historian and Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad State.

The Hyderabad Government now appointed the following Editors for the three periods :—

Ancient Period	..	Dr. G. Yazdani
Medieval Period	..	Prof. H. K. Sherwani
Modern Period	..	Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur

The three editors were to be members of the Board of Editors with Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur as Chairman and Dr Yazdani as Secretary. This Board was later enlarged by the addition of the following scholars as Joint Editors

Ancient Period	Prof Nilakanta Sastri
Medieval Period	Dr P M Joshi
Modern Period	Dr Yusuf Husain Khan

The original idea was that work on the history of all the three periods should start simultaneously but it was only the history of the Ancient Period which was immediately taken in hand. World War II intervened and the administrative machinery of the Hyderabad State was in the melting pot. The printing of the "Early History of the Deccan" was however continued at Oxford though it was not till 1960 that it was published with the imprimatur of the Government of Andhra Pradesh.

Our thanks are due to Shri L N Gupta who as Special Education Secretary revived the scheme in 1963, and to the Government of Andhra Pradesh for sponsoring the publication of the present History with the financial co-operation of the Government of India. We are also deeply grateful to Mr Fakhruddin 'Ali Ahmad (who now occupies the highly eminent position of the President of the Indian Republic) the late Professor Humayun Kabir, Dr V K R V Rao and Mr M C Chagla, who held the high portfolios of Education and Research in the Government of India for showing their deep interest in the Project and for favouring us with their sound advice and practical help. With the initiation of the Medieval Deccan History Project an Editorial Advisory Committee was formed at Hyderabad with Mr L N Gupta, I A S as Chairman, Shri M A 'Abbasi, I A S, the Editor and the Joint Editor as members to which Dr N Ramesan, M A, Ph D, I A S, was subsequently added. We are deeply grateful to the three friends for having kindly accepted the membership of the Committee.

Although the "History of Medieval Deccan" is a continuation of the "Early History of the Deccan" edited by the late Dr Yazdani, the two being parts of the original Project, it has certain variations from the 'Early History'. Apart from a separate chapter of Fine Arts by Dr Yazdani himself (which was printed and published separately as well as a part of the whole work) broad cultural and social aspects such as language, literature, laws, religion etc. were partly dealt with dynasty-wise and partly at the end of Volume 2. In the case of Medieval History it was considered more appropriate that Volume 1 should deal mainly with the political and military history of the region including internal administration, civil and military organisation, inter-state relations in peace and war and relations with non-Deccan States in India and abroad.

It consists of twelve chapters the first dealing with the Historical Geography of the region followed by the history of various dynasties which held sway during the medieval period, illustrated by genealogical tables and maps. It is a matter of satisfaction that Volume 1 was published towards the end of 1973 and the printing of the present volume was taken up immediately.

The present Volume, which is an independent volume with a separate Table of Contents and a separate Index, deals mainly with cultural aspects

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We acknowledge with gratitude the obligation we owe to Mr L N Gupta, Mr M A Abbasi and Dr N Ramesan members of the Editorial Advisory Committee, for the sympathy and the continued interest they have shown towards the Project during the years we were privileged to work with them. It was through the full support of Dr Ramesan and Mr S R Rama Murthy then Finance Secretary and Education Secretary of the Government of Andhra Pradesh respectively that the Project was taken over as a Government of Andhra Pradesh publication in uniformity with the "Early History of the Deccan", and ordered to be printed at the A P Government Text-book Press.

The selection of eminent historians as contributors was not an easy task as there were not many historians of note who took a direct interest in the history of the Deccan. Thus the process of persuading outstanding scholars to contribute chapters and even sections of the book required some effort. We are thankful to such of them as have responded to our call and made the venture a success.

The following list of illustrations will show the measure of co-operation with which we have been favoured -

Chapter III (*Representative Paintings*) The source of each has been indicated on each plate

Chapter IV (*Architectural Specimens*)

Archaeological Survey of India

XXII (b) XXIII (a), XXV (b) XXIX (a), XXX, XXXII, XXXIII XXXIV (a) (b), XXXVI (a) XLVII, XLIX (a)

Department of Archaeology and Museums, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad

XXIV(b), XXV(a) XXIX(b), XXXVII, XLIV(a)(b), XLIX(b)

Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle

XXVI, XXVII (a) (b)

Department of Archaeology, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay

XXVIII (b)

Archaeological Survey of India, South-Western Circle

XXVIII (a), XXXI (b)

Archaeological Survey of India, South-Eastern Circle

XLI, XLIII (a) (b), XLVIII (a) (b)

Dr R Subrahmanyam, Hyderabad

L to LXXVI

Prof H K Sherwani, Hyderabad

XXIV (a), XXXIX (a) (b) (c), XLVI

Chapter V (iii) (*Development of Kannada Script*)

Dr P B Desai, Dharwar

LXXVII

Chapter VI (*Calligraphy*)

Mr Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Hyderabad

LXXVIII to LXXXIV (b)

Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Hyderabad

LXXXV , LXXXVI

Chapter VII (*Numismatic Specimens*)

Andhra Pradesh State Museum

LXXXVII (a) (c) (g) (h) (i) (j) , LXXXVIII (a) (b) (e) ,  
LXXXIX (f) (g) , XC (e) (f)

Dr M A H Siddiqui, Hyderabad

LXXXVII (d) (e) (f) (k) (l) , LXXXVIII (g) (h) (i) (j) ,  
LXXXIX (a) (i), (u) (d) (i) , XC (c) (d) (g)

Mr Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Hyderabad

LXXVIII (c) (d) (f) , LXXXIX (h)

Mr Hurmuz Kaus, Hyderabad

LXXXIX (b) , XC (b)

Dr Amjad 'Ali, Warangal

LXXXVII (b)

Department of Archives, Maharashtra State, Bombay

LXXXIX (e) , XC (a)

We must acknowledge our thanks to Shri B V Reddy, Director, and Shri G Ramakrishna Rao, Deputy Director (Tech), of the Andhra Pradesh Government Text-book Press, for the keen interest they have taken in bringing out the two volumes. As was mentioned by us in the Introduction to Volume I, Shri M Osman B Com, B Ed, handled the accounts of the Project in the best possible manner, and it was this efficiency which led us to entrust the arduous task of the collection of the proofs of the present volume to him. The Index of the Volume has been prepared by the well-known author and journalist, Shri S R Tikekar of Bombay.

We regret to say that since the Project was taken up, two of our contributors have passed away. Dr S A Q Husaini, who contributed the difficult chapter on the Sultanate of Ma'bar, died in 1967. He was an author of repute, and so far as our Project is concerned his chapter was the very first received by us. Another great loss which historical scholarship has sustained was the death of Dr P B Desai, the distinguished authority on the history and language of Karnataka, which occurred in March 1974. He was a scholar

of wide catholicity and deep learning, and his contributions appear in both volumes of this work. It would be difficult to fill the gap which his death has caused.

We have now reached the threshold of the Modern Period of the history of the Deccan. We are glad that the preparation of the history of that period has been taken up, and we are sure that with its publication the totality of the history of the region will bring into full view the contribution which the Deccan has made to the evolution of what is rightly called Indian culture.

H. K. SHERWANI

P. M. JOSHI

This book had already been printed and with it the great work of the compilation of History of Medieval Deccan had been accomplished, when on 10-1-1975, Mr. L. N. Gupta, who resuscitated the scheme in 1963, breathed his last, and thus he could not see the finalisation of the project. In any scheme of the cultural history of the Deccan his name would be writ large. It is with a heavy heart that this paragraph is being added on to the Introduction.

H. K. SHERWANI

P. M. JOSHI



## METHOD OF TRANSLITERATION

## (i) ARABIC AND PERSIAN LETTERS

*I. Vowel Sounds*

ا	a
آ	ā
إ	ē
ي	i
إِ	ī
و	u
ؤ	ū
أَ	ai
أَو	au

*II. Consonants*

ا	a	س	s
ب	b	ش	sh
پ	p	ص	ṣ
ت	t	ض	ẓ
ث	ṭ	ط	ṭ
ظ	ṭh	ظ	ẓ
ج	j	ع	‘
چ	c, or ch	غ	gh
ح	h	ف	f
خ	kh	ق	q
د	d	ک	k
ځ	ḍ	گ	g
ذ	dh	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ڙ	ṛ	ن	n
ز	z	و	w
ژ	zh	خ	h
		ي	y

## (ii) DEVANAGARI AND THUGU LETTERS

## Vowels

## Consonants

अ	अ	a	क	क	k	न	न	n
आ	आ	ā	ख	ख	kh	प	प	p
इ	इ	i	ग	ग	g	फ	फ	ph
ई	ई	ī	घ	घ	gh	ब	ब	b
उ	उ	u	ङ	ङ	ṅ	भ	भ	bh
ऊ	ऊ	ū	च	च	ch	म	म	m
ऋ	ऋ	r	छ	छ	chh	य	य	y
ॠ	ॠ	ṛ	ज	ज	j	र	र	r
ए	ए	e	झ	झ	jh	ल	ल	l
ऐ	{ ॐ ॐ	{ ē ai	ञ	ञ	ñ	व	व	v
ओ	ओ	o	ट	ट	t	श	श	ś
औ	{ ॐ ॐ	{ ō au	ठ	ठ	th	ष	ष	ṣ
लृ	लृ	lṛ	ड	ड	d	स	स	s
लृ	लृ	lṛl	ढ	ढ	dh	ह	ह	h
	०	ng	ण	ण	ṇ		४	l
:	:	ah	त	त	t		५	ṛ
			थ	थ	th			
			द	द	d			
			ध	ध	dh			

## ABBREVIATIONS

(Abbreviations of the names of books or periodicals in particular chapters and sections would be found in footnotes of the respective chapters and sections)

(1) *Manuscripts and Printed Books*

AN	Abu'l Fāzī <i>Akbar Nāmā</i>
AS	Muhammad Şwāleh Kāmbō <i>Amul-ı Swāleh</i>
Binerji	Binerji <i>History of Orissa, I</i>
Barani	Ẓiyau'd dīn Baranī <i>Tārīkh-i Firōzshāhī</i>
Basāt in	Mirza Ibrāhīm Zubūrī <i>Basātīnū's Salāṭīn</i>
Briggs	Briggs <i>History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power in India</i>
Brown	Brown <i>A Literary History of Persia</i>
Burhān	'Alī b. 'Azīzū'l-lāh Tabāṭabā <i>Burhān-i Ma'aṭhūr</i>
CH	<i>Cambridge History of India</i>
EC	<i>Epigraphical Collections</i>
ED	Elliot and Dowson <i>History of India as told by its own Historians</i>
EI	Foster <i>English Factories in India</i>
IA	Izuzunī Astarābādī <i>Futūhāt-i 'Ādil Shāhī</i>
Fer	Muhammad Qāsim Ferīshṭa <i>Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī</i>
IS	'Isāmī <i>Iutūhūs Salāṭīn</i>
Further Sources	Nīlakantī Sīstrī and Venkataramanayya <i>Further Sources of Vijayanagar History</i>
Guldasta	Abu'l Qāsim al-Husainī <i>Guldasta Gulshan-i Rāz</i>
HA	Mir Alam (Abū Turāb) <i>Ḥadīqatū'l Ālam</i>
Hadā'iq	Alī b. Taifūr Bisṭāmī <i>Ḥadā'iqus Salāṭīn</i>
Ḥadīqā	Nizāmū d-dīn Ahmad Ṣā'idī <i>Ḥadīqatū's Salāṭīn</i>
IGI	Imperial Gazetteer of India
Lahori	'Abdu'l Hamīd Lāhōrī <i>Bādshāh Nāmā</i>
ML	Khāfi Khān <i>Muntakhabū'l Lubāb</i>
MN	Zuhūr bin Zuhūrī <i>Muhammad Nāmā</i>
Munt	Badāonī <i>Muntakhabū't Tawārīkh</i>
Murāsīlat	Hājī 'Abdu'l-lāh Nizāmū'l-Mulk, <i>Murāsīlat-ı Quṭb Shāhī</i>
Nayaks	Satyanaṭha Aiyar <i>Nayaks of Madura</i>
NDI	<i>Nellore District Inscriptions</i>
PDV	<i>Travels of Pietro della Valle</i>
QS	Tārīkh Muhammad Quṭb Shāh
Relations	Moreland <i>Relations of Golconda</i>
Rihla	Ibn-i Baṭūṭah <i>Rihlah</i>
Sewell	Sewell <i>A Forgotten Empire</i>
SI	Sewell and Aiyangar <i>Inscriptions of South India</i>

<i>Sources</i>	Aiyangar <i>Sources of Vijayanagar History</i>
<i>SS</i>	Sarkar <i>Shivaji and his Times</i>
<i>Storey</i>	Storey <i>Persian Literature, a bio bibliographical Survey</i>
<i>TM</i>	Rafi'ud din Shihāzī <i>Iaḡhkiratu l Mulūk</i>
<i>Tab</i>	Nizamu'd din Ahmad, <i>Iabaqāt i Akbar Shahi</i>
<i>TG</i>	A. M. Siddiqi <i>Tarikh i Golkonda</i>
<i>TQ</i>	<i>Tawārikh i Quṭb Shahi</i> (wrongly called <i>Khamsa i Quṭb Shahi</i> ) (Salt lung Library)
<i>TQI</i>	<i>Tarikh-i Quṭb Shahi</i> (India Office Library)
<i>Velugot</i>	Venkata Ramaniyya <i>Velugotivarnamsavali</i>
<i>Vestiges</i>	Love <i>Vestiges of Old Madras</i>
<i>Wilks</i>	Wilks <i>Historical Sketches of South India</i>
<i>Zaf</i>	Abdullah al Makkī <i>Zafar ul Wāliḥ</i>

(ii) *Bulletins Periodicals and Reports*

<i>ARIE</i>	Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy
<i>BSOS</i>	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
<i>BSOAS</i>	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
<i>EC</i>	Epigraphia Carnatica
<i>EI</i>	Epigraphia Indica
<i>EIAPS</i>	Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement
<i>EIs</i>	Encyclopedia of Islam
<i>EIM</i>	Epigraphia Indo Moslemica
<i>IA</i>	Indian Antiquary
<i>IC</i>	Islamic Culture
<i>IHC</i>	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress
<i>IHQ</i>	Indian Historical Quarterly
<i>In C</i>	Indian Culture
<i>JA</i>	Journal Asiatique
<i>JAHRs</i>	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
<i>JASB</i>	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
<i>JASBNS</i>	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Numismatic Supplement
<i>JASP</i>	Journal of the Andhra Sahitya Parishad
<i>JBBRS</i>	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
<i>JBHS</i>	Journal of the Bombay Historical Society
<i>JIH</i>	Journal of Indian History
<i>JNSI</i>	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India
<i>JPHS</i>	Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society
<i>JRAS</i>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
<i>NC</i>	Numismatic Chronicle
<i>NIA</i>	New Indian Antiquary
<i>RAHD</i>	Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department
<i>ZdmG</i>	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischer Gesellschaft

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CHAPTER I  
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

(i) ARABIC

by Prof. M. YOUSUF KOKAN

*Synopsis*

1. Arab contact with South India.
2. Invasion of South India by Sultān 'Alāu'd-dīn Khalji and Malik Kāfūr.
3. Influence of the Ṣūfīs on Arabic learning.
4. A short survey of Arabic studies in India till the establishment of Bahmanī Kingdom.
5. Arabic studies in the Deccan under the Bahmanīs.
6. Frequent visits of the Deccan by Arabic Scholars, especially
  - (a) Shaikh Shihābu'd-dīn of Daulatābād.
  - (b) Abū Bakr Damāmīnī
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7. Encouragement of Arabic Studies by Maḥmūd Gāwān and his Madrasa at Bidar; Mullā Jalālu'd-dīn Dawwānī dedicates his work *Shawākilu'l Hūr* to Maḥmūd Gāwān.
8. Disintegration of Bahmanī Kingdom and its effects on Arabic studies.
9. Arabic studies under the 'Ādil Shāhīs.
10. Arabic studies under Quṭb Shāhīs.
11. Arabic studies under the Nizām Shāhīs.
12. Arabic studies under the 'Imād Shāhīs.
13. Arabic studies under the rulers of Khāndēsh.
14. Arabic studies in Malabar.
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The first impact of Islam and with it, of the Arabic language, was on the western coast of South India, where Muslim traders and missionaries had established their colonies and erected a number of mosques for conducting prayers as also for teaching the Qur'ān, Traditions, Muslim law and rudiments of Arabic grammar. The Muslim travellers especially Mas'ūdī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa have left a detailed account of the Muslims residing in these coastal places. The interesting accounts of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa about his visit to these centres in 1342-3 go to prove that Arabic was widely used in this part of India. He found mosques and *khānqāhs* in all important places and met learned people. At Honāvar he found people following the Shāfi'ī school of law. There he met Shaikh Muhammad Nāgōrī and the jurist Ismā'il engaged in teaching the Qur'ān. He also met Qāzī Nūru'd-dīn 'Alī and a *khaṭīb* whose name he does not mention. Almost all the women had learnt the Qur'ān by heart. There were thirteen schools for girls and twenty-three for boys, a number which surprised him greatly <sup>1</sup>. At all the places on the trunk road from Goa to Quilon there were houses belonging to Muslims at which Muslim traveller used to put up <sup>2</sup>. At Pākanūr there was a qāzī and a *khaṭīb*, and a Jāmi' Masjid <sup>3</sup>. At Mangalore there was a colony of about four thousand Muslims living in a suburb alongside the town. Merchants from Persia and Yemen disembarked there for trade. There was a qāzī in the town and a teacher named Badru'd-dīn al-Ma'barī <sup>4</sup>. In the town of Hillī, there was a fine Jāmi' Masjid run under the supervision of its imām, Hasan, and there were a number of students who received stipends from the revenues of this mosque <sup>5</sup>. Here he met a pious jurist from Mogadishū in East Africa, named Sa'id who had lived at Mecca and Madīna for about twenty eight years <sup>6</sup>. There were many Muslims at Cannanore, Calicut, Quilon and other places, who had constructed mosques there <sup>7</sup>. At Calicut he met Qāzī Fakhr'd-dīn 'Uṭhmān and Shaikh Shihābu'd-dīn who had established a *khānqāh* in the name of the famous saint Abū Ishāq Kāzarūnī (963-1034) <sup>8</sup>. At Quilon he stayed with Shaikh Fakhr'd-dīn, son of Shaikh Shihābu'd-dīn Kāzarūnī. The chief of this place was one 'Alāu'd-dīn al-'Aujī, an inhabitant of 'Irāq, who had settled down there along

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1 *Rihla*, II Azhariyah Press, Carro, 1346 H, II, 109-110

2 *Ibid*, 11

3 *Ibid*, 113

4 *Ibid*, 113

5 *Ibid*, 113

6 *Ibid*, 114

7 *Ibid*, 114-5

8 *Ibid* 115-6

with some of his friends who were all "Rāfiʿīs" (Shi'ah) Its qāzī was a distinguished man of Qazwīn. The chief of the local merchants was one Ibrāhīm, the Shah Bandar, whose brother Taqīyū'd dīn was a man of erudition and learning. The Jamī' Masjid was a fine and beautiful structure and it was constructed by Khwājā Muḥammad ḥabībū'd-dīn.<sup>9</sup>

All these facts go to indicate the popularity of Arabic studies in these places. The Muslims of the west coast had direct commercial, cultural and literary relations with Arabia, 'Irāq and Egypt and devoted their attention to learn Arabic and Islamic theology.

After the destruction of Baghdād in 1258 Delhi became a great centre of learning and culture. Several Muslim scholars, savants and mystics migrated from 'Irāq and other places and settled down in different parts of India.<sup>10</sup> They knew both Arabic and Persian and mostly followed the Hanafī School of Islamic law.

The accession to the throne of Delhi by Sulṭān Jalālu'd dīn Khaljī in 689/1290 marks the beginning of the expansion of the Delhi empire in the South. The frequent invasion of the South by Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī and Malik Kāfūr provided an opportunity for more Muslims to spread themselves in the cities and towns of South India. There were a number of notable scholars and savants in the court of Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī some of whom came to the Deccan and settled down at various places.<sup>11</sup>

Even before these invasions by the Delhi sulṭāns we find that some Muslim saints and mystics had arrived in the South and established their *khānqāhs* in various places. Shaikh Naṭṭ-har Walī (d 14 Ramazān 622/21 September 1225)<sup>12</sup> and his disciple Shaikh Bābā Fakhrū'dīn (d 17 Jamādī II 694/4 May 1294)<sup>13</sup> established their *khānqāhs* at Tiruchirapalli and Penukonda respectively. So also Shaikh Bābā Sharfu'd-dīn (d 19 Sha'bān 687/18 September 1287)<sup>14</sup> and his brother Shaikh Bābā Shihābu'd-dīn (d 2 Muharram 691/25 December 1291)<sup>15</sup> had settled down at a place near the present city of Hyderabad.

Shaikh Muntajabu'd-dīn, better known as Zarzarī Zar Bakhsh, came to Dēogiri and breathed his last at Khuldābād on 7 Rabi' I 709/15 August 1309.<sup>16</sup>

9 *Ibid*, 118 ["Shah Bandar" was the office of the chief executive of a port, like the Port Officer of the present day. Ed.]

10 *Fer*, I, Lucknow, 1322 H, 75-6, 78, 83.

11 *Ibid*, I, 121-2.

12 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān Malkāpurī *Tadhkira Auliya i Dakan*, 394-8.

13 *Ibid*, 193-9.

14 *Fer*, I, 163-172.

15 *Ibid*, 172-5.

16 *Ibid*, II, 819-21.

On hearing the news of the death of his elder brother Shaikh Burhānu'd-dīn Gharīb, he also migrated to Deogirī and died here on 11 Safar 738/8 September 1337

The power of the Delhi sultāns reached its zenith during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, who not only subdued all the distant territories in the South but also annexed them to his empire. The distant Ma'bar, with its centre at Madurai, remained a province of the Delhi Sultānate from 1324 to 1334. On account of the repressive measures adopted by Muhammad bin Tughluq disruption and disintegration started. Syed Ahsan Shāh, the *Kōtwāl* of Madurai, declared his independence in 1334, and he and his successors ruled over this territory for about half a century. They seem to have encouraged Arabic studies within their jurisdiction. There were qāzis, khatibs and men learned in the Islamic lore in this small kingdom. When Ibn Baṭūṭa visited Madurai during the time of its ruler Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Damghānī he met Qāzī al-Hāj Sadru'z-Zamān Bahāu'd-dīn. When, after the death of the above mentioned ruler, his nephew Sultān Nāsiru'd-dīn ascended the throne of Madurai, he awarded rich presents and robes of honour to the said Qāzī, his assistants and also to Ibn Baṭūṭa.<sup>17</sup>

When Muhammad bin Tughluq transferred his capital to Deogirī and named it Daulatābād, it soon attained great importance not only politically but also culturally. It became a centre of learning under the guidance of Shaikh Burhānu'd-dīn Gharīb and his eminent disciple Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn Amīr Hasan of Delhi, the famous poet and a companion of Amīr Khusrō, also settled down at Deogirī and breathed his last there in 736/1335-6.<sup>18</sup>

The repressive measures adopted by Muhammad bin Tughluq against the Amīrān-i Sadah resulted in a revolt. Ismā'il Mukh took up arms against him in 746/1345-46 and two years later in 748/1347 Zafar Khān was proclaimed King with the title of 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh'

#### *Arabic Studies under the Bahmanis*

Many of the Bahmanī rulers were patrons of learning and culture and under them flourished eminent Arabic scholars. Sadru'sh-Sharīf Samarqandī was the *Sadr* of the Kingdom in the time of 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahmān Shāh'. Mīr Muhammad Badakhshī, was appointed chief qāzī of the army. Both of them were eminent mathematicians and astronomers. The founder of the Kingdom, Bahman Shāh, consulted them regarding the auspicious hour at which he should ascend the throne.<sup>19</sup> Hakīm 'Alīmu'd-dīn Tabrizī and Hakīm Nāsiru'd-dīn Shīrāzī were the physicians of his court. The king

<sup>17</sup> *Rihla* II, 145

<sup>18</sup> 'Abdu'l-Haq Akhbāru'l - Akhyār, Delhi, 1332 H 101

<sup>19</sup> *Fer*, I, 277

and the people followed the Hanafī school of Islamic law <sup>20</sup> The king had implicit faith in Shaikh Burhānu d dīn of Daulatābād, the disciple of Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn of Delhi <sup>21</sup> Shaikh Alimu'd-dīn Ganj-e 'Ulūm Junaidī (706-95/1306-92), the author of *Iqbaru'l Ibrār* in Arabic, Shaikh Ibrāhīm Sangani (d 753/1351) and Shaikh Sirāju'd-dīn Junaidī (d 781/1379-80) were some of the learned men of his days <sup>22</sup> His son Muhammad I sent his mother along with Sadru'sh-Sharīf Samarqandī to Hijāz for performing the pilgrimage <sup>23</sup> and she spent large sums of money for the welfare of the Muslims in Mecca and Madina <sup>24</sup>

Sultān Muhammad Shāh II was proficient in the Islamic sciences and spoke Persian and Arabic fluently <sup>25</sup> During his reign many poets from Arabia came to his court and were introduced to him by Mīr Fazlu'l-lāh Inju, the Sadr of his state Several schools and colleges were established and the salaries of the teachers and the stipends of the students were ordered to be paid from the royal treasury The Traditionists (Muḥaddithīn) were held in high esteem by him He also paid respects to Shaikh Sirāju'd-dīn Junaidī, who died one year after the Sultān's succession <sup>26</sup> Firōz Shāh and Aḥmād Shāh I were educated by Mīr Fazlu'l-lāh Inju <sup>27</sup> Firōz Shāh was fond of the company of the learned and discussed with them freely on questions of theology and philosophy <sup>28</sup> He invited men of letters to come and settle down in his Kingdom <sup>29</sup> He himself was a scholar and had made a special study of the exegesis of Qur'ān, principles of Muslim jurisprudence and theoretical and natural philosophy He had allotted three days in a week, viz., Saturday, Monday and Wednesday, for teaching these sciences to students He delivered lectures on *Zāhidī* (logic) *Sharh-e-Tadhkirah* (mathematics), *Sharḥ-e Maqāṣid* (scholasticism), *Tahrir-e Uqlaidis* (geometry) and Taftazānī's *Muṭawwal* (rhetoric) <sup>30</sup>

It was in 805/1402-03 during the reign of Firōz Shāh that Hazrat Syed Muhammad Husainī, later known as Khwājā Banda Nawāz Gēsū Darāz, arrived at Gulbarga, the Bahmanī capital, from Delhi, at the advanced age of 84 lunar years He had studied Arabic under Qāzī 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir of

20 *Ibid*, 281

21 *Ibid*, 277

22 *Basā'it*, 23 For Shaikh Sirāju'd-dīn Junaidī, preceptor of 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh see Sherwanī, *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p 46 fn 83

23 *Fer*, I, 283

24 *Ibid*, 384-5

25 *Ibid*, 302

26 *Ibid*, 302

27 *Ibid*, 305

28 *Fer*, II, 307

29 *Ibid*, 308

30 *Fer*, I, 308

Thānēśwar, and during his career at Gulbarga he compiled a number of books in Arabic. Of these were a commentary of the Qur'ān in Arabic entitled *Ummu'l-Ma'āni*<sup>31</sup>, glosses on Zamakhshari's *Tafsīr Kashshāf* and Hasan Saghānī's *Mashāriqu'l-Anwār*, commentaries on *a'r-Risālatu'l-Qusariyah*, *'Awārifu'l-Ma'ārif*, two works on Mysticism, and a short treatise entitled *Risalah fi rū'yat Barī Ta'ālā*. He died in 825/1421 at the age of 104 lunar years.

Shaikh 'Alāu'd-dīn 'Alī, son of Shaikh Ahmad Makhdūm (d 835/1431) of Mahāim was another Arabic scholar of this period. He belonged to the Nāwāyī family, which is said to have migrated from Basrah to Konkan. He has to his credit several works in Arabic. The most important of them are (1) *Fiqh Makhdūmī*, (2) *Tabsīru'r-Rahmān wa Taisīr'ul-Mannān*, better known as *Tafsīr-e Mahāimī*, (3) *Adillatu't-Tawhīd*, (4) *Ajillatu't-Tā'id fi Sharh Adillati't-Tawhīd*, (5) *Khusūsū'n-Ni'am fi Sharh-i Fusūli'l-Hikam*, (6) *Mashra'ul-Khusūs ilā Ma'āni'n-Nusūs*, (7) *Dhawārifu'l-Laṭā'if fi Sharh-i 'Awāri 'l-Ma'ārif*, (8) *Az-Zau'al-Azhar fi Sharhi'n-Nūri'l-Azhar fi Kashfi'l-Qazā-i wa'l Qadr*<sup>32</sup>.

Among the scholars who came to India at this period was Badru'd-dīn Muhammad bin Abī Bakr bin 'Umar al-Makhzūmī a'd-Damāmīnī (763-827/1361-1424). He was a great traditionist and grammarian and hailed from Egypt. He served as a teacher at Zabīd for some time. He then left in 820/1417-18 for Gujarat and after reaching there he compiled a book on grammar under the title of *Ta'liqū'l-Farāiz 'alā Tashīlī'l-Fawā'id* and dedicated it to Sultān Ahmād Shāh of Gujarat. He also wrote a commentary on *Al-Wāfi fi'n-Nahw* by Muhammad bin 'Uthmān bin 'Umar of Balkh. While he was at Mahāim, he began writing this commentary during the last week of Ramazān, 825, and completed it on Sunday, 21 Dhī'l-Hij, 825/6 December 1422. He took a fair copy of it at Gulbarga and presented it to Sultān Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī, under the title of *Al-Manhal'us-Sāfi fi Sharhi'l Wāfi*. He died two years later and was buried at Gulbarga.<sup>33</sup>

Another great scholar and writer of this period was Qāzī Shihābu'd-dīn son of Shaikh 'Umar. He was born at Daulatābād and after his preliminary studies at his own town he went over to Delhi and (like Hazrat Gēsū Darāz) studied Arabic and Islamic theology under Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Muqtadīr of Thānēśwar. When Timūr invaded Delhi, he went over to Jaunpur, where he

31 *Akhbāru'l-Akhyār*, 135

32 Āzād Bilgramī *Subhatu'l Marjān*, ed Shirāzi, 1303 H, 39

33 Zubaid Ahmad *Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, 166 171 252, 400 [The colophon of the unique copy of the work MS Asafiyah, Nahw 1 'Arabī, 50, says that the work was copied from 23 2 826 H to 8 5 826 H. See Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p 212, and fn 65 at p 222. Ed.]

was received with great honour and respect by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī. He awarded him the title of Malīkūl-'Ulāmā and appointed him Qāzī. He died at Jaunpur about 849/1445. He has to his credit some excellent works in Arabic like (1) *Al-Irshād fi n-Nahv*, (2) *Sharh-i Kaḥiyah* known as *Sharh-i Hindī*, (3) *Musaddīqu'l-Faṣl*, a commentary of the well-known Arabic ode of Bānat-Su'ād, (4) *Al-'Iqā'idul-Islāmiyah*. The last but one book bears testimony to his efficiency and comprehension of the subject, as well as his command of the Arabic language. He has explained each couplet elaborately discussing the meaning of the words and their construction grammatically and pointing to the similes and metaphors used in it by the poet.

During the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad II there was a large army of seven thousand Arabs under the command of Khalaf Hasan of Baṣrah who was known as Malīkut-Tujjār<sup>34</sup> (the King of Merchants). We can conclude that the Arabic language must have been understood in the military camp also.

Mahmūd Gāwān, the minister of Muhammad Shāh III (1463-82), was a great patron of learning and culture. He invited scholars from Iran and Arabia and employed them in ministerial service. Shaikh Ahmad held the post of Sadr during his reign. He was sent to Māndū to effect some settlement and understanding with King Sulṭān Mahmūd Khaljī. There were several other scholars and learned men taking part in this dialogue including Sayyidu'l-'Ulāmā Sayyid Salāmu'l-lah who represented Mahmūd Khaljī, and the document of arbitration was signed by the 'Ulāmā and dignitaries representing both the parties.<sup>35</sup>

Mahmūd Gāwān himself was a great scholar of Arabic and patronised eminent scholars of his days. He founded a grand *madrasā* for Islamic Studies at Bidar in 876/1471-2 and invited some of the learned men from Iran and other places for being appointed as teachers in this *madrasā*. He also established a big library for which books were acquired from different parts of the world. His letters and Persian compositions have profuse quotations from Arabic authors and Arabic verses of his own composition. Mullā Jalālu'd-dīn Dawwānī dedicated to him his Arabic work entitled *Shawākilu'l-Hūr fī Sharh-i Hayākili'n-Nūr*, recently published by the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. He has also written Arabic odes in praise of the ruler of Gīlān and also in praise of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī.<sup>36</sup>

#### *Arabic Studies under the 'Adil Shāhīs*

The progenitor of the 'Adil Shāhīs, Yūsuf 'Adil Khān, was the first to introduce the Shī'ite creed in the Bijapur State in 908/1502, and appointed

<sup>34</sup> *Fer*, I, 231-2

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, 349

<sup>36</sup> Mahmūd Gāwān *Riāzu'l-Inshā*, ed Chānd b Husain, Hyderabad, 1948, 98, 150

the Shī'ah 'Ulamā, Syed Ahmad Harawī and Maulānā Ghathu'd-dīn Kamāl to high positions in his court. It was, however, mostly Persian which was inculcated at Bijapur during his rule. The fourth of the line Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I was of Sunnī persuasion and it was during his reign that the *Fatāwā i Ibrāhīm Shāhiyāh* was compiled and dedicated to the King.<sup>37</sup> During the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, Shāh Sibghatu'l-lāh, better known as the "Deputy of the Messenger of God" came to Bijapur from Madīna in the year 1000/1591-2 and engaged himself as a teacher and religious guide. He lived there for five years, went back to Madīna in 1005/1596-7 and died there in 1015/1606-7. He was a saintly person interested in mysticism. At the request of the people of Madīna, he translated into Arabic the Persian work *Jawāhir-i Khamsā* by Muhammad Ghauth of Gwalior under the title of *Zamānu's-Sarā'ir-i-Ilāhiya fi Bawāhir-i Āyāt-i-Jawāhir-i-Ghauthiya*.<sup>38</sup> He has to his credit a few other books like *Kitābu'l-Wahdah*, *Irāatu'd-Daqāiq fi Sharh-i Mirāt-i Haqāiq*.

Habību'l-lāh (d. 1041/1631-32) son of Mullā Ahmad (d. 985/1576) son of Mullā Khalīlu'l-lāh (d. 968/1560-61) of Bijapur, a disciple of Shāh Sibghatu'l-lāh, also was a great scholar of Arabic. His father Mullā Ahmad had been to the Hijāz, stayed there for five years and studied under Shaikh Ibn Hajr Makkī (d. 975/1566) and Shaikh 'Alī Muttaqī (d. 975/1566). Both the father and the son were interested in mysticism and have composed verses in Arabic some of which have been preserved in Sa'idīyah Library, Hyderabad.<sup>39</sup> Habību'l-lāh was well versed in Muslim theology and excelled himself in his discussions with Mullā Shukru'l-lāh Shīrāzī (d. 1048/1638-39) when the latter came to the court of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh as an emissary from the Emperor Jahangir.<sup>40</sup> He also had free discussions with his contemporaries like Shaikh 'Alīmu'l-lāh 'Abbāsī (d. 1024/1615) the Traditionist, and his son-in-law Mullā Nasir of Burhānpūr.<sup>41</sup>

### *Arabic Studies under the Nizām Shāhis*

Burhān Nizām Shāh I, third ruler of the dynasty, who ascended the throne at the age of eight, studied Arabic and Persian under able teachers like Mullā Pīr Muhammad Shīrwānī, who was a Sunnī. He then came under the influence of the Mahdawī sect and gave one of his daughters in marriage to a follower of this sect.<sup>42</sup> Mullā Pīr Muhammad was sent by him on a political mission to Khawāja-i Jahān, the governor of Parenda, where he had to stay

37 Zubaid Ahmad, 272

38 See *Catalogue of Raza Library*, Rampur, I, 334

39 See Kokan *Khānwāda-e Qāzī Badruddaulah*, I, 45, 46, 66-8

40 *Ibid*, 59

41 *Ibid*, 60

42 *Fer*, II, 77-8

for one year. There he came in contact with Shāh Tāhir, son of Shāh Razī'u'd-dīn who had recently arrived at Parenda from Iran. Apart from other learning he was an expert in teaching *Il Majma'* a standard work on astronomy. Pīr Muhammad was his pupil. When he returned to Ahmadnagar he praised him before the king in such glowing terms that the king sent an invitation to Shāh Tāhir and requested him to come to Ahmadnagar. Shāh Tāhir was received with much respect in 928/1522 and was accommodated in a palace inside the fort, which later on became a great centre of learning. The king was so much impressed of his profound knowledge and ability that he made him his sole adviser and guide. He accompanied the king on important occasions and served him faithfully in all walks of administration. It was through Shāh Tāhir's influence that Burhān Nizām Shāh was converted to the Shī'ah faith.

Shāh Tāhir died in 956/1549 at Ahmadnagar where he was buried. Later on his remains were transferred to Karbala.<sup>43</sup>

In spite of the popularity of Arabic studies in Ahmadnagar, no one seems to have attempted to write or compile works in Arabic. One Amīr Ismā'īl known as *Sayyid Khān* has written a commentary of the Qur'ān under the title of *Tafstr-e Rahimi*, a copy of which is found in the library of Dārul-'Ulūm, Deoband (No. 13144). In its preface the writer says that on Friday, 1 Rabi' I, 1036/10 November 1626 he saw Malik 'Ambar in a dream, handing over a copy of the Qur'ān to the writer. Hence he undertook the work of writing a commentary of the Qur'ān.<sup>44</sup>

### *Arabic Studies under the Quṭb Shāhis*

The Quṭb Shāhi Kings were Turks by race but spoke Persian as their mother tongue. They patronised persons learned in the Islamic lore, 'ulamā, mashā'ikh and Syeds from over the seas. The inclination of the earlier rulers of the dynasty was towards Persian rather than Arabic learning. It was during the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh that we first come across the princes of the dynasty indulging in Arabic lore. Three of Ibrāhīm's sons are known to be men of learning, and Mirzā Husain-Qulī, his second son, was well versed in philosophy and logic. He died in 994/1586.<sup>45</sup> Mirzā 'Abdu'l Fattāh, the fourth son, was an excellent reciter of Qur'ān.<sup>46</sup> Mirzā Muḥammad Amin the last son, died at the young age of twenty-five on 15 Sha'bān 1004/4 April 1596. His tombstone bears a unique inscription containing seven lines in chaste Arabic which shows his interest in the Arabic language.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Fer*, II, 118

<sup>44</sup> 'Abdu'l-Mu'īd Khān, *The Arabian Poets of Golkonda*, 22

<sup>45</sup> H.A., 198

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, 198

<sup>47</sup> *EIM*, 1915-16, 30



It was not till the reign of Sultān 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh that Arabic learning found a lasting place in the Qutb Shāhī dominions. In 1038/1628 Shaikh Muhammad ibn Khātūn Amīlī, one of the great scholars of his day was appointed Pēshwā<sup>48</sup>. He was a scholar as well as an administrator, and Muhammad 'Alī Karbalā'ī, the author of the *Hadiya-i Qutb Shāhi*, an index of the Qur'ān, was his pupil<sup>49</sup>.

'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh constructed mosques and madrasas to which teachers were appointed to impart education<sup>50</sup>. He was in correspondence with the kings of Iran and Arab countries. He invited Amīr Nizāmū'd-dīn bin Ma'sūm who came from Mecca to Golkonda in 1055/1645. He was an eminent poet and writer of Arabic and belonged to a scholarly family of Shirāz which had settled down at Mecca. He was married to the second daughter of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh. He attracted to Golkonda several other Arab scholars who were received with honour and respect. He had a great command over Arabic prose and poetry, as is evident from the extracts and quotations given by his son in his book *Salwatu'l-Gharīb fi Uswati'l-Arīb*. He composed several poems in Arabic in praise of Sultān 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh. He lived at Golkonda for sometime and then shifted to a palace built by him in the city of Hyderabad in 1069/1658-59. He became a great centre of literary activities. Arab scholars, writers and poets like Shaikh Muhammad bin Ahmad Hakīmu'l-Mulk (d. 1050/1640), Syed Hasan bin Shādqām (d. 1046/1635), Syed Muhammad bin 'Abdu'l-lāh Mūsawī (1012-70/1603-59) known as Kibrītu'l-Madanī, Al-Khatīb 'Abdu'l-lāh al-Barri al-Manufī, Sibṭu'sh-Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn al-Amīlī (d. 1061/1651), Syed Abu'l-Ghanā'im Muhammad al-Hillī of 'Irāq and Jamālu'd-dīn bin Muḥammad bin 'Awd al-Haikalī were in correspondence with him and some of them visited his circle and were patronised by him<sup>51</sup>.

When Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shāh succeeded his father-in-law in 1083/1672, he put Syed Ahmad in prison, where he died in 1085/1673. His son Syed Sadru'd-dīn 'Alī was also a great scholar and poet of Arabic. He was born at Mecca in 1052/1642, left for India in 1066/1655-56 and reached Golkonda in 1068/1657-58. He participated in the poetical symposia held by his father and composed poems ex tempore on a given metre and rhyme. He was a prolific writer in Arabic. Beside his *Al-Kalimu't-Tayyib*, which is a collection of prayers, he wrote *Salwatu'l-Gharīb fi Uswati'l-Arīb*, *Sulāfatu'l-Asr fi Mahasin A'yānu'l-Asr bi kulli Mīsr*, *Al-Darajatu'l-Rafī'ah fi Tabaqāti'l-Imāmiyya min al-Shi'ah*, *Riyāzu's-Salīkīn*, a commentary of *As-Sahīfatu's-Sajjādiyyah*, *Sharhu'l-Fawā'id's-Samādiyyah* on grammar, and *Anwāru'r-Rabī' fi Anwā'il-*

48 HA, 315

49 Zubaid Ahmad, 33

50 QS, 352

51 'Abdu'l- Mu'id Khān, *op cit*, 56

*Badi'* on rhetoric. He also edited his own poems in Arabic a copy of which is found in Aṣafīya Library Hyderabad under No. 144.

On the death of the Sultān he escaped to Burhānpūr and after having served for some time under the emperor Aurangzeb he left for the Hijaz in 1114/1701 and then returned to Shirāz. There he joined the Madrisa-i Mansūriyah founded and established by his grandfather Amīr Ghīāsu'd-dīn Mansūr. He died in 1117/1705 and was buried in the graveyard attached to the tomb of Shāh Chirāgh of Shirāz.

During the reign of Abu'l Hasan Qutb Shāh, Muḥaddhīhu d-dīn Ahmad wrote a commentary of the Qur'ān a copy of which is found in Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad. It also contains six short treatises on Traditions and Principles of Muslim Jurisprudence all written by him. One 'Alī Husamī of Kokhla wrote a short treatise in Arabic on the art of recitation, in 1089/1678, entitled *Ḥilyatu'l-Qāri'*, a copy of which is found in the personal collection of the late Dr. Abdu'l Haq, Madras.<sup>52</sup>

#### *Arabic Studies under the 'Imād Shāhis*

During the early period of the 'Imād Shāhi rule no information is available regarding the Arabic studies under these rulers. Tufāl Khān after his usurpation of 'Imād Shāhi throne in 1568, seems to have established a first class college for Arabic studies at Elchpūr where Islamic sciences were being taught to the students. He invited Shaikh Mubārak Sindhi (d. 978/1570-71) who was then serving as qāzī of Chōpra to come and undertake the work of teaching in this madrasa. He also appointed Shaikh Tayyib Sindhi (d. 1000/1591-92) and Shaikh Muḥammad Tāhir Yūsuf Sindhi as teachers of this college. Students from Khāndēsh were also admitted. This college could not continue after the overthrow of Tufāl Khān.<sup>53</sup>

Later on we find Syed 'Ināyatu'l-lāh of Bālāpūr (d. 1117/1705-06) engaged in teaching Arabic and guiding the people. He belonged to a well-known family of scholars whose ancestor Syed Zahīru'd-dīn migrated along with his son Syed Mūsā from Khujand in Turkistan to Amānābād near Lahore. Syed Ilāh Dād, the son of Syed Mūsā, and Syed Muḥammad the son of Ilāh Dād were born and brought up in North India. Syed Muḥammad came to the Deccan and settled down at Burhānpūr. His son 'Ināyatu'l-lāh studied Islamic sciences under Shaikh Abu'l-Muẓaffar Sūfī Burhānpurī. He then took up his residence at Bālāpūr in 1059/1649 and established his Khanqāh there. He was later suspected of treason by the Emperor Aurangzeb. But when he came to know of his good qualities he honoured and respected him. He died at Bālāpūr on 25 Safar 1117/7 June 1705.

52. *Tar. Gol.*, 394.

53. 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān, *op cit.*, 473-4, 917-8.

*Arabic Studies under the rulers of Khāndēsh*

Malik Rājā Fārūqī, the founder of this dynasty, was a follower of Shaikhh 'l-Islām Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn, the disciple of Shaikh Burhānu'd-dīn Gharīb of Daulatābād. He had received from him the mantle of fidelity, which continued to be preserved and worn by his successors at the time of accession to the throne till the days of Bahādur Khan Fārūqī. On the earnest desire of Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn, Nasir Khān, the eldest son of Malik Rājā, founded the city of Burhānpūr, which soon became a great centre of Islamic studies. During his days, men of letters and knowledge came from other places and settled down at Burhānpūr and they were granted daily allowances, stipends and jagirs, and on account of these learned men the Fārūqī kings attained prominence among their contemporary rulers <sup>54</sup>

Among the scholars who earned name and fame as great writers in Arabia, was Shaikh 'Alī Muttaqī. He was born at Burhānpūr and studied for some time under his father and other teachers of this place. He then went to Multān and studied mysticism and tafsīr for two years under Shaikh Husamu'd-dīn Muttaqī. He then left for the Hijāz and completed his studies under Shaikh Abu'l-Hasan Bakrī and Shaikh Muhammad Sakhāwī. He died at Mecca in 975/1567. He has to his credit several works in Arabic and Persian, the number of which is said to have exceeded one hundred <sup>55</sup>. He was a great Traditionist. He compiled (1) *Kanzu'l-'Ummāl fi Sunani'l-Aqwāl wa'l-Af'āl*, in 8 volumes, now published by Dāiratu'l Ma'ārif, Hyderabad. He also wrote (2) *Jawāmi'ul-Kilām fi Mawā'izi'l-Hikam*, (3) *Shu'unu'l-Munaz-zalāt*, (4) *Minhāju'l-'Ummāl*, (5) *Al-Ikmāl fi Minhaji'l-'Ummāl*, (6) *Al-Burhān fi 'Alāmāt Mahdi Ākhiri'z-Zamān*, (7) *Al-'Unwān fi Sulūki'n-Niswān*, (8) *Al-Burhānu'l-Jalī fi Ma'arifāti'l-Walī*, (9) *Al-Mawāhibu'l-'Āliyah fi'l-Jamī'abaina'l-Hikami'l-Qur'āniyah*, (10) *Tatwīb Sharhu'l-Hikam al-Atāiyah Al-Musamma bi't-Tanbih*, (11) *Zadu't-Talībīn*, (12) *Asrāru'l-'Ārifīn*, (13) *Fathu'l-Jawād*, (14) *Tabyīnu't-Turaq*

Another great scholar, who was popular among the Sūfīs of India, was Shaikh Muhammad son of Shaikh Fazlu'l-lāh of Burhānpūr. Fazlu'l-lāh had settled down at Burhānpūr and established a Madrasā for imparting Arabic education to the desiring students. He delivered lectures on Tafsīr, Hadīth, Fiqh and Tasawwuf. He died in 1005/1596-7 at Burhānpūr.

His son Syed Muhammad was brought up in the congenial atmosphere of mystical studies and training. He studied under Shaikh Wajihu'd-dīn 'Alawī and Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth of Gwalior. He compiled a short treatise under the title of *Al-Tuhfatu'l-Mursalāh*, which deals with the subject of pantheism. This work became so popular that two great scholars of a

<sup>54</sup> *Fer*, II, 277

<sup>55</sup> Zubaid Ahmad, *op cit*

later period, Shaikh Ibrāhīm Kurdī and Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ghānī Nabulūsi wrote commentaries on it under the titles of *Ithafu'z Zaki* and *Al Mawāhibu'l-Mutarassalah*. Shaikh Muhammad died on 1 Ramazān 1029, 21 July 1620.

Shāh 'Isā Jundu'l-lāh (d. 1031/1622) also belonged to Burhānpūr. He is said to have written a commentary of the Qur'ān in Arabic in four volumes entitled *Anwārū'l-Asrar*.<sup>56</sup>

Another great scholar of this period was Qāzī Naṣīru'd-dīn of Burhānpūr. While he was at Bijapur he pointed defects and mistakes in the writings of scholars and *sayants* like Syed Shāh Sibghatu'l-lāh, Shaikh Shukru'l-lāh known as Afzal Khān and others. He was married to the daughter of Shaikh 'Alīmu'l-lāh 'Abbāsī, the traditionist.<sup>57</sup>

Shaikh Nizām, one of the editors of *Iatānā-i 'Alamgiri* was one of the students of Qāzī Naṣīru'd-dīn and belonged to Burhānpūr. The definite date of his death is not known but he is said to have died at the age of eighty.<sup>58</sup>

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-lāh bin Muḥammad bin 'Umar al-Makkī, the author of *Zafaru'l-Wāliḥ bi Muḥaffar wa 'Āliḥ*,<sup>59</sup> was born at Mecca in 946/1539-40, came to India in 962/1555, and lived at Ahmadabad for some time. He then entered in the service of Emperor Akbar in 981/1573 and he and his father were appointed to administer endowments and distribute the income from these endowments among the people of Mecca and Madina. After the death of his father in 984/1576 he entered the service of Faṭḥ Khān, a chief of Khāndēsh, and was with him till the Khān's death in 1014/1605.<sup>60</sup> The date of his death is not known, but he was certainly alive in 1020/1611.

### *Arabic Studies in Malabar*

We have already shown that Arabic studies had been very popular in Malabar. During the thirteenth century the town of Ponnāni had developed into a great centre of Arabic and Islamic studies. It produced a well-known family of scholars, known as "Makhādīm-i Ponnāni". A khānqāh and a madrasā was established for imparting Arabic education there. Theology and mysticism were taught to the students. Shaikh Shihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad bin Hajar al-Makkī (d. 975/1567-8) visited this place, stayed there for some time, and delivered some lectures on the Qur'ān and the Traditions.

56 Rahman 'Alī, *Tadhkira i 'Ulamā-i Hind*, Karachi, 1961, 360.

57 *Ibid*, 520.

58 *Ibid*, 527.

59 This work contains a general history of the various dynasties including the history of the Deccan and Khāndēsh. This is one of the few works which have been written in Arabic on the history of India.

60 Introduction to *Zafaru'l-Wāliḥ*, I, ed., Denison Ross, London, 1910.

The founder of the family of "Makhādīm-i Ponnānī" was one 'Alī bin Ahmad al-Ma'barī, who had shifted from Cochīn to Ponnānī along with his brother Qāzī Zainu'd-dīn Ibrāhīm bin Ahmad al-Ma'barī

Zainu'd-dīn Abū Yahyā (873-928/1468-1522) son of 'Alī bin Ahmad, studied Arabic language and literature along with Islamic theology and law at Ponnānī. He also studied the Qur'ān and the Traditions under Shihābu'd-dīn Ahmad bin 'Uthmān of Yemen. He then went to Calicut and studied Islamic law and its principles under Qāzī Fakhrū'd-dīn of Calicut. He received a certificate of proficiency in the science of Traditions from 'Abdu'r-Rahmān al-Adamī, the well-known Egyptian traditionist.

Abū Yahyā was the author of several works in Arabic, viz, (1) *Murshidu't-Tullāb*, (2) *Sirāju'l-Qulūb*, (3) *Shamsu'l-Hudā*, (4) *Tuhfatu'l-Ahibba*, (5) *Irshādu'l-Qāsīdīn*, (6) *Shu'ābu'l-Īmān*, (7) *Kifāyatu'l-Farāz*, (8) *Kitābu's-Safā min-a'sh-Shifā*, (9) *Tashīlu'l-Kāfiyāh* and (10) *Qasasu'l-Anbiyā*, and (1) *Hidāyatu'l-Adhkiyā ila Tariqati'l-Awliyā* (2) *Urjuza*, and (3) *Tahrīzu Ahli'l-Īmān 'alā Jihād-i 'Abdati's-Sulbān*, in verse <sup>61</sup>

His son 'Abdu'l-'Azīz wrote two commentaries, the one elaborate and the other short, on his father's work *Hidāyatu'l-Adhkiyā*, entitled (1) *Maslaku'l-Atiqiyā fi Sharh-i Hidāyati'l-Adhkiyā* and (2) *Irshādu'l-Alibba ilā Hidāyati'l-Adhkiyā* <sup>62</sup>

Zainu'd-dīn, the son of 'Abdu'l-'Azīz also was an erudite scholar of Arabic. His works *Qurratu'l-'Ain* and *Fathu'l-Mu'in* on Shāfi'i Fiqh are popular texts in Malabar even to this day. He compiled two super-commentaries of *Fathu'l-Mu'in* under the title of *I'ānatu't-Tālibīn fi Hall-i Alfāz-i Fathi'l-Mu'in*. He also wrote a book entitled *Al-Irshād ilā Sabīli'r-Rishād*. Another work *Tuhfatu'l-Mujāhidīn*, regarding the activities of the Portuguese in India, was translated into English by Rowlandson as early as in 1833 and later by Muhammad Husayn Nainar in 1942. The author seems to have died after 991/1583 <sup>63</sup>

Muhammad, the brother of Zainu'd-dīn, composed a long poem in Arabic entitled *Al-Fathu'l-Mubīn li's-Sāmuri alladhī yuhibbu l-Mushimīn*. It deals with the victory of Zamorīn over the Portuguese armies in India <sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Zubaid Ahmad, 296-7

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, 79, 144, 145

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*, 145



(ii) DAKHNI-URDU.

by DR. MAS'UD HUSAIN KHAN

*Synopsis*

- I. Advent of the language in Deccan—Conquest of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī and Muḥammad bin Tughluq (1300-1350)—Linguistic contacts and adjustments.
- II. *Development of Proto-Urdu in the Deccan (1350-1687)*. First Urdu writer; Khwāja Bandā Nawāz—*Mi'rājū'l-'Ashiqīn*—First Mathnavī writer : Nizāmī Bidarī—Kadam Rao Padam Rao — First Marṭhiya writer : Ashraf — Nausarhār (1503) — Shāh Mirānji's Mystical writings etc.

Characteristic of the Literature of the Period — Mystical and Religious. Language still unstable style known as Hindi or Hindawī.

*Bijapur School of Literature (1490-1686)*

Development of Bijapur as a centre of old Urdu, under the 'Adil Shāhīs.

Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh—*Nau Ras*; His court-poet 'Abdu'l—Ibrāhīm Nāmā (1603)—'Adil Shāh, "Shāhī" — Kulliyāt. Ṣūfī writers :— Shāh Burhānu'd-dīn Jānam—*Irshād Nāmā*, *Sukh Sahelā*. Shāh Amīnu'd-dīn A'lā's writings—Other important poets —Quṭb Rāzī, Amīn, San'atī, Rustamī, the first epic writer—"Khawar Nāmā". Malik Khushnūd, Hāshimī, the first "Rēkhtī" writer. Nuṣratī—the greatest poet of Bijapur, a master writer of Mathnavī, Qaṣīdā, and Razmīyā.

Characteristics of the Bijapur School — Linguistic peculiarities—influences of "Gujarī" and Braj traditions. Development of New forms — Qaṣīdā, Razmīyā, Rēkhtī. Ṣūfistic tradition carried over. Name of the language, besides "Hindī" also Dakhnī.

*Golkonda School of Literature (1508-1687)*

Development of Golkonda as a centre of old Urdu Literature.

1. Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh — a great poet and patron of letters (1580-1611) —first collected a Diwān.
2. Wajhī — a major poet and first writer of literary prose — *Sab Ras* (1605),
3. Ghawwāṣī — Poet-laureate — writer of beautiful Mathnavīs, "*Saifū'l Mulūk Badī'u'l Jamāl*" etc.
4. Ibn-e Nishāṭī — "*Phulban*"

Other major writers, Bulāqī, Mirān Ya'qūb (First major prose translator—*Shamā ilu'l-Atqiyā*. Tabā'ī, Faiz etc.

Chief characteristics—Development of literary prose — Language became more supple and expressive — influence of Perso-Arabic vocabulary on the style of writers of this school — Development of Marṭhiya.

III. Under *the Mughals* (1687-1724)

Effects of Mughal conquest --- cultural and linguistic change over to modern Urdu. Major writers Bahārī (*Man Lagan*), Qādir, 'Ishrattī, Wajdī, Wālī Vellorī, Wālī Aurangābādī (*Kulliyāt*). Chief characteristics --- Revival of Mystical compositions. Developments of Marṭhiya --- etc.

IV. *Assessment of the Literary contribution of Deccan to Urdu Literature*

A rich and full period in every sense --- "Zabān-e Dehlavī" rose to its full literary stature --- all the forms of poetry well-developed --- literary style in prose well-established --- Rediscovery of this period, the need of the time.



## I Advent of the language in the Deccan

The Deccan Plateau contains two major language-families of India, namely, the Dravidian and the Indo-Aryan. The Indo-Aryan is represented by the Marathi language, spoken in the north-west region of the plateau, while the Dravidian is represented by Kannada and Telugu, spoken south-west and south-east of the Marathi region respectively. This linguistic situation existed even at the end of thirteenth century, when for the first time the "dialect" of Delhi (Hindī or Hindawī) was first introduced into Deccan by the conquests of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khajī. No doubt linguistic contacts between the North and the South existed long before the advent and expansion of Muslim rule into the Deccan, but it was due mainly to the Muslim conquest of the Deccan that a new Indo-Aryan dialect ('*Zabān-ī Dehlavī*')<sup>1</sup> was transplanted into this region. Muhammad bin Tughluq's conquests intensified this process.

"Old Urdu" (or Proto-Urdu),\* as a linguistic form had already been in existence for a hundred years before it was carried over to the Deccan. It was employed by Amīr Khursō (d. 1325) as a poetic medium. The Muslim Sūfīs freely used it for propagating their creed. Delhi being a meeting place of various dialects, the spoken idiom was still unestablished and showed the influence of the forms surrounding it.

In the Deccan, the first centre of linguistic contact between the North and the South was Daulatābād, in the Marathi region. Marathi, being an Indo-Aryan language, a free give-and-take was established between the two languages. It was, probably, at this stage that, besides some Marathi words,

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1 This expression has been used first by Amīr Khursō in his mathnavī *Nuh Sipahr* and later by Shaikh Bājan in the 15th century.

It will be appropriate to discuss the various names by which the language has been called in Deccan. It has been termed as Hindī (sometimes Hindawī) by all the writers right from Khursō and Hazrat Khawājā Bandā Nawāz, till the end of 17th century. Quraishī Bīdarī (c. 1520) was, probably the first writer to use, along with *Hindī*, also *Dakhnī*. The writers of Golkonda and Bijapur later on began to use *Dakhnī* or *Daknī* simultaneously with *Hindī* or *Zabān-e Hindustān* (Wajhī). We have also used the two pronunciations, *Dakhnī* and *Daknī* in this article. For the sake of historical continuity we have given the general title of "Old Urdu" for the language current in medieval Deccan.

\*[The author of this section has used these terms for the language under consideration viz., *Dakhnī-Urdu*, *Dakhnī*, and *Qadīm Urdu*, evidently connoting the same sense. "Qadīm Urdu" may well be rendered as 'Proto Urdu' in English, the prefix *proto* being an abbreviation of the Greek *proton* meaning "first in time" Ed.]

like *nakko* (not), and emphatic *ch*, entered into the structure of Dakhni Urdu.<sup>2</sup> With the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom, the centre of gravity shifted from Daulatābād to Gulbarga about 1350.

## II Development of Dakhni or Proto-Urdu in Deccan (1350-1687)

It was at Gulbarga that the first compositions of Old Urdu were made by the great Muslim saint of his time, *Khawājā Bandā Nawāz* who in his old age had come all the way from Delhi in 1390 to spread his spiritual message. The *Khawājā* died at Gulbarga in 825/1422. Of the several prose-works and poems attributed to him, the most important is *Mi'raju'l-'Ashiqin*, a prose treatise on mysticism. Another interesting composition by the Saint is *Shikār Nāmā* couched in an allegorical style. The main question which crops up after reading these and some other pieces of prose and poetry attributed to the Saint is about the language that is employed by him. From early childhood till the hoary age of eighty, he had spent his time in Delhi. Is it possible for a man of eighty to give up his idiom and take to a different one? Or, is it that there was not much difference in the dialects spoken in Delhi and the Deccan at the beginning of fifteenth century. By this time Dakhni (or proto-Urdu) had become fairly expressive. The Saint is aware of its mixed (*Rēkhtā*) nature and has drawn profusely from the two linguistic and cultural traditions namely, Perso-Arabic and Sanskritic.

Mystic writers continued to enrich Urdu during the fifteenth century. *Khawājā Bandā Nawāz*'s son Muhammad Akbar Husaini (d. 823/1420) is also credited with a brochure on Sūfism. As the capital of the Bahmanis was shifted to the 'red-soiled' Bidar, poets under the patronage of the court tried their hand on versifying popular stories of Indian origin, containing a moral. Nizāmī, the first major poet, wrote his *mathnavi Kadam Rao Padam Rao*<sup>4</sup> about 1460. It covers about two thousand couplets and is a proof that by the middle of fifteenth century the language has become sufficiently expressive and

2 Emphatic *ch* is current in Modern Dakhni as well. It is the key for recognising Dakhni MSS since it has been borrowed from Marathi and is not found in any of the North Indian dialects. This *ch* is combined with nouns, verbs, pronouns, adjectives and other grammatical categories as well.

For further discussion see the article of the author "Dakhni ya Urdu-e Qadim" *Mujalla-e-'Uthmaniya*, (Dakni Adab Number), 1964.

3 *Mi'raju'l-'Ashiqin*, was first edited by the late Dr 'Abdu'l Haq. Its oldest MSS was based on the copy of one dated 1505. Since then several editions of it, based on 'Abdu'l Haq's edition, have come out.

4 The only MS of this *Mathnavi* is in the library of Anjuman Taraqqi-e Urdu, Karachi (cf *Makhtūāt Anjuman-e-Tarraqi-e-Urdu*, Karachi, 361). Sakbāwāt Mīrza has edited this *Mathnavi* recently, giving extensive quotations (cf *Urdu Adab*, Vol II, 1966, Aligarh). In his opinion the *mathnavi* was compiled between 1434 and 1437 during the reign of 'Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad II Bahmani.

supple Nizāmī's vocabulary is full of Sanskritic *tatsamas*, nevertheless his employment of a large number of idioms and simple expressions is an indication that he was expressing himself through a living medium

During the fifteenth century, other forms of old Urdu poetry were also tried successfully The *ghazals* and *qasidās* of Mushtāq and Luṭfī, although not many in number, are clear indications that the lyrical use of the language had been evolved successfully The first *marthiyā* in the form of a *mathnavi* was written by Ashraf in 909/1503 under the title of *Nausarhār*<sup>5</sup> Ashraf's *Nausarhār*, although not of high literary standard, is nevertheless one of the oldest authentic poetic work available Ashraf lacks in poetic beauty but uses a wide linguistic range An analysis of the language of *Nausarhār* clearly indicates that he has a great command of the idiom but he seldom employs it artistically The *mathnavi* relates the story of Karbala, including many fanciful details It also lacks in its elegiac effect, which is the primary condition of *marthiyā* writing

Another great name in this religio-mystic period is that of Shāh Mīrānjī Shamsu'l-Ushshāq of Bijapur By the end of fifteenth century, the once great Bahmanī Kingdom had crumbled to pieces giving way to five smaller kingdoms of which Bijapur and Golkonda were the most important and enduring Mīrānjī wrote both in prose and poetry His two long poems, *Khush-nāmā* and *Khush-naghz*,<sup>6</sup> the moving character of which is that of a young girl called *Khushnūdī*, are full of pathos They represent the enquiring soul of a young devotee whose spiritual thirst remains unquenched, in spite of the soothing advice of her Murshid *Shahādatu't-Tahqiq*<sup>7</sup> is another long poem by Mīrānjī, but it lacks the fire of the two books mentioned above and deals mostly with mystical topics

Mīrānjī's mission and work was carried on by his son and spiritual successor Shāh Burhānu'd-dīn Jānam (d c 1582) His major work is a mystical *mathnavi*, *Irshād Nāmā*<sup>8</sup> besides a small prose treatise on Sūfism, *Kalimatu'l-Haqāiq*,<sup>9</sup> which is hardly of any literary value Jānam is in fact a mystic first and a poet afterwards He calls his language 'Gujrī', not Hindī or Hindawī, the name given to his language by older writers This has been a puzzle for scholars arousing suspicion about the origin of Jānam's family Mīrānjī and Jānam also employ a diction overlaid by *tatsamas* and *tadbhavas* They are

5 MSS of *Nausarhār* are found in the libraries of (1) Anjuman Taraqqī-e Urdu, Aligarh (cf *Urdu Adab* No 1, 1954, 181) (2) Idara-e Adabiyāt-e Urdu (cf *Tadhkira-e Makhṭūṭāt* MSS No 123) (3) Anjuman Taraqqī-e Urdu, Karachi, *Makhṭūṭāt*, 719

6 Abdu'l-Haq *Qadīm Urdu*, 9-17

7 *Ibid*, 18-21

8 MS No 124 -*Tadhkira e Makhṭūṭāt* Vol. VI

9 Ed M Akbaru'd-dīn Siddiqi and by Rafī'ah Sulṭānā, Hyderabad, 1961

also largely influenced by the Hindu system of thought and freely employ its terminology in their writings. This tendency later on produced a special literary style among the Bijapurī writers with their inclination towards Hindu philosophy and idiom. Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II’s *Kitāb-i Nauras*<sup>10</sup> a treatise on Indian music, is a clear proof of how much Bijapur Court had imbibed the cultural traditions of Indian music.

Before we pass over to the literary glory of the Bijapur and Golkonda schools, a word about the literary achievements of the city of Bidar is necessary. Bidar became the capital of the Bahmanīs during the reign of Aḥmad Shāh Walī. Like Gulbarga, this city is situated in the region of the Kannaḍa language, although being a border town it was liable to Marāṭhī linguistic influences as well. It was here that the first literary work in Dakhnī was produced by Nizāmī Bidarī about 1460. Another important writer of Bidar was Quraishī Bidarī who translated the *Kōka Shāstra* into Dakhnī verse before 1520, under the title of *Bhōg-Bal*. This book has escaped the notice of the literary critics because of its obscene theme although it is an important linguistic document. Another great name of the Bidar school is that of Firōz Bidarī, who perhaps, migrated to Golkonda, and is hailed by the acknowledged poets of Golkonda as their master along with one Maḥmūd and Mullā Khyālī. Only one small piece of poetry—*Pirat Nāmā*<sup>11</sup>—has come down to us from Firōz Bidarī. It is a small mathnavī of 121 couplets in praise of Shaikh ‘Abdu’l Qādir Jilānī and his own spiritual guide Shaikh Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, whom he remembers as Maḥdūm Jīō. The poem is remarkable for its powerful racy style indicating that Dakhnī had been evolved into an established idiom which became the precursor of the Golkonda style of poetry.

The seventeenth century was without doubt the Golden Age of Old Urdu of the Deccan. During a part of this period Golkonda was ruled by Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh (1580-1611), while the Bijapur throne was occupied by the *Jagat Gurū*, Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II (1580-1626). Both were patrons of learning and both represented the composite medieval Indian culture which had as its prototype in the north in the person of the Mughal Emperor Akbar the Great (1556-1605). While Ibrāhīm had strong inclinations towards Indian music, Muḥammad-Qulī busied himself with Dakhnī poetry. He is the first major poet of Old Urdu. His *Kulliyāt*<sup>12</sup> covers all the significant forms of Urdu poetry—*ghazal*, *qasidā*, *rubā’ī*, *marthiyā*, *mathnavī* etc. It is a store-house of information for medieval Indian culture, as the king was interested in its minutest details. There are poems on *Basant*, *‘īd*, winter, rainy season as well as the beautiful women of different castes, creeds and regions that surrounded the king. Muḥammad-Qulī lived a poet’s life and died at the early age of

10 Ed. Nazīr Aḥmad, Lucknow, 1956.

11 Ed. Mas’ūd Husain Khān, Hyderabad, 1965, (also included in *Qadīm Urdu* Vol I, 1965).

12 Ed. Zore, Hyderabad, 1940.

forty-eight He is a master of descriptive poetry He totally belongs to earth and enjoys all its colours, scents, drinks, and beautiful things He sings of what he enjoys His whole poetry is full of images bordering on sensuality He has tried his hand at all forms of poetry and expressed himself successfully through the medium of *ghazal* Incidentally he is also the first poet-translator into Dakhnī His interest in the *ghazals* of Hāfiz was abiding, a few pieces of which he has translated successfully into Dakhnī In this respect he was the precursor of Nazir Akbarābādī, who broke the spell of subjective *ghazal* and is supposed to be the first descriptive, natural poet Much of the magic of Muhammad-Qulī's poetry is hidden under an archaic idiom It beacons forth as soon as we become familiar with this idiom His greatness lies not only in his pioneering work but he is a major poet of Urdu in his own right

It has been correctly assessed that Muhammad-Qulī is the real founder of the tradition of Old Urdu poetry This poetry, which had trickled like the sources of rivulet till his time, expanded into a singing stream in his poetical works His poetic imagery and powerful descriptive imagination has taken the creative form of beautiful poems like *Fitna-i Dakkhan* ("The mischief-maker of Deccan")

ہل جاے چڑیاں کوں سکی آپ جوٹی کیرے تاب میں  
پتلی نس لٹکائے ہے دل آپ نہیں معتراب میں  
کیا چاندلی سودھی ہے توں ہر من منے پر من ہے توں  
ہور دتہ دکھی ہے توں سر در ہر یک تاب میں

"You have entangled my heart in the curls of your bright hair,  
And you roll it like a pupil in the arch of your eye  
What a coquettish beauty you are ! Perfect in every art,  
You are really a great mischief-maker of Dakhan headstrong in every sense "

While the Golkonda court was presided over by a Poet King, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II's court-poet 'Abdu'l was composing his first major literary work, *Ibrāhīm Nāmā*, in Shuhūr San 1012/1611-12<sup>13</sup> Very little is known about 'Abdul, except that his family originally belonged to Delhi When the king commanded him to write something which would leave his name to posterity, 'Abdul humbly submitted that he had no command over Arabic and Persian languages and knew only Hindawī This answer of 'Abdul is confusing, for the language which he employs in *Ibrāhīm-Nāmā* is as good Dakhnī as written by any other writer The theme of 'Abdul's *mathnavī* is the king himself, his court, the royal palaces, the city of Bijapur, its gardens and beautiful women *Ibrāhīm-Nāmā* lays no claim to historiography, it is a poet's recapturing of the grandeur of Ibrāhīm's court Although some of its pieces are prosaic, the best ones show 'Abdul as a consummate artist His similes are particularly

13 Ed Mas'ūd Husain Khān Hyderabad, 1967 (in the series *Qadīm Urdu*, Vol 3)

marvellous and his imagination is very rich in describing the reality around him. In the beginning of his *mathnavi* he also gives a gist of his notions of what poetry is. He discusses the relationship of word and meaning with a thorough background of Indian aesthetic thought.

While the 'Ādil Shāhī court poet, 'Abdul was busy writing about his patron Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II's grandeur the court poet of Muhammad-Qulī Qutb Shāh, Mullā Wajhī, was compiling a romantic *mathnavi* *Qutb Mushtari*, in 1018/1609, describing a purely imaginary love affair of his hero Muhammad-Qulī.<sup>14</sup> It is at best a poem based largely on fiction. It is historical as far as two bare characters, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and Muhammad-Qulī Qutb Shāh are concerned, but is fictitious in the prince's love affairs with a princess of Bengal. His love adventures, some based on facts, others on pure fiction, are well-known and it would perhaps be appropriate to say that such adventures would be likely nearer home with the semi-mythical "Bhāgmātī" than with the far off 'Mushtari' of Bengal. The purport of the book is to sing the praises of the king, his drinking bouts, his chivalry and ultimate success in his mission of love. Moulvī 'Abdul-Haq is too harsh when he dismisses this work as insignificant. The truth lies that like 'Abdul's *Ibrāhīm Nāmā* it contains some beautiful couplets, especially there is a great rhythmic flow and the language used is simple yet powerful. In the beginning, like 'Abdul, Wajhī also defines poetry as it should be. But, unlike 'Abdul, he is not philosophical, his is a practical advice for simple diction, rhythmic flow and clarity of expression. It is interesting that the two masters, 'Abdul and Wajhī, who were contemporaries, were laying the foundations of two different schools of poetry, those of Bijapur and Golkonda. Wajhī, and the later writers of Golkonda School avoided the archaic diction full of *taisamas*, which was perhaps natural in the Bijapuri environment influenced by the Marathī and Gujarātī traditions of poetry.

Wajhī went into obscurity, shadowed by a greater poetic genius, Ghaw-wāshī, during the reign of Sultān Muhammad Qutb Shāh (1612-1626). He came into lime-light again, this time as a prose writer when 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh (1626-1672) came to the throne. In 1045/1635, one morning the king called Wajhī in audience and asked him to write something unusual which would make him one among the immortals. Wajhī took the order of the king to his heart and planned a major work in ornate prose and gave the title of *Sab Ras*<sup>15</sup> to this work. This is Wajhī's masterpiece, as it not only presents in an allegorical form the eternal conflict of love and reason as typified by Islamic mysticism but contains many passages, introduced as digression, giving a bit of Wajhī's mind and his ripe wisdom. The topics range from such mystical themes as Beauty and Love, to such mundane ones as Miserliness, Generosity

14 Ed. Abdu'l-Haq, Delhi, 1938

15 Ed. Abdu'l-Haq (2nd Edition), Karachi, 1952

and classification of the women-types. The whole book, punctuated by his own couplets, is written in an ornate style of great excellence. His claim that no one has written such a book "with a fine blend of poetry and prose" is invariably correct. But his claim to its originality is false, as has been proved ably by its editor Moulvī 'Abdu'l-Haq, by indicating its sources in Fattāhī's Persian work *Dastūr-e 'Ushshāq*. It is one of the weaknesses of Wajhī that he boast too much. He unnecessarily challenges other poets and writers and thinks they are all thieves who pick-up flowers from his garden without acknowledgement. Although *Sab Ras* is one of the greatest books in prose ever written in Old Urdu (or proto-Urdu), still Wajhī is a minor poet as compared to his patron Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh or his rival contemporary, Ghawwāsī.

'Abdu'l-lāh, like Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, was himself a poet of great merit. He has left behind him a *Dīwān*, containing some beautiful couplets.<sup>16</sup> But his great virtue was, that having lost his independence to the Mughals, he took upon himself the earnest task of patronising men of letters. The greatest poet of his reign was *Maliku'sh-Shu'arā* Ghawwāsī, the writer of three *mathnavis*, *Mainā Satwantī*,<sup>17</sup> *Saifu'l-Mulūk wa Badī'u'l-Jamāl*,<sup>18</sup> *Tūti Nāmā*<sup>19</sup> and a collection of *ghazals*.<sup>20</sup> It is interesting to note that up-till then attempts at literary creation were based on original plots or on historical narrations. Ghawwāsī is the first major poet to fall back for literary creation on free translations or on stories verified earlier. The sources of these stories are both Indian and Perso-Arabic. *Mainā Satwantī* which is perhaps the earliest work of Ghawwāsī, is based on the popular Indian fable of Lorik and the pious Mainā, which was first versified by poet Dāwūd in Awadhī under the name of *Chandā'm* in the fourteenth century. It contains all the elements of Ghawwāsī's future greatness, his felicity of pen, mastery over the portrayal of emotions, especially of the fairer sex, and deep understanding of different situations. Nevertheless, his major poetical work is *Saifu'l-Mulūk wa Badī'u'l-Jamāl* written in 1035/1625. The plot for this *mathnavī* is taken from *Alf Lailā* with slight variations. The whole poem is written in chaste Dakhnī. Here Ghawwāsī shows himself as one of the best exponent of the style developed by the poets of Golkonda. His mastery both over Persian and Indian vocabulary is unsurpassed. The blend which he gives to the vocabulary from the two sources is unchallenged. Although the plot is borrowed, the situational details and minute observations are his own. *Saifu'l-Mulūk* is superior to *Tūti Nāmā* written fifteen years later based as it is on Nakḥshabī's

16 Ed Syed Muḥammad Hyderabad, n d

17 Ed Ghulām 'Umar Khān, Hyderabad, 1965 included also in *Qadīm Urdu* Vol I, 1965, Hyderabad

18 Ed Mīr 'Sa'ādat 'Alī Razvī, Hyderabad, 1938

19 Ed Mīr Sa'ādat 'Alī Razvī, Hyderabad, 1938

20 Muhammad Bin 'Umar *Kulliyāt Ghawwāsī*, Hyderabad, 1959

Persian translation of the Sanskrit *Sapta Shataka*. Mir Husn who had the occasion to go through it writes 'it is half Persian and half Hindi'. Ghawwāsi is also a fine ghazal-writer and a collection of his *ghazals* is now available. He is one of the greatest poets of Golkonda School. He is a master-writer of *mathnavis* and *qasidas*. As a *ghazal*-writer he is more genuine than Muhammad-Quli Quṭb Shāh. His poetic style is the peak of excellence for the Golkonda School of poetry.

The tradition of writing long descriptive poems, so firmly established by Ghawwāsi in Golkonda, made further advances at the hands of poets of Bijapur. A *Mathnavi* entitled *Chandar Badan aur Mahyar*<sup>21</sup> is ascribed to the Persian poet Mirzā Muhammad Muqīm Muqīmī. It is, however, doubtful whether a Persian immigrant could write in Dakhni with such a command. Its real authorship is still doubtful. Probably it is from the pen of a lesser known Muqīmī who belonged to Golkonda. The story is typically Indian based on a local tradition. The poem is remarkable for its tragic effects and pathos.

A contemporary of Muqīmī was Amīn who, infected by the tragic tale of *Chandar Badan aur Mahyar*, wrote the story of *Bahrām wa Hasan Bāno*<sup>22</sup> but could not complete during his life time. This was later completed by another poet Mirzā Daulat Shāh in 1638.

Hasan Shauqī, who died before 1655, is one of the major poets of the 'Ādil Shāhī court. In his early career he was connected with the Quṭb Shāhī court. His reputation as a major poet was known throughout the Deccan long after his death. The Golkonda poet Ibn-e Nishā'i pays glowing tribute to his memory in his *Phul Ban*, written in 1076/1655. He is the author of two important works, *Fath Nāmā Nizām Shāh* and *Mazbāni Nāma 'Ādil Shāh*<sup>23</sup> both of which remain still unedited. The first *mathnavi* records the victory of the combined forces of the Quṭb Shāhī, 'Ādil Shāhī, Nizām Shāhī and Barīd Shāhī forces against the Kingdom of Vijayanagar in the famous battle fought in January 1565. It is a fine specimen of epic poetry, indeed the first one in old Urdu and is rich in social and historical details. *Mazbāni Nāma* describes the marriage of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh and as such is a store-house of the court life of the period. His inimitable description of the royal feast and court-dancers is something unique. Both these *mathnavis* are based on original facts and as such offer greater opportunity for the poet to display his art and talent. Hasan Shauqī has also written some beautiful *ghazals*<sup>24</sup> but only a handful are available which are enough to establish his reputation as a lyricist. His works when edited and published, will put him at once in the list of major poets of Dakhni Urdu.

21 Ed. M. Akbaru'd-din Siddiqi, Hyderabad, 1956.

22 Naṣīru'd-din Hāshimī *Europe mēn Dakni Makbūṣāt*, 217.

23 *Makbūṣāt-e Anjuman Taraqqi-e Urdu*, Karachi, MS. No. 227.

24 *Majalla-e 'Uṭhmāniya* (Dakhni Adab Number), Hyderabad 1964.



Another important name in the galaxy of Bijapur poets is that of Malik **Khushnūd**, who too originally belong to Golkonda and came to Bijapur court as a part of dowry of the queen **Khadija Sultāna**. Soon he rose in royal favour and was deputed back to Golkonda as an ambassador in 1635. Malik **Khushnūd** tried his hand in translating three Persian *mathnavi*s of the famous Delhi poet Amīr **Khusrō**. Of these *Yūsuf Zulaikha*, *Bāzār-e Husn*<sup>25</sup> and *Hasht Bahisht*<sup>26</sup> were translated on the specific request of Muhammad 'Adil Shāh. They are still unedited but are marked for their racy idiom and beautiful style.

Rustamī's greatness as a poet rests on his sole major work, the translation of Ibn-e Hussām's Persian *Khāwarnāmā*<sup>27</sup>. This is one of the longest poems written in Dakhnī-Urdu and runs into about twenty-four thousand couplets. It was written to fulfil the wishes of Queen **Khadija Sultāna** of Bijapur. It describes the imaginary heroic wars waged by Hazrat 'Alī, and contains some grand passages of epic poetry. It is a pity that this great work is still unedited.

Turning once more to Golkonda we find **Ghawwāsī** is followed by another great poet Ibn-e Nishātī, who wrote his inimitable *mathnavi Phul Ban*<sup>28</sup> in 1655. He was a poet who kept away from the court and rose to poetic greatness by a single stroke i.e. by writing his only poetical work, *Phul Ban*. It is a masterpiece of poetry written in an ornate style employing as many as thirty-nine figures of speech. *Phul Ban* enjoyed great popularity in the Deccan long after the death of its writer. Muhammad Ibrāhīm of Bijapur, the writer of the celebrated *Dakhnī Anwār Suhailī* calls it 'the most famous *mathnavi* of the Deccan'. *Phul Ban* does not comprise of one story but contains a chain of stories after the fashion of *Alf Lailā*. There are three principal stories in it and as many subsidiary. It goes to the credit of Ibn-e Nishātī that, in spite of being a consummate artist, he does not have the false pride of Wajhī or **Ghawwāsī**. Ibn-e Nishātī is basically a prose writer as he mentions in this *mathnavi*, although no specimen of his prose is available. He writes with a purposeful embellishment and his idiom is racy and supple.

It is strange that after Wajhī's *Sab Ras*, which can be classified as poetic-prose, no writer took interest in writing prose-works. Dakhnī-Urdu prose was nurtured by the Sūfīs for their own purpose. A major work in

25 M Q Zor *Tazkira-e Urdu Makhlūṭāt*, Vol III, 306

26 Naṣīru'd-dīn Hāshimī *Europe mēn Dakhnī Makhlūṭāt*, 223

27 *Catalogue of MSS India Office Library*, No 35, London, and *Europe mēn Dakhnī Makhlūṭāt*, 232 [*Khāwarnāmā* has now been edited by Chand Husam Shaikh with Introduction by him and profuse marginal notes by Hamidu'd dīn Shāhid and Sākḥāwat Mīrzā and published by Taraqqī Urdu Board, Karachi, in 1968. The book extends to 870 pages. Ed.]

28 Ed. A Q Sarwarī, Hyderabad, 1938 also by Shaikh Chand Ibn e Husain, Karachi

this kind of religious prose was the translation of a Persian work *Shamā'il-u'l-Atiqā* by Mirān Yaqūb in 1667<sup>29</sup>. Its main importance lies for the scholars of language rather than literary critics.

These literary efforts in Golkonda are intercepted by some major poetic works under the Bijapur court during the reign of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh II (1656-1673). 'Alī 'Adil Shāh whose *Kulliyat*<sup>30</sup> has recently been edited and published wrote under the pen-name of *Shāhi*. He tried his hand on all the forms of Urdu poetry *ghazal qasidā*, *mathnawī* and *geet*. He is a genuine poet and his poetry abounds in artistic sincerity. His craftsmanship is evident from his *qasidās*. His interest in ancient Indian culture is obvious from the stock of references to Hindu mythology a common trait of the Bijapur school of poetry.

But the greatest among the poets of Bijapur is Mullā Nuṣratī who also flourished during the reign of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh II and was the poet-laureate of his court. Nuṣratī is the author of three extensive works of poetry besides smaller fragments that have come down from him. His first long poem (a *mathnawī*) is *Gulshan-i 'Ishq* (1068/1657)<sup>31</sup> the love story of Manohar and Madmālī which had been versified by more than one poets and in more than one languages of India. The popularity of this romance is evident from the fact that before Nuṣratī two versions of it were available in Persian. In *Gulshan-i 'Ishq*, Nuṣratī appears as a mature poet with great descriptive and imaginative powers. His description of landscape, and the portrayal of the emotions of its characters are done with dexterity. He has a graphic imagination which mingles reality with the fanciful, through a net-work of similes and metaphors. Rightfully does he claim that in this *mathnawī* 'he has dug innerself, in order to bring out the multi-coloured gems'.

در دلی کا ات فکر سوں کھرد کھیں — نکالیا ہوں دلی رنگ برنگی دس

Nuṣratī's masterpiece is however his second book, '*Alī Nāmā*'<sup>32</sup> dedicated to his royal patron 'Alī 'Adil Shāh II. It is an original work, describing his wars against the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb as well as Shivaji. '*Alī Nāmā*' is both a chronicle of history and a work of poetry. It was written in 1076/1665 in the form of *mathnawī*, intercepted by seven *qasidās*, unsurpassed in Dakhni-Urdu literature. These *qasidās* are written in a high-flown style with beautiful images and flashes of imagination. The seventh *qasidā*, which was written after the conquest of Malnār by 'Alī 'Adil Shāh is rightly considered by 'Abdu'l-Haq as one of the finest ever written. With his powerful style, Nuṣratī gave a

29 Cf. "Intiqāb-e Shamā'il-u'l-Atiqā" *Qadīm Urdu*, Vol II, Hyderabad, 1967

30 Ed. Zeenat Sājidā, Hyderabad, 1962, also by Mubārīzud-dīn Raf'at, Aligarh, 1962

31 Ed. Syed Muḥammad, Hyderabad, n.d.

32 Ed. 'Abdu'l Majīd Siddīqī, Hyderabad, 1959

new twist to Dakhni-Urdu. He changed the tradition of Bijapur school of poetry by importing powerful Perso-Arabic vocabulary on the one hand, and on the other using profusely Sanskrit *tatsamas*. In order to expand his expressiveness, he thus broke through the limited poetic diction hitherto employed by the poets. Rightly does he call his '*Alī Nāmā*', the *Shāh Nāmā* of the Deccan,

عجب دن کی دولتیاں ہوں نہ مشہوری — کلا کئی نہایت ہے اس ہمد میں دوی  
اگر کڑھی معیے کزن کر داریسی — پتہ ہے رزمیہ ہندی و فارسی  
کلا دودوں کی حدودی معصہ انکھیاں میں آں — خلاصہ نکالیا ہوں حوش ماندہ جہاں  
کتا ہوں سخن مختصر دے گداں — کلا یوں شاعرانہ دکن کا ہے حاس

I have written a wonderful *mathnavī* which is new in many ways

If any reader thoughtfully reads the epics of Hindī and Persian

He would see for himself that I have an eye on the fine style of both these languages and summarized their excellence in this work

In one word, I might say that this is without doubt the *Shāh Nāmā* of the Deccan

Nusratī's last work *Tārīkh-e Sikandarī* is also historical in its contents. It is the versified account of the exploits of a general of Sikandar 'Adil Shāh against Shivaji, who had begun his inroads into the kingdom of Bijapur. This *mathnavī* was composed in 1672. It is an inferior work compared to '*Alī Nāmā*'. The poet is not at all inspired while composing it. The on-coming fate of the kingdom of Bijapur was heavy on the mind of the poet. He brings out his pent-up anger against the Maratha chief whose inroads were indirectly helping the Mughals who were now at the threshold of Bijapur. Still, there are some memorable lines in this work. 'Abdu'l-Haq has quoted them at length in his critical book on the poet entitled *Nusratī* <sup>33</sup>. The work still remains unedited.

Like Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh and Ghawwāsī, Nusratī stands out as one of the major poets of the Deccan. In many respects he resembles the great Urdu poet Saudā. He is an extrovert, commanding a grand style, writing on grand themes. His poetry however, lacks subjectivity and the consuming fire of a lyricist. He is, nevertheless, reckoned as one of the greatest poets of Dakhni-Urdu.

While Nusratī was singing the glories of the last of the 'Adil Shāhīs, a blind poet, Syed Mirān Miyān Khān "Hāshimī" was busy depicting the life of the imperial *haram*, in his *Rēkhtī*. *Rēkhtī* (as distinguished from *Rēkhtā*) is a form of poetry peculiar to Urdu. In it is expressed the feminine sentiments of love, jealousy, hatred, anger and malice in an idiom native to the feminine

33 'Abdu'l-Haq *Nusratī*, 2nd Ed. Karachi, 1961. It contains extensive selections from this MS, cf., also *Makhṭūtāt Anjuman Taraqqī-e Urdu*, MS No 227, Karachi 1965.

world Hāshimī is said to have been born blind, but there is evidence in his poetry that he must be having normal sight in his childhood. Having lost his sight, he could go freely into the imperial harem and mix with the inmates there. Nusratī, the poet-laureate of the 'Adil Shāhī Court, was contemptuous of his poetry.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, Hāshimī's *Diwān* contains some genuine pieces of poetry. These poems reflect the social conditions of his time. His mastery over the feminine idiom is unsurpassed and his *Rēkhtī* contains all the elements to make him the forerunner of *Rēkhtī* writers of Lucknow School of Poetry.<sup>35</sup>

Besides *rēkhtī*s and *ghazals* Hāshimī also composed an extensive *maṭnāvī*, *Yūsuf Zulaiḡhā*,<sup>36</sup> which is again an evidence of his greatness as a descriptive poet and the insight of this sightless man into the complex emotions of the womenfolk. With Hashimī ends an era of Dakhni literature.

### III Under the Mughals (1687-1724)

In 1686 Bijapur and in 1687 Golkonda were conquered by Aurangzeb. This really marked the closing of an epoch. The cultural, linguistic and literary effects of these conquests were far reaching and have not been fully worked out yet. From a linguistic point of view, Aurangzeb's conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda introduced into Deccan a new idiom of Urdu which had been developing in the North for the last three centuries. While the idiom brought by 'Alāu'd-dīn Khālī and Muḥammad bin Tughluq remained static in Deccan, structural changes had occurred very fast in the North during the centuries, although very few literary efforts were made in this new idiom. With the destruction of Bijapur and Golkonda, the centre of gravity shifted to Aurangābād, the seat of Mughals in the Deccan, which was linguistically in close touch with the North. Some of the writers and poets of the ill-fated kingdoms migrated further to the South where the tradition of Dakhni-Urdu as a literary vehicle survived for nearly a century. The psychological condition of mind of those who stayed back was of a permanent sense of loss. This sense of loss was intensified in view of the fact that Bijapur and Golkonda were stronghold of Shī'ism and most of the writers belonged to this sect. Bereft of political power, an intense kind of religious revival took place in these writers. The revival of *marṭhiyā* writing on an extensive scale in this period is a keen pointer that the political tragedy of the fall of Shī'ite kingdoms of Deccan aroused the memories of Karbalā. Rūḡī, Qādir and Mīrzā<sup>37</sup> all were master *marṭhiyā*-writers of this period. *Marṭhiyā*-writing not only gave them a religious relief, it also provided a kind of *katharsis* to the sorrowing souls. Most

34 Bad'ī Hussainī *Dakan men Rēkhtī ka Irtiqā*, Hyderabad, 1967, 198-205,

35 Ed. A. Hafīz Qatīl. Hyderabad.

36 This important *maṭnāvī* is still unedited. Its MSS are found in the libraries of Salar Jung, Central Library, Hyderabad, and Anyuman Taraqqī-e Urdu, Aligarh.

37 M. O. Zor. *Urdu Shahpārē*, Vol. I, Hyderabad, 1929.

of these *marthiyas* are still unedited and are scattered in different libraries of India and Europe, hence an exact literary evaluation of them is not possible. The reputation of these writers crossed the Vindhya-chal and reached Northern India, as is evident by the inclusion of their names and selections in the *Tadhkirās* of Urdu poets compiled by various northern writers in the second half of the 18th century.

There were however, a few poets who welcomed the Mughal conquest of the Deccan such as Za'ifi who pays glowing tribute to Aurangzeb and calls him 'a holy man' and 'builder of Islām' <sup>38</sup>

The three writers who devoted themselves mainly to *marthiyas* as described above, were Rūhī, Mīrzā and Qādir. Very little is known about the details of their lives, but the specimen of their writings which have come down to us mark them out as masters of their art. In Zor's opinion some of these *marthiyas* are shrouded elegies of the downfall of Golkonda <sup>39</sup>

The downfall of the political power in Deccan led the writers of the Deccan towards another swing as well. The Dakhni-Urdu literature of the 17th century was marked for its romantic and secular themes. We now find writers interested again, like those of the Bahmani period, in religious themes and traditions. Shaikh Dāwūd Za'ifi's *Hidayāt-e Hindī*<sup>40</sup> (1688) is one such compilation. Shāh 'Ināyat wrote in 1699 a *mathnavī*, *Nūr Nāmā* in praise of Prophet Muhammad <sup>41</sup>

However, the most important poet of this religio-mystic group was Mahmūd Bahrī, from whose extensive writings survive a *Kulliyāt*<sup>42</sup> and two mystical *mathnavīs*, *Man Lagan*<sup>43</sup> and *Bangāb Nāmā* <sup>44</sup>. Very few details of the life of this important poet are known. His *mathnavī*, *Man Lagan*, which is a mystical poem, provides certain details of his life and his spiritual development after his stormy youth. It is interesting to note that according to his own testimony, Bahrī was saved for himself by the art of poetry which channelised the consuming fires of his soul. Says he, 'By god, this fire would have consumed me completely had it not been for Kabeshirī (Poesie) which saved my soul'. After the capitulation of Bijapur, his soul, aglow with the flames of poetry, Bahrī migrated to Hyderabad with a heavy load of a box containing the manuscripts of his poetry. This box was stolen in Hyderabad.

38 M Q Zor, *Dastan-e Adab e Hyderabad*, Hyderabad 47-49

39 *Ibid*, 43-46

40 *Ibid*, 47

41 *Ibid*, 49

42 Ed Hafiz Sayyid, Allahabad

43 Ed Sakhawāt Mīrzā, Karachi

44 MSS of this *mathnavī* are deposited in the libraries of Salar Jung and Idara e Adabiyāt-i Urdu, Hyderabad

which gave Bahri a rude shock. It was here that at the behest of the governor of Hyderabad, he wrote his famous mystical work, *Man Iagan* thereafter leaving the place for his home-town Gōgi, where he died in 1718.

Besides the mystical *Man Iagan*, Bahri is noted for a large number of shorter lyrics (ghazals) on mystical themes. The diction of Bahri's poetry is quite different from those of his contemporaries of Aurangābād like Wali. He is nearer to the old Dakhni idiom, especially that which was developed by the Bijapur school containing Sanskrit vocabulary and Hindu philosophical terminology. The themes of his poetry are mystical and moral. His reputation as a Sūfī was greater than as a poet. He constantly harps on the nature of reality, eternal love, ego and selflessness. His style lacks refinement but has the remarkable clarity of truth and deep faith. No wonder his mathnavī, *Man Iagan*, was one of the most popular and favourite books of the mystical circles of south India and was copied, annotated and published more than once after his death.

We now pass on to a new centre of Urdu literature in the Deccan, Aurangābād, which was a bridgehead between the South and the North. It was through this centre that literary and linguistic movements assumed a two-way traffic and ultimately led to the spread of new idiom of Urdu in the Deccan. To this school belongs Wali,<sup>45</sup> the greatest poet of the period. Wali's greatness lies in more than one factor. He was the torch bearer who carried the flame of Dakhni-Urdu poetry to the Persian ridden North in 1700. His poetical work was the gateway through which modern Urdu, as developed in the North during the 15th and 16th centuries, recoiled back on its older form in Deccan. It was Wali who established firmly the roots of Urdu poetry in the North and was hailed there as the 'Father of Urdu Poetry'.<sup>46</sup> Says a leading poet of Delhi, 'Verily he is a Satan who is critical of Wali's poetry'. On the other hand, he was the first poet to realise after visiting Delhi that much change had taken place since the fourteenth century when the dialect of Delhi was first imported into the Deccan, and now a new idiom had changed the very texture of the language in the north.

There is a great controversy about the place and date of his birth. He is popularly known as Wali of the Deccan. Some scholars however, trace his origin to Ahmadābād in Gujarat.<sup>47</sup> The fact is, that there never existed much difference in the varieties of Urdu as spoken in Gujarat or Aurangābād area. Wali's language in his earlier work is much more Dakhni than is the case with his later works. On the one hand his poetic diction is not so archaic

45 Nūru'l-Hasan Hāshimī (Ed.) *Kulliyāt-i Wali*, Delhi, 1945.

46 Muḥammad Hussain Āzād *Āb-e Hayāt*, Lahore.

47 S. Ṣāhiru'd-dīn Madanī *Wali Gujarātī*, Bombay, 1950, 52-60.

as that of the poets of Golkonda and Bijapur, on the other it was not totally acceptable to his admirers in Delhi

Another aspect of Walī's greatness lies in his choice of the poetic form of *ghazal*, neglected by the poets of the Dakhnī-Urdu. He is a mystic, but unlike his contemporary Bahrī, is a consummate artist. By popularizing *ghazal* Walī changed the whole movement of Urdu poetry from the objective to the subjective, from the extensive to the intensive, from the dramatic to the lyrical. Henceforth Urdu poetry became synonymous with the *ghazal*. It was through his achievement in lyrical poetry that Walī captured the imagination of the poets of Delhi and held his sway over Urdu poetry for centuries thereafter.

With Walī not only the *ghazal* became supreme, but Perso-Arabic literary and linguistic elements also became stronger in Urdu. In his poetry, as a mystic he usually talks of divine love, yet his imagery and metaphors are derived from sensuous mundane love (*'Ishq-e majāzī*). Says he

My love ! draw the veil gradually from thine face !

Slowly ! just like the rose-bud opening slowly !

Besides the *ghazal* Walī also tried his hand at other forms of poetry. His long-poem describing Sūrat, the city of Gujarat, is memorable for its graphic description.

The last two great poets of this period are Syed Muhammad Khān 'Ishratī and Wajdī, both outside the pale of Aurangābād school of poetry and writing in the classical Dakhnī style. Wajdī lived late into the Aṣaf Jāhī period, yet his first important work *Panchī Bachhā*<sup>48</sup> was composed in 1146/1718. It is a free translation of Farīdu'd-dīn 'Aṭṭār's Persian work *Mantiqatu't-tair*. 'Ishratī was the last great poet of this tradition and was considered by some of his followers as equal to the great Bijapurī poet, Nusratī. His two important *mathnavīs*, *Dīpak-Patang* and *Chit-Lagan* are still unedited.

#### IV Assessment of the literary contribution of the Deccan to Urdu Literature

To recapitulate, the Mughal conquest of the Deccan meant the disintegration of a culture, language and literature. Although the language originated in the North and was brought to the Deccan it developed in isolation under the Bahmanīs, the 'Adil Shāhīs and the Quṭb Shāhīs. In the wake of the second conquest of the Deccan by the North, Urdu came in its new garb and established itself again in the Aurangābād region to spread further south under the Asaf Jāhīs. A new struggle between the Old Urdu (Dakhnī) and New Urdu (*'Muhāwara-e Shāhjahānābād*) began in this period. The old Urdu gave place to the new in the coming centuries and receded back to become a

48 Ed. Syed Muhammad, Hyderabad, 1959

dialect just like Braj Bhāshā and Awadhī in the North. This change-over was complete by the middle of the 18th century when Dakhni-Urdu ceased to be a literary medium except in the far off Karnatak and Mysore regions.

Old Urdu literature, as it flourished in the Deccan, forms an integral part of the literary history of this language. It is unfortunate that literary gems of this period first came to light only during the thirties of this century. Whatever has been regained of this literature during the last forty years, has added a new chapter to the history of Urdu literature. Its significance lies in the fact that it immediately became the source-material for Urdu literary history. All the poetic forms and most of the trends for which Urdu poetry of the 17th and 18th centuries is distinguished, have their sprouting on the soil of Deccan. *Mathnavi*, *Qasida*, *Ghazal*, *Rakhtā* and *Rakht* as well as styles of narrative and descriptive poetry were first developed in the Deccan. Dakhni literature contained certain linguistic and social trends which were unfortunately lost in later periods. In the Deccan a linguistic balance between the Indian and Perso-Arabic elements has been achieved. This balance was disturbed as the centre of literary activity shifted to the North in the 18th century. Similarly purely Indian elements and sentiments were the principal themes of inspiration in Dakhni-Urdu literature. Even the mystic thought was dominated by indigenous elements. This synthesis underwent a basic change in North during the 18th century. Even in poetic forms emphasis shifted from *mathnavi* to *ghazal*, from narrative and descriptive poetry to lyrical and highly subjective and symbolic poetry, so much so, that *ghazal* became synonymous with Urdu Poetry.



(iii) KANNADA

by Dr. P. B. DESAI

*Synopsis*

The Spirit of Freedom. New Trends. Religious Propaganda. Growth of Viraśaiva Literature. The Jaina Contribution. The Brahmanic Writers. Patronage of Mysore Rulers. Bhakti Movements - Haridāśas. Vyāsa Purandhara and Kanaka. Kannaḍa Inscriptions.



## *The Spirit of Freedom*

From the middle of the twelfth century to the fourteenth, Kannada language and literature underwent a great change. The language, which had borrowed its vocabulary freely from Sanskrit and shared many common features with Telugu and Tamil, attained a distinct individuality of its own with a richness not surpassed by its sister languages. In literature bold departures from the traditional forms of expression were made, this tendency to seek novel modes of writing being mainly due to the effort of Vīraśaiva teachers. The revolt of Basava and his associates was against the inhibitions and impositions of social and religious traditions and practices which had outlived their utility and hampered progress. This revolt could be seen in the literature of the period as well.

Significant of the new spirit of freedom, the old, ponderous *champū* form of composition slowly gave place to the terseness and buoyancy of the new metrical forms, *Tripadī*, *Śatpadī*, *Ragalē* and *Sāngatya*, though the *champū* continued to be used by some writers. The spirit of freedom introduced by Vīraśaivism was seen in the *Vachana* composition of a galaxy of eminent *Vachanakāras*,<sup>1</sup> the most illustrious of whom are Basava whose compositions are characterised by a spirit of intense devotion,<sup>2</sup> Allama Prabhu whose utterances are those of a God-realised soul<sup>3</sup> and Akkamahādevī who poured out her feelings of complete surrender to her god-lover Chennamallikārjuna in expressions of incomparable tenderness and charm. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Kannada language and literature thus broke loose from the trammels of rigid tradition and usage and struck new paths of its own.<sup>4</sup>

As for the contributions, while the earlier Jaina writers helped the development of the grand epic mode of literary composition, the Vīraśaiva writers introduced the *Dēśī* or popular mode of writing with its simpler but equally effective forms. Thus were imparted richness and variety into Kannada literature. With the decline of Jainism there was a corresponding decline in Jaina literary productions also, this lacuna was filled by the new popular literature which rose with the *Vachanas* of Basava. The Vīraśaiva writers contributed generously to the growth and enrichment of the Kannada language and literature. This renaissance, however, received a set-back some time after the death of Basava. Kalyāṇ was devastated about 1200 and the Lingāyats were

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1 R S Mugali, *Kannada Sāhitya Charitrē*, 258

2 *Basavannanavara Shatssthalā Vachanagaḷu*, edited by S S Basavanāḷ, 1954 pp 15 16, *Vachanas* Nos 56 to 59

3 Allama Prabhuvinā *Vachanagaḷu*

4 Mahādeviyakkana *Vachanagaḷu*, edited by F G Halakatti

scattered. This led to a temporary decline in the Lingāyat literary output. Thus in the thirteenth century, the Jaina and Virāṣaiva literatures were on the wane, though never extinct.

### *New Trends*

In the thirteenth century, the political condition of South India was disturbed on account of the contest for hegemony between the Yādavas and the Hoysalas, and the danger of northern inroads into the peninsula. But this unsettled state did not much affect the advance in the literary field. A distinct impetus was given to the literary development with the favourable political condition of Karnatak after the establishment of the empire of Vijayanagar in 1336. Even in the thirteenth century, writers like Āṇḍayya (c. 1235) showed the way for a free, imaginative way of writing.<sup>5</sup> He employed a language which was virtually Kannada, though it contained many words derived from Sanskrit. His object seems to have been to show that the Kannada language was already rich enough to express profound thought without borrowing from Sanskrit. The subject he chose is a blend of the temporal and the spiritual, worldly and other-worldly.<sup>6</sup> His characters are Kāma (the god of love), Jaina Muni (Jaina ascetic) and the god Śiva. These characters are intended to stand for the mundane and the heavenly forces which operate to decide the destiny of man. There is a freedom in his flight of fancy and a charm in his style.

In this period—just prior to the fourteenth century—arose also some writers who produced works on poetics and allied subjects. Mallikārjuna made a collection of earlier literary passages in the *Sūktisudhārṇava*, (c. 1245) the earliest anthology in Kannada.<sup>7</sup> In his selection and arrangement of passages he has shown the true critic's discrimination and judgment. His son Kēśirāja wrote the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* (c. 1260), a work in *Kanda* verse on Kannada grammar. This exercised a profound influence on later writers. The quality which distinguishes this treatise from similar writings in Tamil and Telugu is its formulation of rules and the use of copious illustrations from earlier writers. Its *vr̥tti*, commentary in prose, makes a delightful as well as helpful reading. Works on sciences like medicine, geography etc. were also written during this period. The way was now being prepared for the rise of Haridāsa's *Dāsasāhitya* or "Literature of Intense Devotion" in a personal god of Vaishṇava faith by the writings of Rudrabhatta (c. 1185), author of the *Jagannātha Vijaya*, and Naraharī Tirtha (c. 1281). Of the latter's songs, only two are extant.

### *Religious Propaganda*

Chauṇḍarasa lived about 1300. He rendered Daṇḍī's *Daśakumāra-charita* into Kannada in the *champū* style, introducing new forms of expression.

5 Āṇḍayya *Kabbigara Kāva*, edited by Jāvarī Gowḍa, 1964 edition.

6 *The works of Āṇḍayya* Introduction by D. R. Bendre, 3 and 4.

7 Mallikārjuna *Sūktisudhārṇava*.

with a view to making it popular and pleasing. It was probably in imitation of the simple, easily understood style of the Viraśaiva writers who were able to reach the masses that some Jaina writers also adopted a new easy *Champū* style of writing which could appeal to the common people. In his *Dharmaparīkṣhe* the poet Vṛttavilāsa (c. 1360) clearly stated that he wrote in Kannada to enable all people to read his book.<sup>8</sup>

Poetry became means of religious propaganda for the Jaina writers also. A freshness of approach in poetic composition could be seen in the *Rāmāyana* of Kumudēndu Munī (c. 1225) who wrote this work in conformity with the Jaina tradition. It is in the *Śatpadī* metre and seems to have been influenced by the *Pampa Rāmāyana*. Under the patronage of Hoysala monarchs Rattakavi (c. 1300) wrote the *Ratta Mata* a semi-scientific work on natural phenomena. Nāgarāja (c. 1331) was another poet whose *Punyāśrava* sought to popularise Jaina dharma. He gave in his book a graphic account of fifty-two Jaina Purāṇic heroes illustrating the different virtues of a Jaina *grihastha* or householder.

The rise of the empire of Vijayanagar in the fourteenth century, and the liberal and catholic attitude adopted by its emperors, inaugurated an era of great literary activity by Jaina, Vaiṣṇava and Lingāyat writers. The aim of most of these writers was to spread their respective religious tenets among the masses. Thus the Lingāyat writers gave graphic accounts of the life and achievements of the Śaiva devotees just as the Jaina writers described the lives of their *Tīrthankaras*.

Illustrative of this tendency among the Viraśaiva writers to glorify their great religious leaders is the *Basavapurāṇa*, written by Bhīmakavi (c. 1369). As this author himself states, it is based upon Pāṅkurikē Somanātha's *Basavapurāṇamu* in Telugu. The *Śatpadī* mode of poetic composition, begun by Rāghavāṅka, is continued by this poet with greater success.<sup>9</sup> One can see in this work how the *Śatpadī* metre lends itself to the portrayal of pompous themes and exposition of nuances of thought and feeling. Earlier, Harihara had written on the life of Basava in his *Basavarājadevara Ragalē*, but the treatment of Basava's life and work in it was more than of a historical narration. Bhīmakavi's treatment, however, is Purāṇic. He describes the miracles performed by his hero, who is an incarnation of Nandī, in glowing terms, imparting a fresh colour and impressiveness to his descriptions, though it is only a rendering into Kannada of the Telugu original. Another Viraśaiva poet of the same period is Padmaṇāṅka (c. 1385) who wrote the *Padmarājapurāṇa* in the *Vārdhaka-satpad* metre. His style, however, is ponderous and at times affected, though he shows abilities in pure and elegant Kannada composition.

8 R S Mugali *Kannada Sahitya Charitṛe* 213

9 Bhīma Kavi *Basava Purāṇa* edited by R C Hiremath, 5, stanza 16

### *Growth of Virasaiva Literature*

The writers of the fifteenth century came under the full impact of the new literary trends, and we see in most of them an enrichment of themes and new modes of expression. Among the Virasaiva writers Chāmarasa, an Ārādhyā Brahman, may first be taken. He wrote the *Prabhulingalile* a work on the life of Allama Prabhu who has been described here as an incarnation of Śiva. The work was translated both into Tamil and Telugu.

Nijagūṇaśivayōgi was one of the most celebrated among the Virasaiva writers. It is said that he was a ruling chief in his early days but later he renounced the world and became a yōgi. He took up different forms of verse for his writing and wrote with equal facility in each of them. His *Kuvalapad-dhati* contains songs in lucid Kannaḍa and some of them are inspiring. The *Paramānubhavabōdhē* noted for its clarity and grace of expression, is in the Sāngatya metre. The *Anubhavasāra*, in *Tripadī* form, unfolds the broad outlines of Advaitic philosophy with pleasing catholicity of approach and interpretation, while his *Paramārthagītē* in *Kanda* and *Ragalē* form, expounds the ways of attaining *Mōksha*. The *Aruvattumūvara Trividhi* is written in *Tripadī* metre and contains the lives of the earlier saints. In the *Paramārthaprakāśikē* he expounds, in prose, the tenets and principles of Sivayōga. His outstanding work, however, is the *Vivēkachintāmani*, an encyclopaedia of all important current knowledge. It is not restricted to any religion, class or sect, and contains 765 topics of important aspects of life in general. It is an invaluable gift of the great thinker to Kannaḍa literature. Nijagūṇaśivayōgi really reflects the spirit of the time—assiduous, eager, unbiassed inquiry into the truth of things, and an earnestness to spread knowledge among the common people.

This upsurge of literary activity among the Virasaiva writers covered all fields—purāṇic, philosophical and ethical. Lakkanna Dandēsa, and Gu-bbiya Mallanāraya<sup>10</sup> were prominent among those who expounded the Virasaiva doctrine in their writings, and these, however, are not without literary merit. Quite a large number of writers give accounts of the lives of the Saiva devotees and religious leaders. Chāmarasa's work mentioned above is an outstanding example of this class, and Virupāksha Pandita's *Channabasava Purāṇa* (1584) also belongs to the same category. Shadakasharadēva (c 1635), another Virasaiva scholar and poet, wrote three works, *Rajasekharavilāsa*, *Basavarājaviṇaya* and *Śabaraśankaravilāsa* in the seventeenth century. The second of these is a Purāṇic account of Basava. Poems which could easily be set to music were composed by the devotees of Śiva even during the time of Basavēśvara, but their number was not large. They received a spurt from the writings of Muppina Shadakshari who was a contemporary of Nijagūṇaśivayōgi and Sarpabhūshana, who came later. One refreshing characteristic feature

10 Lakkanna Dandēsa *Śiva Tattva Chintāmaṇi*, edited by S. Basappa

of these writers is that they rise above the limitations of caste or creed and uphold pure faith and devotion

*Satakas* or poems of about 100 stanzas were composed during this period, most of them by the Vīraśaiva poets. A characteristic quality of these poems is that they are serious in thought and tone, without a trace of the sensual or the romantic, they are concerned with faith and high moral values. Though quite a large number of writers took to this mode of composition, Maggeya Māyidēva is the most outstanding of them. The *Sataka* triad of his *Śivādha-vasataka*, *Śivāvallabhaśataka* and *Aipurisvaraśataka* deal respectively with the three pathways to God-realisation—Knowledge, Faith and Renunciation. In all the three *Satakas* one sees the intense devotion of the seeker as also the earnest desire of a teacher to spread his ideas among the people.

Perhaps the greatest among the Vīraśaiva writers—from the point of view of their impact on the masses—was Sarvajna, regarding whose life very little is known. He is supposed to have lived about the seventeenth century. It is difficult to label him as a Vīraśaiva, for his *Tripadis* breathe a spirit of humanity far above the limitations of caste, creed or sect. Probably disappointed in his domestic life, he took to a life of wandering from his boyhood, gaining knowledge and experience and through them wisdom from his contact with people of all classes and all levels. He poured out his thoughts and feelings in verses of *Tripadi* metre, concise, pointed, sometimes mildly sarcastic, but always of such a pattern as to enable the common man to understand. He expressed himself in simple, direct language to the thoughts and feelings which everyone had but could not express. He was of the masses, like Vēmana or Tukārām. Like them he preached the vanity of religious ostentation, the hollowness of social pretensions and the paramount need of earnestness and sincerity in life. His was the religion of humanity, to him every human being, having a spark of the divine, is sacred, and service to man is service to God.<sup>11</sup> This universality of appeal ranks him among the greatest literary and social teacher. There is no Kannadiga who is not acquainted with at least a few of his *Tripadis*.

The only Vīraśaiva poet to write on a historical theme was Nanjunda who belonged to the sixteenth century. His *Kumārārāmanakathe* deals with the fascinating story of Kumārārāma of Kummata Durga who laid down his life fighting against the invaders from the north in the fourteenth century.

### *The Jaina Contribution*

With the rise of the Vīraśaiva and Brahman writers there was a set-back to the literary activity of the Jaina writers. The ascendancy of Saivism and its leaders pushed the Jainas into the background. The Jaina faith and its ideals

11 *Sarvagnāna Vachanagalu* edited by Uttangi Channappa, Introduction 28, 29

lost their hold and popularity among the people. There were Jaina writers during the Vijayanagar period along with the Brahman and Viraśaiva writers, but they were not as prominent as in the earlier periods. The general tendency of almost all writers was to write vivid, and often adulatory, accounts of the lives of their respective religious teachers with a view to provide inspiration to the common people. Secular topics were also taken up. But with regard to religious subjects each writer took up the lives of the leaders of his own sect. This enriched their literary output. It also avoided the monotony of different writers dealing with the same Purāṇic stories, as it happened in the earlier centuries. This outlook and new trends in the choice of subject-matter provided an incentive to them to turn their attention to contemporary persons as well. It led to a broadening of the scope of the subject-matter in literary composition.

In the earlier period of the Vijayanagar empire two Jaina writers, Bāhubali (c 1360) and Madhura (c 1385) wrote on the life of Dharmanātha, the fifteenth Tīrthankara. Both wrote in the classical *Champū* style and were among the last to adopt that traditional mode of composition. Madhura enjoyed the patronage of Muddaṇṇādaṇḍanātha, a minister of Harihara. His *Dharmanāthapurāṇa* and *Gommaṣaṭataka*, which is a short poem on *Gommaṭēśvara* of Sravaṇabelagoḷa, contain pleasing descriptions of natural scenery. The authorship of an inscription near the Krishna temple at Hampi is ascribed to Madhura who wrote it in 1410 when he was under the patronage of Lakshmiḍhara, a minister of Dēvarāya I. Mangarasa the third (c 1508) was another Jaina poet who wrote profusely. He was the ruler of Kallahaḷi. He has written in *Śatpadī* and *Sāṅgatyā* metres and the most notable of his works is *Nēmuṇēśasangati*, a work on the history of Tīrthankaras in the *Sāṅgatyā* metre. An outstanding characteristic of his writing is his pleasing descriptions of nature, town, and countryside, which add beauty and interest to the story without being obtrusive. His characters stand out in clear perspective and in catholicity of outlook, delicate humour, balance between the temporal and the spiritual, he seems to anticipate the richness and picturesqueness of Ratnakaravarṇi.

Bhāskara, who wrote in the first half of the fifteenth century is another outstanding Jaina poet. The life of Jivandhara, a colourful and pious prince, who boldly stood against the malignance of his evil-minded minister Kashthāṅgara who passed through a number of romantic experiences in the process, and ultimately succeeded in overcoming his enemy, was a favourite subject for poets, since it afforded a wide scope for the treatment of adventure, romance, and also the exposition of moral truths. Bhāskara's *Jivandhāracharita* treats of the life of this prince and closely conforms to the story related by earlier writers like Vādibhasimha who lived in the twelfth century. One prominent characteristic, however, distinguishes him



from the other writers who have dealt with the life of Jivandhara. The influence of the Bhakti cult, of the idea of complete surrender to God, are to be noticed in his writing, mixed with the praise of Jina. He states that he was the son of the Brahman Basavāṅka. Perhaps he was by birth a Brahman and became a Jaina later. This explains the presence of the Bhāgavata tradition mixed with Jainism in his writings. Kōtēśvara of the Tuluva region, in his *Jivandhara Śatpadī* and Bommarasa of Terakanambi in his *Jivandhara Sāṅgatyā* have also written about Jivandhara.

As seen above, the traditional *Champū* style of writing was being abandoned in favour of other modes of poetic composition, but some writers seem to have been against its total abandonment. This can be seen in the *Kāvyaśāra* of Abhinavavādī Vidyānanda (1533)<sup>12</sup> He was a noted champion of the Jaina religion and is said to have successfully defended that religion at the courts of the emperor and provincial governors. Like the *Sūktisudhārnava* of Mallikārjuna, his *Kāvyaśāra* is a compilation of passages from other writers as examples of the traditional eighteen items of description, and a large majority of these excerpts, over a thousand in 45 chapters, are mainly from the *champū* works. This book is helpful to those who want to make a comparative study of different poets. Sāḷva (1500) was another poet of note. He is said to have been patronized by a king named Sāḷvamalla in the Konkan area. He wrote the *Sāḷva Bhārata* and *Rasaratnākara*. The former is a Jaina version in *Śatpadī* metre of the *Mahābhārata* in sixteen chapters, including the history of Harivamśa and Kuruvamśa. In his *Rasaratnākara* all the traditional nine rasas (tastes, feelings or sentiments prevailing in literary works) are explained with examples from many writers.

The greatest among the Jaina writers of the period was Ratnākaravarṇi who lived in the sixteenth century. He was a native of Mūdabidrē in the South Kanara region. Jainism flourished in the region round about Mūdabidrē and Kārkaḷa. He grew up in an environment conducive to the growth of learning and had eminent preceptors like Chārūkīrti and Hamsanātha. His *Trilōka śaṭaka* describes the three worlds according to the Jaina conception, while his *Aparājita-śaṭaka* is mainly theological.

His outstanding work—a work which ranks him among the greatest of Kannada poets—is the *Bharatēśa-Vaibhava*<sup>13</sup> This work of about ten thousand stanzas is said to have been completed in nine months. It deals with the life of Bharata, the son of the first Tīrthankara. Bharata undertakes an expedition

12 Abhinava Vādividyānanda *Kāvyaśāra* Karnataka Kavya Manjari publication

[The dates given in this section are only approximate and do not denote either the birth or the death of the writer concerned but only certain important works which might have a passing reference to the dates of their compilation. Ed.]

13 *Bharatēśvara Vaibhava Sangraha*, edited by T S Sham Rao, Introduction, page 76

of conquest and establishes his superiority over all kings acquiring immense quantities of treasure given as tribute as also a large number of wives. He finally arrives at Paudanapura, the capital of the country over which his brother Bāhubali was ruling. A fratricidal war that would have ensued is prevented by his inducing Bāhubali not to resist him. Bāhubali then renounces the world and becomes an ascetic.

The central character of the poem is Bharata. He has been described as an ideal prince is also a peerless man who is in the world but is not of it, who takes the pleasures of his imperial position with unaffected stoicism of a true *Yogi* and whose spiritual poise and idealism are never disturbed by the circumstances and demands of his imperial position. The poet gives fascinating pen pictures of his hero's temporal life in a series of descriptions in which the reader sees the restraint along with the richness of a true artist, in verse Bāhubali has been immortalised by Chāvundirāya in an epic in stone — in the figure of Gommatēśvara at Sravanabelgoḷa. Bāhubali's brother Bharata is given the same celebrity in the *Bharatēśa-Vaibhava*, where the hero stands out as an individual in whom the temporal and the spiritual are blended in perfect harmony. His activities—even his amours in the midst of his ninety-six thousand queens — are described in detail but with a refreshing restraint, showing that though he lived a sensual life he was not a slave to his desires for his mind and heart were set on salvation. Reading this grand epic one is reminded of Śrī Krishna's exhortation to Arjuna to carry on his duties as a Kshatriya without the least attachment, so that his temporal actions would become a means of spiritual realisation. The descriptions are vivid and couched in a language which is apt, rarely overdrawn, and yet reveals the finest literary craftsmanship.

The Jaina poets who came after Ratnākaravarṇi, chiefly wrote, perhaps as the result of his influence, in the *Sāṅgatyā* metre. But none of these poets were able to reach the eminence of Ratnākaravarṇi. The old *champu* style, the classical *Kandas* and *Vṛttas*, were given up in favour of the *Śatpadī* and *Sāṅgatyā* forms, especially the latter.

In this connection it is necessary to mention, an outstanding book written by Bhattakaṇkadēva in the early years of the seventeenth century. He was a disciple of the Jaina guru of Hāḍuvaḷḷi-matha in the South Kanara region and was a profound scholar of Sanskrit and Kannaḍa. His *Śabdānuśāsana* is an important book on Kannaḍa grammar. It contains 592 *sūtras* or rules on Kannaḍa language and idiom. The *sūtras*, the *vyākhyā* or commentary and the *vṛtti* or gloss, are all in Sanskrit. This work exercised, by its clear elucidation of the principles and rules of grammar and idiom a considerable influence on the later development of Kannaḍa language and literature. Quotations from the earlier writers are profuse, and the author clearly states that his aim in writing this book was to bring to the notice of scholars the

richness of the Kannada language and to help in its further development. The treatment of the subject-matter in this book is more elaborate and generally more precise than in the *Śabdamanidarpana* of Kēsirāja.

### *The Brahmanic Writers*

Now arose into prominence poets, most of them of the Brahmanic persuasion, who popularised the Bhakti way of approach in religion, which had come down from early times. Brahman poets who studied and wrote only in Sanskrit till now, began to write in Kannada, using all the prevalent modes of poetic composition—*Śatpadi*, *Sāngatya*, *Tripadi*, songs, and even the *Champu*. They selected their subjects from the epics and the Purāṇas, and popularised the moral and spiritual ideas of the Vēdas and the Purāṇas among the people, making no distinctions of caste or creed. While some took up the ancient stories of adventure, heroism, religious devotion and romance and wrote them in Kannada, others, fired by missionary zeal, gave up their worldly possessions and took to a wandering mendicant life, singing songs of moral and religious fervour, trying to lift their fellowmen above the sordidness of mundane existence. Some of these songs, coming out of the depths of spiritual realisation, are gems of literary composition. They turned people's attention from the trivialities of everyday life to the glories of a life of devotion, kindness and charity.

Among the ancient epics and Purāṇas that caught the imagination of poets and inspired them to write in Kannada was the *Mahābhārata*. Pampa selected material for his epic from this work as early as in the tenth century. The next great poet to be inspired similarly was Kumāravayāsa who flourished about the fifteenth century. From many points of view, his *Gadugina Bhārata*, inspired and guided, as he says, by god Vīranarāyaṇa of Gadag, is the greatest epic after Pampa's classic. He took up the story of the Mahābhārata for his poem, but he did not blindly follow the original. In fact, the story, commencing from Ādiparva, ends with Gadāparva. Perhaps he felt that this field was ample for his epic survey and his interpretation of the mighty forces that swayed the events. He looked at the story from the Bhāgavata point of view. To him the fratricidal war between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas signified the interplay of the mighty forces of Good and Evil and the utter futility of the aims and ambitions, the endeavours and struggles, of the mere man, for everything in this ephemeral universe is guided and ordained by divine dispensation. So Śrī Krishna, who had attained the eminence of an Avatāra of God, is the hero for him, for it was he who directed the actions of men.<sup>14</sup> This view gave the necessary unity of conception in his treatment of the story. Every character stood out clearly and distinctively in his vision. With unerring insight and unsurpassed mastery over the Kannada

14 *Karnāṭaka Bhārata Kathāmanjari* edited by K. V. Puttappa and Masthi Venkatesha Iyengar

language, he describes the mighty drama as he visualises it. To appreciate the beauty, the dignity and the sublimity of this epic one must listen to its reading set to music. While maintaining the elevation and dignity of the original *Bhārata*, Kumāravṛyāsa has imparted to his narration a charm and an emotional content of his own.

Kumāravṛyāsa's story stops with Gadāparva, and the remaining seven cantos or *parvas* were written by Timmanna Kavi (c 1510) who was one of the court poets under Krishnadēvarāya. The emperor himself is said to have entrusted him with the task, saying that his *Bhārata* should be like the Yamuna flowing into the main current of the Ganga. Timmanna Kavi's writing, which undoubtedly possessed great literary merit, is still a subsidiary to the Kumāravṛyāsa's epic, for there is not in it the spontaneity, the emotional intensity and the magnificent vision of the *Gadugina Bhārata*.

Inspired by Kumāravṛyāsa, Kumāravālmiki (c 1500) wrote the *Rāmāyana* of Vālmiki in Kannaḍa. He was a devotee of Narasiṃha of Toravē near Bijapur and called his work *Toravē Rāmāyana*. All the Kāṇḍas or cantos of Vālmiki have been translated in *Bhāmint Śatpadi* and there are more than five thousand stanzas. Though the story follows the main lines of the original there are some changes indicating the Bhāgavata influence on the poet. Rāma is an incarnation of Viṣṇu, Mantharē is represented as *Māyā*, and Rāvaṇa is made ultimately to feel remorse for coveting Sītā. The subject selected for treatment is undoubtedly grand, but Kumāravālmiki falls short of Kumāravṛyāsa in bringing out the beauty, grandeur and pathos of the original, though in some places there are flashes of epic charm as for instance when he describes the distraught in the hapless Daśaratha, who is forced to send his beloved Rama to the forest.<sup>15</sup>

Another poet is Chātuviththalanātha (c 1530) who is supposed to have written both the *Bhārata* and the *Bhāgavata* in Kannaḍa. Whether this *Bhāgavata* is the work of a single poet or not, it is not without literary merit, and it helped the growth of the Bhāgavata tradition. There are in it more than twelve thousand verses in 280 chapters. Kanakadāsa (c 1550) belongs to the galaxy of Haridāśas who will be treated in detail later, but it is necessary to mention his work in this connection, because, his *Naḷacharitrē* is one of the finest poems in Kannaḍa, with its simple but appealing language, its easy flow of narration, charming descriptions and light humour. His *Rāmadhānya-charitre* is an amusingly imaginative creation in which there is a dialogue between the foodgrains, Rice and Rāgi, where the latter, the poor man's nutriment, establishes its superiority over the former, and is therefore given the name 'Rāghava' by Śrī Rāmā himself.

15 Kumāra Vālmiki *Toravē Rāmāyana* edited by N. Basavaradhya, Ayōdhyakaṇḍa 172

Lakshmiśa, author of the popular *Jaimini Bhārata*, lived about the middle of the sixteenth century. He wrote the story of the *Aśvamēdha Parva* in the Mahābhārat. It is a free rendering into Kannada of the Sanskrit original, *Asva Jaimini* or *Jaimini Bhārata* ascribed to Jaimini. It is entirely in the *Śatpadi* metre, which he has utilised with consummate artistry throughout, infusing into his narration a rare charm and beauty, making the sound echo the sense in refreshing eloquence. The story is a narration of various episodes during the wanderings of the Pāṇdavas' sacrificial horse in a number of regions, like Sudhanva's Champakapūra, Babhruvahāna's Maṇipura, Ratnapura the capital of Mayuradhvaja and Kuntala of Chandrahāsa. Lakshmiśa as a poet is at his best in the story of Chandrahāsa, which is one of the most popular poems in the Kannada language.<sup>16</sup> A unity of tone is given to the whole work by making it breathe throughout the Bhāgavata spirit, that is devotion to Śrī Kṛishṇa. It would not have been inappropriate if the *Jaimini Bhārata* had been named *Kṛishna-Charitrē*.

Gōpakavi or Gōvinda (c 1650) author of *Nandi Mahātmya* and *Chitra-bhārata*, and Nagarāsa (c 1650) who translated the *Bhāgavadgītā* into Kannada, were two other poets of this period, and both of them belonged to the Bhāgavata tradition.

#### *Patronage of Mysore Rulers*

In the seventeenth century Mysore came to the forefront as a political power and its rulers became great patrons of learning. An interesting change was now seen in the selection of the material for literary composition. Almost for the first time history came to be handled by poets and scholars. About the middle of the seventeenth century came *Kaṇṭhīravanarasarājā Vijaya* in the Sāṅgatyā metre, giving a detailed contemporary account of the condition of the country. The authorship of this work is ascribed to Gōvinda Vaidya or Bhārati Nanja. The subject-matter of the poem is the invasion and defeat of the Bijapur general Randaul-ā Khān at the hands of Kāṇṭhīrava Narasarāja, which is described with great vividness and charm. In spite of its being a work which deals with the actual events of history without any encrustations of legend or myth, it contains passages of real poetic beauty.

During the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wōḍeyar (1672-1704) Srīvaiśṇava writers came to great prominence, though the faith of Śrī Rāmanuja had its followers in Karnatak from the twelfth century onwards. The old *champū* form of composition was again revived. Chikkadēvarāja himself was a writer of merit in addition to being an ardent patron of learned men. The *Chikkadēvarāja-binnapa*, *Gita-gōpāla*, *Bhārata*, *Bhāgavata* and *Seshadharma* are the works attributed to him. It is sometimes argued in this connection that the first two works were not his own and might have been written by his minister

<sup>16</sup> Lakshmiśa *Jaimini Bhāratha*, chapter 28

Tirumalārya, since a few passages, particularly those which are self-adulatory appear to have been taken from the writings of the latter. However this by itself cannot prove that the prince was not the author, as such borrowings were not unknown in those days. In this context we may note how the great Krishṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagar had borrowed from Allāsani Peddana's writing.

The *Chikkadēvarāja-binnapa* is unique in some respects, it contains thirty binnapas or devout appeals (in old Kannada prose) to the god Narāyaṇa-svāmi of Melukōtē, the author being a fervent Śrīvaiṣṇavite. It is a touching human document, the heart of the royal devotee is laid bare and the problems of birth, living and death are discussed with a moving intensity of appeal for understanding. His campaigns and conquests are also mentioned, and they find corroboration from other historical records. An account of his conquest is given also in his *Gita-gopāla* which is modelled on Jayadēva's celebrated work, *Gita-Gōvinda*. The *Gita-gopāla* contains songs in praise and glorification of Śrī Kṛishṇa, and the author stresses in them the importance of sincere devotion for God-realisation. His *Bhāgavata* (also known as the *Chikkadēvarāja Śaktivilāsa*), his *Bhārata* and *Sēshadharmā* are Kannada prose commentaries on original Sanskrit works.

Chikkadēvarāja Wōḍeyar set the pace for literary effort by others. His minister, and according to some accounts a companion and friend from boyhood, Tirumalārya or Tirumaliengar (1645-1706) was a writer of outstanding merit. He was the author of the *Apratimaviracharita*, *Chikkadēvarāyaviṇaya*, *Chikkadēvarāyavamsāvali* and *Chikkadēvarājaśataka*. The *Apratimaviracharita* is not a historical work as its name indicates, it is a work on Kannada prosody and rhetoric with illustrative stanzas in adulation of his sovereign. The *Chikkadēvarāyaviṇaya* is a history of the rulers of Mysore written in the *champū* style which had fallen into disuse during this period. In this work one can see at intervals a blend of the dignity of the *champū* style with the soft and dulcet tones of Kannada composition. The *Chikkadēvarājavamsāvali* is also devoted to the history of the rulers of Mysore. It reveals the mastery of the writer over Kannada prose, which is clear, precise and vivid, due obviously to his complete mastery both of Kannada and Sanskrit and his ability to evolve a style containing the best elements of both.

Singarāya (1680), brother of Tirumalārya, wrote the *Mitravindā-Gōvinda* a drama based on the story of Harsha's Sanskrit work, *Ratnāvali*. This is the earliest Kannada drama extant. He did not blindly follow the Sanskrit original. While in the latter, the story concerns a love affair between king Udayana and Ratnāvali, a princess of Ceylon, forced by a calamity to work as a maid-servant in his court, in the *Mitravindā-Gōvinda* the hero is Śrī Kṛishṇa or Gōvinda himself and the heroine's name is altered to Mitravindā. This change is perhaps due to his Śrīvaiṣṇavite desire to extol his

favourite deity, Krishna. In point of plot and characterisation, the play suffers from obvious defects, but the language is as impressive, clear and precise as that of its author's illustrious brother. Here we must not forget that this is one of the earliest attempts at dramatic composition in Kannada.

The most prolific among the Kannada writers of the reign of Chikka-dēvarāja was Chikkupādhyāya also called Lakshmīpati of Terakaṇāmbi (1672). He too was one of the ministers of Mysore. He wrote nearly thirty books in prose, *champū* and *sāṅgatyā*, his chief object in all of them being the propagation of the Śrīvaiṣṇava religion. Elaborate accounts of the sanctity of Śrīvaiṣṇava places of pilgrimage like Tirupati, Kānchi, Śrīrangam, Mēlukōte, Śrīrangapataṇ are given, some are translations of Sanskrit originals of the Śrīvaiṣṇava creed, the *Divyasūri Charitē*, a history of the twelve Ālvārs, and the *Artha Panchaka* are from Tamil originals, while Ranganāthaswāmī of Śrīrangapataṇ is praised in six books. Thus Chikkupādhyāya wrote an encyclopaedia of Śrīvaiṣṇava religious lore. His scholarship was profound and in many places his poetry is also of a high order.

While Vaiṣṇava and Śrīvaiṣṇava writers and poets tried to disseminate the tenets of their respective creeds by their writings in Kannada, a few writers like Mahālingakavī or Ranganātha (1675) and Chidānada (1680) attempted in their writings to make known to the people the principles of Sankarādvaita. Mahālingakavī's *Anubhāvamrita* sets out to explain in simple, lucid language, all the essential principles of Advaita Vēdānta with appropriate examples, and it is even today the best book on the principles of advaita for the common man. Following his lines, Chidānada wrote *Jñānasindhu* in *Bhāmīni Shatpadī*, to explain the principles of Advaita Vēdānta.

In the galaxy of Kannada writers who enriched Kannada language in addition to bringing about a social and cultural revival, at least three women writers have earned for themselves a place of importance. One of these is Honnamma (c 1680) who was in the service of the Mysore queen Dēvājammaṇṇi of Yeḷandūr, and a devoted pupil of Singarāya. In her *Hadibadeya Dharma* she goes on to describe, in the *Sāṅgatyā* metre, the duties of a loyal, devoted wife. This is not a mere enumeration of the rules of conduct for a wife, but with apt illustrations she gives a graphic description of the life of an ideal wife, and in some places, as for instance when she describes the pangs of separation of the woman when her husband is far away and the joys of re-union, her poetry has a lyric charm. The language is simple and easy-flowing, and never dull. A contemporary of Honnamma, Srīngaramma (c 1685), daughter of Chintāmanī Desikēndra, wrote the *Padmīni-kalyāṇa* in the *Sāṅgatyā* verse, describing the marriage of the god Śrīnivāsa with Padmīnī. Some time later, in the first half of the eighteenth century, came Heḷavanakatte Gīriyamma who

wrote the *Sitākalyāṇa*, *Chandrahāsana-kathē* and other works in Sāṅgatyā. She was an intensely religious lady given to the worship of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and all her writings are the outpourings of pious devotion. Sincere feeling and deep devotion have given to her writing a remarkable homeliness and charm.

Thus Kannaḍa literature attained richness, beauty and power during the period from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century on account of the patronage given to learning by the ruling princes like the Rāyas of Vijayanagar, the comparatively settled political condition of the time and the confluence of the three currents of religious thought—Jaina, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava—each trying to disseminate its ideas among the masses. In this process each learnt from the other, and Kannaḍa literature was enriched thereby.

### *Bhakti Movement—Haridāsas*

But what contributed to the enrichment and refinement of Kannaḍa language and literature was the growth and spread of the Bhakti movement during this period. Bhakti or intense love and devotion to God as a means of salvation was not unknown. This is mentioned in the Vēdas and has been propounded in religious works like the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* and the *Bhāgavadgītā*. Religious and social reformers like Basava, Rāmānuja, and Mādhva had preached the way of Bhakti, and Basava had been the pioneer in the work of reaching the understanding as well as the emotions of the people through a literature which was simple, direct, and appealing.

The Bhakti school of religious thought taught that the salvation of the individual was easier through submission and devotion to God than through the path of Jñāna or knowledge or the path of karma or good deeds. This Bhakti or devotion might manifest itself in one or more of the following forms: *Dāsya* or humble service, *Sakhya* or personal intimacy, *Śānti* or serene meditation, *Vātsalya* or loving fondness, *Mādhurya* or the yearning of the lover to his beloved. This approach to God was of great importance, an individual could adopt any one of the ways suited to his condition and inclination.

The Haridāsas (servants of the god Hari or Viṣṇu) were men of piety who dedicated their lives for the moral and spiritual uplift of their fellowmen and lived on the alms of the charitable. They built up a literature in the form of *Kīrtanas* or songs in which they expressed the profound truths of philosophy and religion in simple, appealing and effective language to enable even the unlettered and ignorant to understand. To touch the heart as well as the understanding of the people and to rouse the proper emotional response, they sang their songs in musical tunes, for the spiritual appeal of music is universal, and it is one of the *sādhana*s or means of approaching God. There is an absorbing power in these songs since they are not only the spontaneous outpourings of intense devotion but constitute poetry of the highest charm. Like Basava and the large number of *Vachanakāras* who came after him, these



Haridāśas helped in a remarkable development of Kannada language and literature <sup>17</sup>

Mention has already been made of Naraharī Tīrtha who lived in the thirteenth century. It was a time of serious menace from the Muslims who had invaded the south, Dēvagiri had been reduced and the Hoysala kingdom had been overrun. Naraharī Tīrtha, after his wanderings, settled in Udipi where he composed his songs and tried to bring about an awakening among the people.

The establishment of the Vijayanagar empire witnessed a resurgence of spirit. The traditions established by teachers like Madhvāchārya, Naraharī Tīrtha and others were carried on by a line of illustrious Dāsas who not only helped in the new Renaissance but also contributed in a substantial measure to the growth of Kannada language and literature. Srīpādarāya (c 1500) was the high priest of the *Mulbāgalamatha* about the end of the fifteenth century. He initiated the practice of singing songs in Kannada in praise of God, and wrote the *Bhramaragite*, *Vēnugite* and *Gōpigite* in Kannada for the purpose. The songs, breathing sincerity and devotion also possess considerable literary merit. His pupil was Vyāsarāya or Vyāsatīrtha (1446-1539), who became the head of the Vyāsarāya-matha. A profound scholar in Sanskrit he wrote many works in that language.

#### *Vyāsa, Purandara and Kanaka*

We are here concerned with Vyāsarāya's contribution to Kannada literature. He continued his master's practice of composing devotional songs in Kannada. Most of those who followed this way of approach to God, especially lay followers, formed what came to be called the *Dāsakūta*, which means the school of dāsas or humble servants of the Lord. Others, the learned élite, who used to traditional mode of worship in Sanskrit, constituted the *Vyāsakūta* (School of Vēdvyāsa of Vēdic fame). Only a few of the songs Vyāsarāya wrote are extant. His contribution to Kannada literature consists in his diligently continuing the tradition established by Srīpādarāya (c 1500) and ensuring the growth of *Dāsasāhitya* or the literary production of the Haridāśas.

Vyāsarāya had a refreshing catholicity of outlook in religious matters. He once defeated a Sāivite scholar named Basava-Bhatta in religious disputation. The latter presented a Sivalinga to him. Vyāsarāya installed the linga in his *matha* at Sōsalē and it is worshipped even today on the Mahāśivarātri day. In the religious works like the *Prapannāmṛitam* it is stated that he helped the growth of cordial relations among the followers of different faiths by himself being a devotee of the god Virupāksha of Vijayanagar as well as of Venkatēśa of the Tirupati hill.

17 R S Panchanukhī, *Karnāṭakada Haridāsa Sāhitya*, 128-152

By far the most illustrious of the Haridāśas and one who exercised profound influence on his contemporaries and on the enrichment of the Kannada literature, was Purandaradāśa (c 1480-1565). He is said to have been a very affluent miser in early days, but he renounced wordly life later and became a devotee of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. He came to Vijayanagar with his family and received initiation into the *Dāsakūṭa* by Vyāsarāya. He lived for some time a life of itinerant mendicancy, coming into contact with people of all walks of life and all creeds, gaining thereby a deep insight into human life and its problems, while he himself remained unaffected by what he saw and continued in devoted attachment to his deity. He settled down in Paṇḍharpūr later. The god Viṭṭhala of this Vaiṣṇavite centre became the favourite deity of Purandaradāśa and the followers of his tradition.

Purandaradāśa poured out his thoughts and feelings in songs of unsurpassed charm and power, over a thousand of which are extant. Quite a large number of songs which, obviously spurious, have been mixed up with those he himself composed and sang. By a critical study it has been possible to separate the one from the other. A perusal of his genuine songs reveals to some extent the amazing personality of the saintly composer and helps to assess his contribution to the social and literary awakening of his day.

Purandaradāśa's renunciation, absorption in meditation and devotion to Śrī Kṛṣṇa gave him an insight into the profound truths of the *Upanishads*. The experience gained in his wandering life helped him to understand the reality of this life of trouble, sorrow and frustration. His songs therefore cover all aspects of life, there are songs of deep introspection and search for the true and the eternal, there are songs wherein he lays bare his heart in a penitent humble appeal to Śrī Kṛṣṇa, some songs express the ecstasy of confident hope, while others, full of compassion towards the sorrows, troubles and tribulations of the common man, contain exhortations to give up selfish attachment to the transient things of this life. The language is clear everywhere and is easy and effective. Purandaradāśa has shown that the Kannada language can express every thought and every shade of feeling. In the songs dealing with social evils, he advises people not to give up the world, but so live in such a way as would make this world a better place to live in. Though he was a staunch and devoted follower of Vaiṣṇavism, his vast experience and intimate knowledge of the world had given him a catholic outlook in the matters of faith and it finds expression in some of his songs with an irresistible appeal, it is well-known that the saint Tyāgarāja was inspired by him.

Poetry with Purandaradāśa was not simply a means of intellectual delectation, but closely connected with life. It was a source of solace and comfort to the unhappy and an inspiration to moral and spiritual advancement. He carried on the Haridāśa tradition initiated in the time of Naraharī Tīrtha and

strengthened by Vyāsarāya, and thus built up the *Dāsakūta* on secure foundations. He also composed many *Sulādis* and *Ugābhōgas* where we see an appeal as impressive as that in his songs. Purandaradāsa's three sons, who were also Dāsas, are mentioned in a copper plate record of 1526<sup>18</sup>

Next to Purandaradāsa was his contemporary Kanakadāsa (c 1480-1570). He was a chieftain ruling from Bāda (in Dhārwar district). He renounced the world consequent upon some major catastrophe in life. He visited Vijayanagar and came under the influence of Vyāsarāya who initiated him in the Vaiṣṇava cult. He became a Haridāsa and wandered in many places, ultimately he settled down in Kāginēlē. He lived for ninetyone years. Rising high like Purandaradāsa in emotional fervour and intellectual power, he wrote a number of devotional songs and poems of great poetic merit. In addition to his *Kirtanas*, there are poems like the *Nalacharitrē*, *Rāmadhānyacharitrē*, *Haribhaktisāra* and the *Mōhanataranginī*, using the *Śatpadī* and *Sāngatya* metres. Reference has already been made to the *Nalacharitre*, a poem of simplicity, charm and poignant appeal, and *Rāmadhānyacharitre*, a poem of pleasing fancy. The *Haribhaktisāra* in *Bhāmīni-shatpadī* treats of devotion (*Bhakti*), right moral conduct (*nīti*) and renunciation (*vairāgya*) in a simple moving style. It is popular among the young and old alike. The *Mōhanataranginī* in the *Sāngatya* metre can well be reckoned as his most outstanding work, for in it we find all the classical eighteen modes of description and their appeal to the reader's feelings. In this songs we find, in addition to devotion, an emphasis to live a moral life, a life of kindness, charity and sympathy, in a language often vigorous, sometimes biting and sarcastic, and at times derisive and satirical. While condemning the evils of society and the moral weakness of individuals, his language becomes colourful, earnest and often trenchant.

Kannada language and literature were enriched by the writings of these two Haridāsas. The literary tradition that they helped to develop grew in succeeding generations. Some Haridāsas like Vādirāja (second half of the sixteenth century) devoted most of their attention to the growth of the Vaiṣṇava cult and their writings are theological and sectarian. After Purandaradāsa there was a break of more than a century in the Haridāsa movement. It was resumed about the end of the seventeenth century by Vijayadāsa who is said to have been initiated by Purandaradāsa in a dream. Vijayadāsa (1687-1755) was followed by a galaxy of his disciples among whom Jagannāthadāsa (1727-1809) of Mānvi ranks high. Haridāsas's contribution to the growth of the Kannada literature lay in the fact that, with the object of reaching the understanding of the common people they, like Basava, introduced into the classical modes of expression many vernacular usages, idioms and figures of speech.

18 Kamalapur Plate of Krishnadēvarāya, S 1447, EI, XXXI, 139 ff

*Kannada Inscriptions*

The above survey needs to be supplemented by a brief review of Kannada inscriptions commonly engraved on slabs of stone, as they render valuable help in the study of Kannada language and literature. Their chief merit lies in their vastness, being spread over almost all parts of Karnataka numbering more than twenty thousands slabs big and small, and the precise chronological data included in them. Single centres like Sravanabelagola have yielded hundreds of records in one place. A large number of epigraphs are written in handsome script, chaste language and elegant literary style. They contain imposing descriptions of gods and goddesses, country and town, royal patrons, distinguished officers, generals, warriors, religious teachers, saints, men of letters and composers, devoted wives, loyal servants and magnanimous donors.

Kannada inscriptions make their appearance from the fifth century onwards. The earliest records (Helmidi inscriptions) are brief and simple.<sup>19</sup> But as centuries go by they evince a remarkable phase of development, attaining a high standard of literary performance, noteworthy for its range, volume and excellence. There are inscriptions which comprise whole poetical compositions by themselves, a few of them being actual products of great literary men like Ranna and Janna. The period from the eleventh to the fourteenth century may be regarded as the golden age of epigraphical literature, when these documents of business and art reached the zenith of refinement and splendour.

At Itagi in the Yalburgi taluka of Raichur district is preserved a bulky inscription which reads like a classical poem, a miniature Champū Kāvya by itself.<sup>20</sup> Though its central theme is the construction of a magnificent Śiva temple (called *Dēvālaya-Chakravartī* or Temple-Emperor by the poet) by Mahādēva, a military officer under the Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya VI. It is full of an elaborate description of the circumstantial details of the event. The impregnable citadel and fortifications of Sedimba, (modern Seṣam in Gulbarga district) form the subject matter of a glowing eulogy incised on a pillar near a gateway of the town. The inscription is of the time of the Chālukya king Somēśvara IV.<sup>21</sup> The goddess Jyēṣṭha or Mahāmāya of the Sakta cult, and her supreme prowess are lavishly panegyricized in an epigraph at Kukanūr in Raichur district, of the reign of the Kalachūri ruler Sankama.<sup>22</sup> The Hampi inscription of Dēvarāya I, to which reference has been made, is another epigraphical instance of high literary standard, composed in the

19 Helmidi Inscription, *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1936, 162

20 Itagi Inscription, *EI*, Volume XIII, 36

21 Seṣam Inscription, *Karnataka University Journal Humanities*, Dhārwār, 1961, 162

22 Kukanūr Inscription, *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 18 Inscription No. 13

pompous *Champū* style during the early Vijayanagar period <sup>23</sup> In a touching encomium of the king's minister Lakshmīdhara, described as the "jewel mirror of the race of the Kannadigas", the poet fancies that the noble virtues like compassion, charity, and service to humanity by striving to better the lot of the poor, the destitute and the afflicted, were infused into his blood, as it were, from childhood by his mother through whispering lullabys while feeding him

The usual prose-cum-verse *champū* form was the general pattern of epigraphical compositions in the early stage Subsequently, coming under the influence of popular modes of expression, the authors of these inscriptions occasionally introduced simpler forms like *Ragalē*, *Tripadī* and *Shatpadī* in their writings It is note-worthy that in an inscription at Kōgaḷi in Bellary district, dated 1055, occurs a moving description of a Jaina teacher in the fluent *Ragalē* metre This is the earliest example of a *Ragalē* compositions <sup>24</sup>

The *Champū* form persisted in epigraphical literature as late as the fifteenth century During the Vijayanagar period, however, the inscriptions lose most of their classical grandeur and are reduced more or less to the level of common-place prosaic writings

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23 Kogali Inscription, *SII*, IX Part I, Inscription No 117

24 Hampi Inscription of Dēvarāya I, *SII*, IV, Inscription No 267



(iv) MARATHI

by DR. S. G. TULPULÉ

*Synopsis*

1. The decline of the Yādavas and the advent of the Bahmanis : Jñānadēva and Nāmadēva.
2. The Mahānubhāvas.
3. Social and Political upheaval.
4. The age of revival : Ekanātha.
5. The Christian, Muslim and Jaina contribution.
6. Tukarāma and Rāmadāsa.
7. The Age of Narrative poetry.
8. Mōrōpant and his importance in Marathi literature.





## 1 *The decline of the Yādavas and the advent of the Bahmanis*

Maharashtra of the closing years of the 13th century presents a picture of great cultural and literary output. It was then under the rule of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, who seem to have been patrons of learning and art, as is seen from the two Rājaprasastis which appear by way of an Introduction to the Vratakhanda of Hemādri,<sup>1</sup> the Prime Minister of the Yādavas, as also from the anecdote about the composition of Rukmīṇī-Svayamvara by Narendra,<sup>2</sup> the credit for which was sought by Rāmachandra Yādava the then ruling Prince of Dēvagiri. The Marathi language had developed by then into a powerful instrument of literary expression and the philosophical works like *Vivēkasindhu* (by Mukundarāja, 1188) had prepared the ground and supplied the seed which we find fully developed at the hands of two independent traditions, one headed by Jñānadēva, the intellectual leader of the Bhāgavata cult of Paṇḍharpūr, and the other by Chakradhara, the founder of the Mahānubhāva sect. These two groups, working independently of each other, seem to have led the literary movement in Maharashtra during the last years of the 13th and the first half of the 14th centuries.

### *Jñānadēva and Nāmadēva*

Actually the year of our starting point, namely 1290, coincides with an epoch-making event in the history of Marathi literature, viz., the composition of Jñānēśvari by Jñānadēva, one of the greatest of the poet-saints of Maharashtra. His spiritual lineage, as can be gathered from his epilogue to the Jñānēśvari, suggests the tradition of the Nātha cult, with emphasis on Yoga, and what element of Bhakti or Devotion we find in his works owes its origin to the Bhāgavata cult which was gaining strength at and around Paṇḍharpūr, under the leadership of his senior contemporary, Nāmadēva. Jñānēśvari, written in the Ovi metre, is by far the greatest of the commentaries on the Bhagavadgītā that have been written, owing to its unique combination of mysticism, philosophy and poetry. *Amṛtānubhave*, his other great work, is somewhat pedantic, though his Abhangas or Spiritual Lyrics are again full of devotion and poetry. We can certainly say with Bahīnābāī, a poetess of the 17th century, that it was Jñānēśvara who laid the foundation not only of the Bhāgavata cult but also of the Marathi literature in general. For it was he who championed the cause of Marathi and proved by his great work its capacity to treat even a terse subject like philosophy in a style full of poetic excellence. Again it was he who reconciled the Advāitism of the Vēdānta philosophy with Devotion. Farquhar

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1 R. G. Bhandarkar *Early History of the Deccan*, Appendix, c

2 Ed. by Kolte (1966), Intro, 78

rightly calls Jñānēśvara the 'Coryphaeus' of the whole Bhakti movement of the Maratha country

The Bhāgavata cult referred to above was led by Nāmadēva a poor, unassuming tailor from Pandharpūr who grew into a poet-saint of a very high calibre under the care and guidance of Jñānēśvara the philosopher-guide to many writers of his time. That they were contemporaries is a fact beyond doubt. The reference in Nāmadēva to the Muslim invasions and the absence of it in the Jñānēśvari cannot be an argument for the difference in time between the two. For while 'Alāu'd-dīn Khalji invaded the Deccan in 1296 that is to say, about two years before Jñānadēva passed away, Nāmadēva lived up to 1350. Thus there is clearly a difference of fifty-four years between the last dates of these two contemporaries.

Nāmadēva faces us with yet another problem and that is in connection with his sojourn in the North. According to tradition he went to Punjab after the demise of Jñānēśvara and lived there for about twenty years. He is also supposed to have composed some devotional lyrics in a dialect peculiar to Punjabi and proto-Hindi. Today a shrine of Nāmadēva stands in Ghoman, a village situated in the Gurdāspūr district of East Punjab and the followers of the Nāmadēva cult there claim him as their own. The Granth Sāhib of the Sikhs, contains sixty-one of Nāmadēva's *padas* or devotional songs, which have been rendered into English by Trump<sup>3</sup> literally and by Macauliffe<sup>4</sup> substantially. Dr Bhagīratha Misra and Rājnarāyaṇa Maurya<sup>5</sup> have traced some more *padas* which they have edited in a book form. All these *padas* contain quite a number of allusions to some of the incidents in the life of Nāmadēva and also show some linguistic peculiarities common to Marathi. They very often refer to the god Vitthala whose great devotee Nāmadēva was. This intrinsic and linguistic evidence clearly goes to prove the identity between the Nāmadēva of Pandharpūr and that of Punjab. Opinion is, however, divided on this point and more research is necessary to prove the identity of these two Nāmadēvas. It is also necessary to separate the poems of Nāmadēva from those of Viṣṇudāsa Nāma, a poet belonging to the 16th century and whose work is freely mixed up with that of our Nāmadēva in the published *Gāthās*.

We have with us about a thousand *abhangas* or devotional lyrics of Nāmadēva which exhibit his blissful outbursts at the personal experience of the presence of God. The main undercurrent in his poetry is of course his devotion to God, but at the same time he has also used his literary form as a

3 The *Adi-Grantha*, Eng. Tr., (1877)

4 *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI

5 *Sant Nāmadēva ki Hindi Padavali*, 1964

[See also *Sant Nāmadēva aur Hindi Pada-Sahitya* by Ramachandra Mishra Shailendra Sahitya Sadan, Farukhabad (U. P.), 1969. Ed.]

vehicle of his social thoughts and that is why we find in him a poet-saint conscious of the social and religious surroundings. Just as we read his *Gāthā*, we become aware of the Muslim onslaught that the Deccan had to face towards the end of the 13th century and which slowly paralysed the intellectual life of Maharashtra of which Nāmadēva should be called the last representative. He was influenced by Jñānadēva so far as his philosophical make-up was concerned, but he writes in a very simple and direct style which is all his own. That is why he appealed more to the masses, and combined with his mastery over the art of performing the *kīrtana* of God, he soon collected round him a band of ardent devotees who also composed in their own way quite a number of devotional lyrics. Among these were Gorā the potter, Sāvata the gardener, Narahari the goldsmith, Chōkhā the mahar, Senā the barber and Janābāi the maid-servant, in short a representative gathering of the different strata of society. All these poet-saints, with Nāmadēva as their doyen and Jñānadēva as their intellectual leader, sang together the glory of God and his name and hailed to the society at large the intricacies of the simple yet difficult spiritual path. They together have produced a literature which is the very backbone of Maharashtra culture and which has paved a way for many more aspirants on the pathway to God.

The age of Jñānadēva and Nāmadēva is an age filled with the echoes of the cult of Vitthala. The work which was begun by Jñānadeva was continued by Nāmadēva and his associates and very soon the Deccan began to resound with the emotion of *Bhakti*. There are certain characteristics of this age which have to be noted here. In the first place these poet-saints were cosmopolitan in their outlook. They recognised a spiritual democracy all round, as is seen from the group of devotional lyricists that gathered round Nāmadēva. Secondly, they were characterised by a contrition of the heart, by the helplessness of human endeavour to reach unaided the Majesty of God by a sense of sinfulness.

## 2 *The Mahānubhāvas*

The other tradition, running parallel to the one of Jñānadēva, is of the writers belonging to the Mahānubhāva cult founded by Chakradhara towards the end of the 13th century. Chakradhara (c 1213-1274), came from Gujarat and settled down in Maharashtra. He never aspired to be an author himself, being more interested in spreading his philosophy of detachment from wordly life among the different strata of society. However, his sayings were collected together almost immediately after his passing away, by one of his disciples, named Kēśavarāja or Kēso-bāsa, in the form of a *Sūtrapāṭha* which collection offered a sound basis for the future commentators to expound the doctrines of their sect. These *Sūtras*, or the sayings of Chakradhara, were sifted from his *Līlā-charitra*, a biography in prose, written in the form of

memoirs, by one Mhāibhata who took infinite pains to compile them and in getting them verified by some of the close associates of Chakradhara. *Illā-charitra* is a unique work in Marathi, being the earliest specimen of the biographical form written in a naive, popular style, reflecting both the language and the culture of the time. The work consists of about 750 memoirs of Chakradhara and is divided into three parts, namely Ekāṅka, Pūrvārdha and Uttarārdha, which together give a graphic account not only of its subject but of his group of disciples also. This group was headed by Nāgadēva or Bhatobāsa who again was not a writer himself, but was certainly instrumental in making others write, as is seen from the *Smṛitiśhaḷa*, again a memorial biography of his, written jointly by Narendra and Paraśurāma during the early years of the 14th century. For it was because of Bhatobāsa that Kēśavarāja turned from Sanskrit to Marathi and wrote his *Murtiprakāśa* in the language of the people, a language the cause of which was championed right from Chakradhara downwards. Bhatobāsa inspired quite a number of poets to write in Marathi, the chief among whom was Bhāskara whose two works, namely, *Śiśupālavadha* and *Uddhava-gīta*, which though antagonistic to each other in their attitudes are one in their poetical power. Similarly longer narratives were composed by Dāmodara and Narendra on the episodes of Vachahārana (1278) and Rukmiṇī-svayamvara (1292), respectively, while Viśvanatha of Bālāpūr chose to write a commentary on a portion of the Bhagavadgīta and named it *Jñānaprobōdha* (1331). These five works, along with the *Sahyādri-varṇana* (1333) of Ravaḷo-bāsa, and *Raddipura-varṇana* (1331) of Nārāyaṇabāsa, two descriptive poems, go to make the traditional 'sevens' of the Mahānubhavas.

Mention also has to be made of the *Dhavaḷas*, or marriage-songs, composed by the poetess Mahadambā towards the close of the 13th century. They depict the wedding ceremony of Krishna and Rukmiṇī, narrated in a homely and poetic style by one who was trained in the teachings of the devotion of Krishna at the hands of Chakradhara himself. These different writers of the Mahānubhāva sect created not only valuable literature but also genuine love for literature among the educated, and not only championed the cause of Marathi but also added substantially to its beauty and strength. Philosophically their writings were alien to those of Jñānadēva and his followers, as the Mahānubhāvas believed in the doctrine of dualism between the individual and the Universal Soul, though the element of Bhakti or devotion was common to both. Only their patron deities were different, for Jñānadēva and his cult worshipped the god Viṭthala of Paṇḍharpūr, while the Mahānubhāvas were devoted to Krishna along with his various incarnations. It is rather surprising, however, that these two powerful trends in Marathi literature did not come into any contact whatsoever with one another, each working its way independently of the other.

### 3 *Social and Political Upheaval*

The early part of the fourteenth century witnessed a social and political upheaval in the Deccan. It was brought about by two factors: (1) Country-wide famine, and (2) Muslim invasion from the North. The first was responsible for the migrations of the populace on a large scale resulting in linguistic contacts and exchanges especially between Marathi on the one hand and Kannaḍa and Telugu on the other. Marathi folk literature of this period is influenced to a large extent by Kannaḍa folk-songs, while a few Marathi songs have found their way into Telugu folk-literature as shown by Dr. C. Nārāyaṇarāo.<sup>6</sup> The Muslim onslaught, which began in 1296 and widely spread out by 1318, completely upset Maharashtrian culture, while conversions to Islam became common. Though Persian became the court language of the rulers, the administrative system remained the same as established by Hemādri, the Prime Minister of the Yādavas, a few years previous to the conquest. Naturally the Persian element found its way into the vocabulary of Marathi on the administrative side, while its popular literature like the religious ballads and the Kīrtanas remained uninfluenced by Persian. But the main onslaught of the Muslim rule fell on the social system of the Hindus as bounded by the Chāturvarṇya or the four castes, resulting in paralysing it and encouraging it to disruption. In short, the very life of the Marathi speaking populace was endangered and all its literary and cultural activities came to a standstill. It is for these reasons that we do not have any literary works worth the name during the major portion of the fourteenth century. Either they were not produced with the same enthusiasm and prolificity as before, or if produced they are not extant today. Thus the fourteenth century is a dark age in the history of Marathi literature and the very few works that we come across, like a commentary on the Bhāgavata by Bahirā Jātavēda, *Usāharana* by Chombha, Marathi versions of the Sanskrit *Panchatantra* by a number of authors, *Abhangas* or devotional lyrics by Kāṇhopātrā—a dancing girl, a Marathi *Bhārata* by one Nāvarasa Nārāyaṇa, and a commentary in prose by Gurjara Sivabāsa on the *Sūtrapātha* of the Mahānubhāvas, only enhance this darkness.

### 4 *Age of Revival* *Ēkanātha*

But this state of affairs did not last long. For we have an epoch-making personality like Bhānudāsa, the great-grandfather of Ēkanātha, who is supposed to have brought back to Paṇḍharpur the image of the god Vitthala from Hampi, where it was taken by the king Krishnarāya of Vijayanagar. This event must have taken place some time during the life of Bhānudāsa (1448-1513), though from the temple of Vijayāvitthala at Hampi we cannot say with certainty whether Krishnarāya had actually taken the image of Vitthala to that place, or

6 Narayanarao "An Early Marathi Passage found in Telugu Literature", *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* Vol. IX

whether he had merely erected a structure where he might later carry the image from Paṇḍharpūr and establish it finally. At present the temple of Vijayāvithala at Hampi presents a desolate appearance, without any image in it. It is not unlikely that, as Paṇḍharpūr must have suffered from the ravages of the conqueror, the image of Vitthala of Pandharpur was in danger of being ill-handled by the invaders, and hence Krishnarāya of Vijayanagar might have thought it fit to take away the image from the danger-zone to a place where it might be safely lodged. It is also possible that he might have handed it back to a saint like Bhānudāsa when the danger of it being ill-handled by the invaders was no more. In any case, the bringing back of the idol from Vijayanagar to Paṇḍharpur, was a great achievement not only in the life of Bhānudāsa but also in the history of the Bhāgavata cult. For with Bhānudāsa and his successors begins the third epoch of the development of the Bhāgavata cult of Paṇḍharpūr, the first being that of Jñānadēva, and the second of Nāmadēva and his contemporaries. Bhānudāsa was succeeded by his illustrious great-grandson Ēkanātha whose spiritual teacher Janārdanaswāmy (1504-1575) played a prominent role in his development as one of the greatest poet-saints of Maharashtra. For it was Janārdanaswāmy who, by his synthesis of the worldly and the spiritual taught Ēkanātha by his own example how to reconcile the two. Again, it was he who initiated Ēkanātha into the art of writing. For Ēkanāth's first work, namely his commentary the *Chatuḥśloki Bhāgavata* was written at the instance of his Guru, Janārdanaswāmy, while they were on a pilgrimage together. Ēkanātha (1533-1599), the scholarly poet from Paithan, is known mainly for his (i) commentary on the eleventh chapter of the *Bhāgavata*, (ii) *Rukmiṇi-svāyamvara*, a metaphorical narrative poem on the episode of the marriage of Krishna and Rukmiṇī, (iii) *Bhāvartha Rāmayaṇa*, an epically sustained metaphor, and (iv) *Bhārudās* or Folk-songs with a philosophical content. He writes with a mastery of metaphorical style all his own and combines in his writings both the spiritual and the worldly in one breath. He seems to have been greatly influenced by Jñānadēva whose service he performed in two different ways firstly, he searched out his shrine at Ālandī near Poona, thus refreshing his memory in the mind of the public, and secondly, he brought out a revised text of his great work, namely, *Jñānēśvart*, which had become very much corrupt due to a number of interpolations in the course of time. This latter work of research in textual criticism he did in the year 1584. As Ranade says, Ēkanātha has benefited the world as much by his own independent works as by his editing of the text of the *Jñānēśvart*.

Ēkanātha seems to have been a very popular author who gathered round him a team of devotional poets who in their own turn have contributed substantially towards the growth of Marathi literature. Of these, Dāsopanta (1515-1615) deserves special mention. This voluminous writer from Āmbē-Jōgāi has given us about fifty works out of which five or six

are commentaries on the Bhagavadgītā, of which the one, *Gītārṇava* is the longest and the best. One of his works, namely, *Panchikarana*, is written in a tabulated form on a long piece of cloth, illustrated by diagrams and pictures, and is still preserved at Āmbē-Jogāi.

Ēkanātha, whose death coincides with the end of the sixteenth century, exhibits a rare combination of the critical and creative genius and combines in him certain characteristics which influenced the successive *litterateurs* in the forthcoming ages. A unique reconciliation of the worldly and the spiritual life, popularisation of the Vedānta philosophy through the championship of the language of the people and variety of form and expression, these roughly are the seedlings which Ēkanātha handed over to posterity and which blossomed later in different hands into the full bloom of Marathi literature. It must be admitted, however, that neither his *Pentad*, including the great *Dāsopanta*, nor his smaller contemporaries like Trimbakarāja, the author of *Bālabōdha* (1578), Krishnadāsa Mudgala, renderer of the *Rāmāyana* into Marathi, and Krishna Yajñāvalkī, the author of *Kathākalpataru* (c 1600) fulfil the expectations raised by the leader of their age, Ēkanātha. For that we have to turn to Mukteśvara (about 1600,) the grandson of the latter, who outshines all contemporaries in matter of literary art. Already we have a complete *Mahābhārata*, the first of its kind in Marathi by one Viśṇudāsa Nāma, a predecessor of Mukteśvara. The *Mahābhārata* of the latter, however, though left incomplete, surpasses all similar attempts in point of the art of narration and characterisation. Only five cantos of his rendering of this great epic are extant today, but they are enough testimony to his poetic genius which is second only to that of Jñānēśvara. A devotee of poetry for its own sake, Mukteśvara revels in presenting lively pictures of nature in all its variety and grandeur, of situations tragic and comic, of men and women in wealth and poverty. His style is at once classical and lucid, bearing the imprint of the poet's personality and the life of his times. Though not a poet with a mission, Mukteśvara's epic followed the works of the poet-saints like Jñānadēva and Ēkanātha and is therefore full of philosophical wisdom and ethical teachings. Mukteśvara can be said to be the culmination of the literary tradition established by Jñānadēva and the poets of the Mahānubhava sect of the thirteenth century.

### 5 *Christian, Muslim and Jaina Contribution*

The early years of the seventeenth century witnessed a characteristic phenomenon. So far the authors of Marathi literature came mainly from the Hindu community, Mahānubhāvas and the Viraśāivas being its offshoots. But now even Christians and Muslims seem to have taken to the art of writing in Marathi. The foremost of the latter is Fr Thomas Stephens, popularly known as Padre Estevam in the territory of Goa, who is said to be the first Englishman to come to India. His *magnum opus*, the Christian *Purāna*



was written first in Portuguese and then in Marathi in 1614 and was twice printed in Goa, first in 1649 and then in 1654. It consists of two parts based on the Old and the New Testament, respectively, and has more than ten thousand verses in the Ovi metre. Stephens writes in a style all his own, though influenced by his predecessors like Ikanātha and Mukteśvara who were masters of the Ovi form. He shows great love for the Marathi language and takes a genuine interest in the life of the general public of Maharashtra. Stephens was followed by a number of Jesuit missionaries, the more prominent of them being Fr. Etienne de la Croix who wrote his *Purana* of St. Peter in 1629, about 15,000 verses in the Ovi metre, Fr. Antonio Saldanha, the author of St. Antony's life (1655), Fr. Ribbeirou, who revised the grammar of Konkani originally prepared by Stephens, and a Konkani-Portuguese dictionary by an anonymous scholar (in about 1626), Fr. Almedia who wrote his '*Jardim dos Pastores*' or '*Vanavāhāro Malo*' in the Konkani dialect (1658), and a number of poets who composed on the popular theme of the Crucifixion of Christ. The main impetus of all these literary efforts was of course the proselytising activity of the ruling Portuguese. A secondary impetus was the establishment of a printing press in Goa by the Jesuit missionaries which brought out books both in the Roman and in the Devanāgarī scripts. Unfortunately, however, the enthusiasm of the earlier missionaries like Fr. Stephens gradually faded out and to add to that the Portuguese Government enacted laws forbidding the use of any Indian language and to make Portuguese the lingua franca of Goa. This had a very adverse effect on the Marathi literary output in Goa and that is why we do not come across any Marathi works worth the name there after the close of the seventeenth century.

As regards Muslim contribution to Marathi, mention has to be made of four writers, namely, the Sufi Shāh Muntoji Bramhani (1575-1650), Husain 'Ambar Khān, the author of '*Ambar Husaini*', a commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā* (1653), Shaikh Muhammad the author of '*Yoga-saṅgrāma*' (1645), and Latif Shāh, a contemporary of Aurangzeb. These Muslim writers have tried to expound Indian philosophy in typically Hindu fashion and they seem to have become one with the Hindu mind and its culture. For a graphic account of their life and works, reference may be made to Sri Dhere's treatise on '*Musal-mān Marāthi Santakavi*' (Poona, 1967).

The Jains were not lagging behind and we have poets like Mēgarāja, Nāgo Āyā and Guṇanandī Guṇasāgara, all belonging to the seventeenth century, who wrote on the popular story of the Yaśodhara, and Viradāsa who wrote the life of Sudarśana in 1627. Thus, various contributions were being made to Marathi literature by the different sects in and outside of Hinduism. Another noticeable change was a bold attempt by a scholar-poet Sivakalyāṇa, who, instead of commenting on a Sanskrit work like the *Bhagavad-gītā* or the



Bhāgavata after the old fashion, chose the *Amṛitānubhava*, a great philosophical treatise in Marathi by Jñānēśvara, for his subject. Here, Sivakalyāṇa was trying to establish a fresh tradition in selecting a Marathi and not a Sanskrit work as the basis of his commentary, but unfortunately the change stopped with him and we do not have any such attempts in the immediate future.

## 6 *Tukārāma and Rāmadāsa*

Here we come to a great age dominated by Tukārāma, Rāmadāsa and Shivaji, the first a great poet-saint, the second a great activist philosopher and the last a great epoch-maker. Of these, Tukārāma (1598-1649) who lived the life of a poor peasant in Dehū, a small village near Poona, has given us a few thousands of Abhangas, or devotional lyrics, which surpass any emotional composition written so far. He exhibits in them all the doubts and disbeliefs, the weaknesses and the sufferings, the anxieties and uncertainties, through which every aspiring soul has to pass before it can come into the life of light, spirit and harmony. In Tukārāma we find the traces of a hazard towards the infinite life which was the goal of this spiritual career and which he attained finally at the cost of great personal sacrifice. There is no other instance in the whose galaxy of Maratha saints, barring perhaps Nāmadēva, which can be regarded as illustrative of this human element which we find in Tukārāma. If Jñānadēva is a light that dazzles by its brilliance, Tukārāma's light is soft caressing, steady and incremental which does not glitter too much, but which soothes our vision by giving it what it needs. It is for this reason that the late Professor R. D. Ranade aptly described Tukārāma "as a humanistic and personalistic poet-saint, who was verily a citizen of the world and for that matter a citizen of the spiritual world".

If Tukārāma went one way, Rāmadāsa went another. While the first called back the attention of men from irreligion to religion, the other raised upon the foundation of religious faith an edifice of national greatness. Born in 1608, Rāmadāsa devoted the first half of his life to penance, spiritual and philanthropic, and after seeing things for himself all over the country he settled on the banks of the Krishna in 1644. Here comes the most important event in the history of Maharashtra. For though the theory is opposed by a certain group of scholars, it seems highly probable that Rāmadāsa initiated Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha state, into the pathway to God in the year 1649, and continued to be his spiritual and political guide right up to the end of his life which was followed by the passing away of Rāmadāsa himself in 1681. The outstanding poetical writing of Rāmadāsa is *Dāsabōdha* composed of twenty chapters of ten sections each with a total of 7752 verses. It seems that originally the *Dāsabōdha* contained only the first seven chapters forming a unit, additional ones being written as need arose. This work is the outcome of the fullest experience of the world by one who had attained to godhead in

mystical life. It is prose both in style and in sentiment, but it is most highly trenchant in its estimate of worldly affairs. Of the remaining works of Rāmadāsa, the *Karunāṣṭakas* or the heart renderings, *Śloka Manāche* or Verses addressed to the Mind and the *Rāmāyana*, are the most important. The first shows in abundance of what soft texture his mind was made. If *Dāsa-bōdha* shows the rigorous logic of Rāmadāsa's intellect, these poems show the spontaneous overflow of his powerful emotions and the depths of his devotional heart. His verses addressed to the "Mind" are trenchant *bons mots* full of the observations of the world and also of the highest spiritual advice. His two attempts at *Rāmāyana*, both incomplete, bearing the stamp of his predecessor Ēkanātha, are a clear indication of the possible symbolic interpretation of the life's mission of Rāma as a liberator of slaves from the oppression of a tyrant like the great Rāvaṇa. The miscellaneous poems of Rāmadāsa, covering a variety of topics and bearing witness to the remarkable breadth of interest he had, deserve our special attention as some of them have a definite autobiographical value. The most important of these are *Rāma-laradāyini* where he invokes the grace of Tulajā Bhawāni of Pratāpgarh, the patron-goddess of Shivaji, to advance his righteous cause and the *Ānandavana-bhuvana*, or the 'Region of Bliss', which is an apocalypse of Rāmadāsa where he sees ahead of his times and notices the wicked being destroyed, the virtuous being supported and the Reign of Bliss coming into existence. Prolific writer that he was, Rāmadāsa seems to have been indifferent to the poetical form and rode roughshod over the language of his expression bending it as he liked. In the sense of style, imagery and finish he is not perhaps in the front rank of Marathi poets, his fame rests upon the substance of his writing rather than upon the rhythm or beauty of expression. Yet he could, when occasion arose, rise to great poetical heights and produce some lyrical gems like the *Karunāṣṭakas*. The most characteristic feature of Rāmadāsa's poetry, however, is not the lyrical tenderness or melody but the strength and vigour with which his teachings of activism are deeply imbibed. It was because of this powerful expression and the force behind it that his message went far and wide in helping the formation of the Maratha kingdom. As the late Justice Ranade said, pacivist poet-saints like Tukārāma laid the moral foundations on which Rāmadāsa later reared his politico-religious edifice. Both contributed materially to the religious and social regeneration of the nation and both had their share in building up what has been called Maharashtra-Dharma. The two schools, have gone different ways, but the controversy is a very old one, as it dates from the days of *Bhagavadgita*, as regards the value of pacifism and activism, and such conflicts can be resolved only when we cancel them in a higher synthesis as Hegel said.

Both Tukārāma and Rāmadāsa had a distinguished galaxy of disciples, some literary talents of which must be briefly mentioned here. In Niḷobā and

Bahinābāī, two great disciples of Tukārāma, we have a genuine poet and poetess respectively, who along with some others, followed the traditions established by their Master, though neither could reach the pinnacle of the personal element in poetry that we find in Tukārāma. Rāmadāsa had a longer lineage of contemporary and descendant poets of which Rāmī-Rāmadās, alias Shrestha his elder brother, who died only three years earlier than him, was the most respected. His works entitled *Bhaktirahasya* and *Sugamopāya*, however, are different to Rāmadāsa both in matter and in manner and seem to follow closely the older school of pacifistic Vedānta. The same is the case with the *Peṇṭad* known after the name of Rāmadāsa and consisting of Jayarāmaswāmī Vadagāonkar, Ranganāthaswāmī Nigadīkar, Ānandmūrti Brahmanāḷkara and Kēśavaswāmī Bhāgānagarakar, all contemporaries of Rāmadāsa, but none like him. Kalyāṇaswāmī too, though the greatest of the disciples of Rāmadāsa, will be remembered more as an ardent devotee than as a poet. Dīnakara Gosāvi of the Tisagāon Matha, yet again another disciple of Rāmadāsa, was a great poet but his work entitled *Swānubhava Dīnakara* discloses the influence of past philosopher-poets like Jñānēshwara. Veṇābāī (1628-1678), of the Miraj Matha, was one of the female disciples of Rāmadāsa, and the collection of her works containing a *Rāmāyana* and *Śīta-Swāyamvara*, among other miscellaneous poems, are undoubtedly the best in the sect of Rāmadāsa. They had a peculiar tenderness and delicacy about it, natural with a poetess, and in point of sentiment and style Veṇābāī comes very near the best in her class. Her grand-disciple Gīrīdhara (1653 to 1729), of the Bīda Matha, is one of the most prolific writers in Marathi with the authorship of some forty works, the most important being *Samartha-Pratāpa*, an authentic chronicle of the life of Rāmadāsa at the hands of an eye witness.

A traveller that Rāmadāsa was throughout his life, his sect spread over a large part of the country and it is not surprising to find a branch of it developed in the district of Tanjore in South India. The Saraswati Mahāl Manuscript library, founded by the Maratha rulers of Tanjore, is rich in the literary works of the followers of Rāmadāsa in the south, the most important being those of Meruswāmī and Mādhavaswāmī. Both these poets were grand disciples of Rāmadāsa, the former belonging to the Manyāraguḍī-Matha and the latter to the Tiruveḷundura Matha both in the vicinity of Tanjore. Meruswāmī's two major works, entitled *Bhīmopadeśh* and *Rāmasohola*, together totalling to about 16,000 verses in the Ovi metre, are encyclopaedic in nature covering a variety of subjects like metaphysics, mythological legends, life of Rāmadāsa, extracts from his writings, descriptions of pilgrimages etc., with too much of repetition and no planning. Meruswāmī is a typically Rāmadāsian author in matter of looseness of construction and variety of subjects, but it is rather surprising that his euphuistic style is very much unlike Rāmadāsa's and was really influenced

by Jñānadēva and Mukteśwara. The other poet from the Tanjore group is Mādhavaswāmī who combines in him two distinct legacies, one of Ēkanātha and the other of Rāmadāsa, the former being his grandfather and the latter his grandmaster. Unknown in Maharashtra proper, Mādhavaswāmī is well-known to south India as a voluminous writer with a genius for epic-poetry who has left behind him two epics in his Marathi *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata*, one longer philosophical poem namely, *Yōgāvasiṣṭa*, and a dramatic narration in verse called *Prabodha-Chandīōdaya* altogether totalling to more than a hundred thousand verses. Mādhavaswāmī, who is supposed to be a contemporary of Shāhji of Tanjore, the son of Shivaji's step-brother Vyankoji, spent all his life in Tiruvejundura, a village on the banks of Kāvēri, in Tamil-nāḍ. His sons Rāma and Krishna, grandson Vāsudēva, and grand-daughter-in-law Minākshiammā, were all poets of a high order, showing that both with Ēkanātha and with Mādhavaswāmī the art of poetry passed from generation to generation enriching Marathi literature outside Maharashtra. Finally, we have a work called *Dāsavīsrāmādhamā*, bearing the authorship of Ātmārāma, which gives the story of the sect of Rāmadāsa in all its details. The narrations in this voluminous though late work, which is full of the description of miracles about the life of Rāmadāsa, naturally have not the authenticity of Giridhara's *Smaradhā-Pratāpa* and we should go to it not for history but for the traditions of the sect of Rāmadāsa which it embodies.

### 7 The Age of Narrative Poetry

Here ends the era of mystical literature of the poet-saints and begins a new one of narrative poetry written mainly by learned poets the foremost of whom is Wāmana Paṇḍita, a contemporary of Tukārāma and Rāmadāsa. His major work is *Yathārtha-Dīpikā*, a scholarly commentary on the *Bhāgavadgītā*, written with a view to interpreting correctly the meaning of *Gītā* by refuting in an outspoken manner the views of previous commentators like Jñānadēva and others. The work, though full of erudition and pedantry lacks in the poetic element and is certainly not a memorial to the literary talent of Wāmana. Neither can it be found in his masterly rendering into Marathi of Sanskrit classics like the *Nītisataka* of Bhartṛihari, *Gaṅgā-Lahārī* of Jagannātha Paṇḍita and the *Gītā*. For that we have to turn to his longer narrative poems dealing with the episodes in the life of Krishna as contained in the tenth chapter of the *Bhāgavata*. Here we find the poet Wāmana in his true element, picturing the amorous deeds, pranks of the young Krishna with gōpis or milkmaids, under cover of devotional sentiment, with command over metre and language unknown before. The remark is, no doubt apt that if Jñānadēva is a master of the *Oṽī* form and Tukārāma of the *Abhanga*, Wāmana can easily be taken as a master of the *Śloka* form, a vehicle of poetic expression which he borrowed from Sanskrit and handed over to the successive generations of

Marathi poets Here is a new departure to secure variety of form, and the poet deserves our full compliment for cutting new paths leading to fresh fields This creative output of Wāmana is totally different, both in form and in metre, from his critical works like the exposition of the *Gītā*, and it is this reason which has led certain scholars to propound the theory of two different Wāmanas, one a critic and the other a poet, a theory which is supported by the fact that there are two different shrines of Wāmana The hypothesis, however, does not hold ground and it would be better to await some new discoveries, for deciding the matter finally

The art of Wāmana Paṇḍita was copied by a number of poets like Hari and Sāmarāja who were his direct disciples, and like Viṭthala and Nāgeśa who were his successors, though of course they did not come near him so far as mastery over form and expression was concerned The traditions established by Wāmana Paṇḍita were, however, gradually gaining ground and bore fruit in the classic narrative of the marriage of Damayanti, a masterpiece of Raghunātha Paṇḍita, another poet from the district of Tanjore Although the question of his identity is still in the balance, it seems highly probable that Raghunātha Paṇḍita was a prominent diplomat of his own time and was deputed by Shivaji as his political agent at Chandī-Chandāvara (Ginji-Tanjawūr) in south India Shivaji entrusted to him the compilation of a Persian-Sanskrit glossary of political and administrative terms, a work called *Rājya-Vyavaharakōsha*, the first of its kind to be written in India This diplomat-cum-glossarist-cum-poet is the author of *Nalopākhyāna*, or the story of Nala and Damayanti, written on the model of Sanskrit literary mahākāvyas and based upon the *Naishadhacharita* of Harsha The theme of the poem originates from *Mahābhārata*, but is independently worked out by Raghunātha Paṇḍita with his penetrating insight into human character, wonderful grasp of situations, and power for graphic descriptions All this in addition to the variety of metres employed and the fascinatingly ornate style, goes to make this narrative an immortal piece of art in Marathi classics It is a pity that the question about the life and date of such a great poet should remain undecided so far

Coming back to Maharashtra proper, we find this classical form of Marathi poetry developing well under the regime of Shāhū which gave us poets like Kachēśwara, Niranjana Mādhava, Sāmarāja and many others Of these Kachēśwara, who had disciples in the royal family including Shāhū himself, is the author of longer narrative poems like *Gajendramōksha* and *Subāma-Charitra* and is known for his homely and rhythmic style which made him popular with mediocre readers Kachēśwara, who died in 1731 has, left behind him an autobiography in the Abhanga metre, a rarity in old Marathi literature Niranjana Mādhava is another diplomat-cum-poet

who had the patronage of Bājirāo, the Prime Minister of Shāhu. He is the author of a number of works the contents of which include a variety of subjects like philosophy, narratives, devotional odes, biography, travels and metrics. As a diplomat he travelled far and wide and his graphic descriptions of the places of pilgrimage in India which speak of his keen observation and sense of humour, are both instructive and interesting. The best of these poets is, however, Sāmarāja whose narrative dealing with the marriage of Rukmīṇī is almost a classic in Marathi literature. Sāmarāja, like Rāghunātha Paṇḍita, had before him the literary epic in Sanskrit as a model which he closely followed dividing his poem into different parts or Sargas and in giving detailed descriptions of men and women with their surroundings. The story is told by a host of poets in Marathi, and yet the fascinating style of Sāmarāja, coupled with his perfect understanding of the human mind, gives his poem a freshness unknown before.

We cannot come to the culminating point of this school of learned poets without a brief mention at least of some of the authors belonging to the eighteenth century not connected with the school referred to above. The foremost of these is Śrīdhara (1678-1729) whose major works like *Rāma-Vijaya*, *Hari-Vijaya* and *Pāṇḍava-Pratāpa*, dealing with lives of Rāma, Krishna and the Pāṇḍavas respectively, have won for him great popularity with every class of readers, unknown to any other poet before. All his works are in the Oṽī metre, and although Śrīdhara wrote under the obvious influence of his great predecessor, Mukteśwara, yet the ease and simplicity of his style and sentiment made him better known and better loved than his superior model. If Śrīdhara is a poet, 'true to the kindred points of heaven and home', Krishna Dayārnava, his contemporary, is more elaborate in his famous commentary on the tenth chapter of the *Bhāgavata*, known as *Hari Varadā*. As the story goes, the work which runs to more than forty thousand verses in the Oṽī metre was undertaken by the poet in his old age as a measure of relief from the agonies of a physical disease from which he was suffering, but was left incomplete on account of his death in the year 1740 and was brought to its close later by his disciple named Uttamśloka. *Hari Varadā* is a fine example of the art of uniting poetic beauty with philosophical gravity, and the author deserves our compliment for attempting successfully such a narrative with a universal appeal. Mādhvamuni and Amṛitarāya are other poets, the first a master and the other his disciple both known for their rhythmic songs and lyrics, devoted to ethical teachings, unparalleled in Marathi literature. In particular, Amṛitarāya, popularised a form of poetry known as *Katāva*, which is influenced both in its matter and manner by Hindi poetry and which excels in sweet-sounding words, aptly placed with a rhythm about them, making the composition a favourite with those who speak to the masses through the means of *Kīrtana*. Sohrobañātha from Goa and Mahipati from Gwalior are two more

songsters of those days whose devotional and mystical songs are pleasant both to the heart and to the ear, and have gone deep into the minds of their listeners on account of the mastery over form and expression that we find in them. The last of these poets is Jyōtipantadādā, also known as Mahā-Bhāgawata because of his commentary on the whole of Bhāgawata. He resigned his high post in the administrative service of the Pēshwās and devoted himself to the service of God. He is known to have taken a vow to build one thousand temples of the god Viṭṭhala whose devotee he was, but could not go beyond seven hundred and fifty because of his death which took place in the year 1788.

#### 8. *Mōrōpant and his importance in Marathi Literature*

To a later age than the limits of this section, belongs Mōrōpant (1729-1794), who is definitely the greatest of the classical Marathi poets. Well-versed in Sanskrit, Mōrōpant spent most of his life as a sermonizer at Bārāmati near Poona, and all his poetry, for which he had a natural aptitude, can be said to be the outcome of his profession. Being a poet with a genius for the epic form, he directed his literary powers towards rendering into Marathi the complete *Mahābhārata*, *Krishnavijaya* and *Harivaṁśa* from the *Bhāgavata*. He is at his best in the former which is unsurpassed by any other similar attempt in Marathi so far as the art of narration is concerned. A master of characterisation that he was, his portraits of the towering personalities of Mahābhārata are at once real and ideal, individualistic and typical. His style, too, is lively and vigorous, being at the same time poetical. Though not a poet-saint, Mōrōpant cherished the traditions of the cult of Bhakti or Devotion to the extent of motivating his writings, the best example of which is *Kekāvalī*, a long devotional lyric, displaying both intellect and emotion.





(v) PERSIAN

by DR. NAZIR AHMAD

*Synopsis*

I. Introduction

The Bahmanīs.

Bahmanī Succession States,

II. Poets :

Shāh Rājū Qattāl. 'Iṣāmī. Muḥammad II. Firōz Shāh. Khwājā Banda Nawāz Gēsū Darāz. Ādhari. Nazīrī. Shahīdī Qummi. Maulānāzādā Badī'ī Samarqandī. Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf Waqu'ī. Zuhūrī. Maulānā Malik. Muḥammad Hāshimī Sanjar. Bāqir Kāshānī. Haidar-i Zihni. Askarī Kāshānī. Rashīd Qazwīnī. Āqā Muḥammad Nāmā. Maulānā Fahim. 'Abdu'l Qādir Naurasī. Ghiāthē Munṣif. 'Arif Ēgī. Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min Adā'ī. Mīr Mu'min Astarābādī. Mīrak Mu'in Sabzawārī. Hājī Abarqūhī. Mīrzā Muḥammad Amīn Mīr Jumlā. Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm. Hākīm Ātashī. Shāh Abu'l Ma'ālī. Ruknu'd-dīn Mas'ūd Kāshī, alias Hākīm Ruknā Masīh. Sālik Yazdī. Mīrzā Razī Dānīsh.

III. Historians and historical works.

(i) Under the Bahmanīs.

(ii) Under the 'Adīl Shāhīs.

(iii) Under the Quṭb Shāhīs.

(iv) Under the Nizām Shāhīs.

IV. General and miscellaneous Literature.



## I Introduction

Persian Literature in Medieval Deccan takes its root precisely in the same soil as it does in the case of Northern India. It was the literature and language of the ruling class in the North as well as in the South. Southern India had seen the grip of the Persian speaking peoples as early as in the period of 'Alā'ud-dīn Khaljī whose commander Malik Kāfūr had penetrated deep into the farthest limits of the South and had made it a part of the Khaljī empire. This conquest of the Deccan, however, made little impact on its cultural and literary condition till the middle of the 14th century when the foundation of an independent Deccan was laid. From this time onwards Deccan too became a seat of government witnessing the literary and cultural activities which were hitherto confined to Delhi, Lahore or Multan. 'Alā'ud-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh was the first ruler of the Bahmanī Kingdom and he claimed to be a descendent of Bahman the legendary king of Persia. With his accession to the throne a continuous flow of poets, scholars and saints came to the Deccan from Persia. He is alleged to have instituted an annual festival on the occasion of Naurōz when he used to give audience to poets and eminent scholars, the most significant of whom were 'Isāmī the author of the *Futūhu's-Salātin* and Shaikh 'Ainu'd-dīn Bijāpūrī who added a supplement to the *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri*. Renowned persons like Mullā Mu'īnu'd-dīn Haravī, Hakīm Alīmud-dīn Tabrizī, Hakīm Nasīru'd-dīn Shīrāzī, Luṭfu'l-lāh Sabzwārī, Muftī Ahmad Haravī, Mīr Muhammad Badakhshī, Sharif Samarqandī, Saifu'd-dīn Ghori and Fazlu'l-lāh Injū were attached to his court. One very important step that went along way in promoting the cause of Persian language and literature was the establishment of educational institutions at Elīchpūr, Gulbarga, Daulatābād and other places during his reign. The opening of these educational institutions served to popularise Persian among the youth of the country. A closer association of Brahmans with the state administration resulted in carrying the court language to the non-Muslim population of the country and through it, influencing the literatures of other regional languages.

The next important king from the point of view of patronizing Persian literature is Sultān Muhammad Shāh II (1378-97)<sup>1</sup>. Fortunately the Bahmanī kingdom was fairly established by the time he ascended the throne and he got leisure and peace to devote himself to cultural pursuits. He had the privilege of being educated and trained by Mīr Fazlu'l-lāh Injū whose company made him not only a learned man of refined taste but also a poet of Persian.

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1 *Fer*, I, 301 [The whole question whether the name of the king was Muḥammad as in *Burhan* or Maḥmūd as in *Fer*, has been set at rest by the king's coins, for which see Sherwanī, *Bahmanis*, 139, n 34 Ed.]

During his regime poets received special attention. Poets and men of letters began to pour into his court from Persia and Iraq where his fame as a patron of art and literature had reached. He invited Hāfiz of Shirāz and it is to this illustrious monarch that Hāfiz addressed his famous *ghazal* beginning with the following verse:

دے دافم سر بردن جہاں یکسر نمی آورد  
 سے بیروہی دلق ما کریں بہتر نمی آورد

The Sultān had a profound knowledge of Arabic and Persian. As a poet, however, his position cannot be assessed as his *diwān* no more exists.<sup>2</sup> Ferishta, while mentioning him as a poet, have given three couplets only as a specimen of his poetry.

Sultān Tājū d-dīn Firōz Shah Bahmanī (1397-1422) is reckoned as the greatest of all the Bahmanī kings so far as intellectual attainment is concerned. His romantic temperament, his love for music and his knowledge of different languages all went to pave the way for an ideal poet as well as a patron of literature. He is alleged to have begun composing *ghazals* before his accession to the throne. His pen-name was 'Urūjī which he later on changed to Firūzī. Ferishta has given two of his *ghazals* and one quatrain.<sup>3</sup> It is no wonder that the reign of this prince became a significant period of Persian literature in Deccan. He renewed contacts with the Persian-speaking countries and invited a large number of scholars and writers from Iran and Khurāsān. He also sent an embassy to Amīr Timūr. His capital Gulbarga became a great seat of Persian scholarship and learning.

Shihābu'd-dīn Ahmad I (1422-36), was a strictly religious monarch but he also loved poetry and music. Although his court did not possess the glamour of that of his predecessor Firōz, yet he had many poets at his court. Notable among them was Ādhari who was entrusted with the task of composing the history of the Bahmanī rulers in verse. A history in prose was already written by Mullā Dāwūd Bidrī which very much facilitated Ādhari's work. Keeping in view the famous *Shah Nāmā* of Firdausī, he versified the heroic deeds of the Bahmanī monarchs up to Ahmad Shah's reign and named the epic *Bahman Nāmā*.

Sultān Muḥammad III Bahmanī's reign (1463-82) is chiefly characterised by the presence of the illustrious minister and scholar Khwāja Maḥmūd Gāwān (decapitated, 1481). The name of the Khwāja is by far the most important in developing and spreading the knowledge of Persian language and literature. He laid the foundation of the famous Madrasā at Bidar and made arrangement

2. *Ibid*, I, 302.

3. *Ibid*, I, 319.

for the visits and stay of renowned scholars, such as Jalālu'd-dīn Dawānī, from Persian-speaking countries. Mahmūd Gāwān was on friendly terms with many eminent poets and writers of the day. Maulānā 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Jāmī, Khwāja 'Ubaidu'l-lāh al Ahrār the great Naqshbandī Sūfī, Sharfu'd-dīn 'Alī Yazdī, author of *Zafar Nāmā*, and Shamsu'd-dīn Sakhawī are a few prominent names from the long list of his friends and admirers. It was entirely due to the efforts of this able minister and statesman that Bidai became a seat of Persian culture and education and its fame spread to distant parts of the Muslim world.

With the disintegration of Bahmanī Kingdom five Sultānates sprang up viz, 'Ādil Shāhī, Quṭb Shāhī, Nizām Shāhī, 'Imād Shāhī and Barīd Shāhī. The 'Imād Shāhī and Barīd Shāhī Kingdoms were annexed by the Nizām Shāhī and 'Ādil Shāhī dynasties, and latter the Quṭb Shāhīs are very important from our point of view. The third kingdom namely Nizām Shāhī too patronized poets and scholars but its life was comparatively short and even this period was disturbed by the continuous threats of the Mughals from the north and the 'Nizām Shāhīs from the south. During the reign of Burhān Nizām Shāh I (1509-53) a slightly favourable atmosphere prevailed for literary patronage at Ahmadnagar through the efforts of Shāh Tāhīr Husainī, a leading Shī'ah divine, who was himself a poet and scholar of repute. He succeeded in converting Burhān Nizām Shāh to the Shī'ah faith and in establishing a college of theology at Ahmadnagar which subsequently attracted a number of Persian scholars and writers from over the seas. Besides divines, scholars flourished under the regime of this Sultān of whom one was Maulānā-ṣādā Badī'ī Samarqandī. Burhān Nizām Shāh II (d 1595) was a liberal patron of scholars and men of letters, and Zuhūrī dedicated his famous *Sāqī Nāmā* to him. Other poets like Malik Qummī, Hardar Zihni, Hayātī etc., were also attached to the court of Nizām Shāh. Historians like Tabatabāī, Khurshāh Husainī and Ferishta enjoyed the Nizām Shāhī patronage for some time. But internal disorders forced most of the poets and scholars to leave Ahmadnagar and get themselves attached to the courts of 'Ādil Shāhīs at Bijapur and Quṭb Shāhīs at Golkonda.

Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān (1490-1510), the founder of the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom, a liberal patron of learning was himself a poet and was conversant with rhetorics. He invited scholars from Arabia, Persia and Transoxiana to Bijapur. An important factor responsible for the development of Persian literature at Bijapur was that, like the Safawīs, it proclaimed Shī'ism as the state religion. The religious and ideological unity of both resulted in a closer collaboration in cultural and political affairs as well.<sup>4</sup> It also manifested itself in the exchange of diplomatic missions and the influx of literary talent from Persia. Yūsuf himself was a poet and Ferishta has quoted a few of his ghazals and rubā'īs

Ismā'il 'Ādil (1510-1534) was even more enthusiastic in his attachment to the Safawī empire, and on every Friday prayers were recited for the long life of Shāh Ismā'il Safawī under his régime. He was a good poet and wrote under the pen-name of Wifā'i. Ferishta<sup>5</sup> mentions him as the best poet of the Deccan royalty. A closer examination of his *ghazals* reveals originality and freshness as well as tender lyricism, and the reader cannot but subscribe to the view expressed by the famous historian.

The name of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I (1558-80) surpasses most of 'Ādil Shāhī kings in magnanimity, munificence and patronage of art and literature. On ascending the throne his first action was to restore Shi'ism as a state religion and to undo the harm which Āfāqī scholars, poets and nobles had suffered at the hands of his father Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I (d. 1558). He distributed nearly one and a half crore of hons of gold among his favourite scholars. Shāh Fathu'l-lāh Shirāzī, Hakīm Ahmad Gilānī, Mir Shamsu'd-dīn Mahmūd Isfahānī, Shāh Abu l-Qāsim Injū, Murtazā Khān Injū, Rafī'u-dīn Shirāzī and Afzal Khān Shirāzī are a few renowned persons from amongst the lot of learned men who enjoyed his patronage. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was himself a scholar well-versed in different Muslim sciences including art and calligraphy. He was not only fond of collecting and preserving books in his library but was also a voracious reader. He is alleged to carry four boxes full of books even on the battle-fronts.

Next comes the tallest figure in literary patronage, namely Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II (1580-1627) who has been immortalised by his association with Ferishta, Zuhurī and Malik Qummi. This prince received his early education perhaps in the local dialect, admixture of Dakhnī and Marathī, but later on learned Persian and became fairly well-acquainted with it. His minister Shāh Nawāz Khān was mainly responsible for bringing him closer to Persian and for creating a genuine taste for its literature. It was on the desire of this monarch that Muḥammad Qasim Ferishta undertook to write his famous history, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*. Another writer Rafī'u'd-dīn Shirāzī was ordered to prepare an abridged edition of the *Rauzat-u's-Safa* and the *Habib-u's-Siyar*. Zuhurī's famous works were mostly written under his patronage and he is stated to have conferred on the latter a fabulous reward for writing jointly with his father-in-law Malik Qummi the *Gulzār-i Ibrāhīm* and the *Khawān-i Khālīl*. Malik's *Mathnavī Manba'u'l-Auhār* on the model of Nizāmī's *Makhzanu'l-Asrār* was composed on the royal direction. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh was himself a poet and he composed a book on songs entitled *Kitāb-i Nauras* in the Dakhnī language\*. The most important thing about Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh which greatly helped in developing Persian art and literature was his keen critical

5 *Ibid*, 26

\*(This has been edited by Dr. Nazir Ahmad and published by the Bharatiya Kala Kendra, New Delhi, 1956. Ed.)

sensibility Zuhūrī's writings bear ample testimony to this fact when he praises the King for understanding and appreciating the most delicate shades of poetry. The Sultān used to advise the poets of his court in the art of versification. His critical insight in poetry may be due to his keen sense of music of which he has been held a great authority and as an unequalled patron.

A brilliant galaxy of divines, poets, minstrels, musicians, painters, calligraphers, illuminators, historians and traditionalists adorned his court at Bijāpūr. This pageant of the prodigies of art and erudition rivalled with the celebrities at court of Delhi and Agra and even that of Isfahān and Qazwīn.

Robert Skelton has paid a glowing tribute to the king in respect of his services for the cause of Deccan art thus

"The school of Deccani painting that has excited the most interest and will probably continue to do so is that of Bijāpūr. Much of this interest is stimulated by the personality of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II whose reign from 988/1580 to 1037/1627 exactly bridges the period when the aesthetic achievement of Deccani painting seems to have been at its height"<sup>6</sup>

Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh's successor Muhammad 'Adil Shāh (1627-56) continued the patronage of art and literature, though he was more interested in architecture. Zuhūrī and Fuzūnī undertook to write historical books at his behest. Ātashī wrote an account of campaigns of the kings of Bijāpur in verse after the manner of Nizāmī. The names of Mīrza Daulat Shāh, Mīrza Muqīm and Syed Nūru'l-lāh may also be mentioned among those who flourished under his patronage.

'Alī 'Adil Shāh II (1656-1672) was more inclined towards Dakhni than Persian. Persian poets and scholars, however, continued to receive royal favour. Shāh Abu'l Ma'ālī, Mullā 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, Mīr Ni'matu'l-lāh, Malik Akbar Dabīr, Mīr 'Alī Rīza, Malik Mas'ūd, 'Abdu'l-Qādir, 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf, 'Abdu'l-Ghanī Nūru'l-lāh Husainī are some of the poets and scholars who flourished at this time. During the rule of the last king of the 'Adil Shāhī dynasty, Sikandar 'Adil Shāh (1672-86), the influence of Persian was reduced to a negligible position due to political instability and internal disruptions. This is why we find no Persian poet or scholar of repute during his regime.

Sultān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk (d. 1543) the founder of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty was more an administrator and a soldier than a patron of learning. Still we find that Mulla Husain Tabasī the author of an extinct work *Marghūbu'l Qulūb* received liberal patronage at his hands. His successor Jamshīd (1543-50) was the first ruler of the dynasty who was also a poet. He wrote

6 Skelton "Documents for the study of painting at Bijapur", *Arts Asiaticques* f 2, 1958, 98

ghazals as well qasīdās and had a poet-laureate at his court whose name was Mullā Muhammad Sharīf Wuqū'ī Nishapūrī. The next ruler Sultān Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh (1540-80) may be mentioned for two historical works written under his patronage namely the *Iārīkh-i Jilchī-i Nizām Shāh* and the *Majma'ū'l-Akhhār* written by Khurshāh and Sharīf respectively. Husain Tablīsī wrote a treatise named *Saudiyah* or the Book of the Game at the behest of the Sultān.

Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh (1580-1611) was the most important literary figure in the Quṭb Shāhī royalty. His regime saw the greatest development of fine arts including poetry. The royal court was full of brilliant scholars, poets and *illuminati* of learning. Prominent among them were Mirza Muhammad Amīn Shahrīstānī, Mīr Mu'mīn, Rukna-i Masīh, Sirāju'd-dīn 'Arīf, Ghīyāthu'd-dīn Isfahānī, Mīr Hasan 'Askarī, Mīr Majdu'd-dīn, Muhsin Hamadānī, Wahshī Kāshānī, Sharīf Kāshī, Wajhī or Wajihī and Ashraf Muḥammad-Qulī was a versatile genius and wrote poems in Dakhnī and Persian. His successor Sultān Muhammad Quṭb Shāh (1611-1626) developed deep interest in history, biography, theology and poetry. He made valuable additions to his library and appointed expert calligraphists to transcribe copies of rare manuscripts. The Sultān was himself a writer and composed poetry under the pen-name of Zillu'l-lāh. The reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh (1626-72) provided special favours and opportunities for talented men of Iran. Two prominent Persians, namely Ibn-i Khātūn and Muḥammad Rīzā Astarābādī, who were in charge of the administration, extended all facilities to the Persian-speaking immigrants. The influx of Iranians at Golkonda at this time was also due to the fact that Bijapur and almost passed into the hands of the Dakhnīs, while the Quṭb Shāhī monarchs maintained very cordial relation with the Safawī empire. Mullā Jamālu'd-dīn, Maulanā Husain Āmīlī, Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad, Syed 'Alī Ma'sūm, Muḥammad Hussain Burhān, Muḥammad-Qulī Jāmi, Rāzī Dānish may be mentioned as writers of his reign. The last ruler Abu'l-Hasan Tānā Shāh (1672-1687) was also interested in many branches of knowledge, and encouraged poets and writers, but unfortunately he fell before the expanding might of the Mughal empire. The extinction of the Dakhnī kingdoms at the hands of Aurangzēb closed the chapter of Persian art and learning in the Deccan as a separate entity.

The role of Sufīs in the development of Persian literature in the Deccan is no less significant than that of the kings, their ministers and nobles. Chronologically the infiltration of influence of Islam through the missionary activities of Sufī saints preceded the political conquest of the Deccan. These bearers of a new message, whether they hailed from North India or from over the seas, generally adopted Persian as a medium of expression of their views. Thus they were responsible for the diffusion of Islamic learning and tenets of Suḥism, while on the other hand they promoted the spread and popularity of Persian language and literature.



Some of the saints and scholars who have left deep impress in respect of their services for the cause of Persian literature are Shāh Rājū Qattāl, (d 731), Burhānu'd-dīn Gh̄arīb (d 771), Shaikh 'Ainu'd-dīn Ganju'l 'Ulūm (d 795), Khwāja Banda Nawāz Ḡesu Darāz (d 825), Shihābu'd dīn Daulatābādī (d 849), and Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh Walī

## II Poets

A large number of Persian poets and writers flourished in the Deccan under the patronage of the Bahmanī, the 'Ādil Shāhī, the Quṭb Shāhī and the Nizām Shāhī dynasties. But of litterateurs of the Bahmanī dynasty only a few are known to us. It is really a very sorry state of affairs that during a hundred and forty year rule of this dynasty not even a dozen poets and writers of repute are generally known. The unusual phenomenon as to why the works of none of the first class poets of the Bahmanī period have survived, cannot be accounted for. However it is gratifying to note that much of the Persian literature produced in the subsequent period of the 'Ādil Shāhī, Quṭb Shāhī and Nizām Shāhī rule is preserved, and in the following pages an attempt is being made to make an appraisal of this literature. As poetry forms the major bulk, it will be examined first. Since the poets who had flourished during the later period are numerous, only the outstanding among them have been selected here for examination.

### 1 *Shāh Rājū Qattāl*

Syed Yūsuf b 'Alī b Muhammad Dihlawī popularly known as Shāh Rājū Qattāl was a resident of Delhi. On his migration to the Deccan in 725 H, he is stated to have settled near Khuldābād and died in 731 H. A small copy of his Diwān comprising of some ghazals, qasidās and qit'ās is preserved in the State Central (Aṣafiya) Library, Hyderabad. As an exponent of Sufism, Shāh Rājū emphasises the doctrines of spiritualism and reveals his mood of ecstasy in his lyrics. *Khudī* (ego), *Tajallī* (revelation), *Nūr-i Ahmad* (the light of the Prophet), *Ma siva Allāh* (nothing other than God), *Hama-ūst* are some of the topics on which he has expressed his views in these lyrics.<sup>7</sup>

### 2 *'Isāmī*

'Isāmī the author of *Futūhu's-Salātīn*, may well be declared to be the first great poet of Bahmanī period. This book is a comprehensive history in verse of medieval India written at Daulatābād in 751 H about two and a half centuries before the *Tārīkh-i Firishtā*. It is composed in imitation of the famous *Shah Nāmā* by Firdausī and extols the heroic deeds of the early Muslim conquerors of India. It ends with the establishment of Bahmanī kingdom in the Deccan. It is rich in dates, details of battles and important civil and military personages.

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<sup>7</sup> Devare, 20-22

Although little notice has been taken of 'Isāmi by the latter Tadhkira writers, he has given a substantial account of his own life and career. He was born at Delhi about the year 711/1311-12. His grandfather was an officer in sultān Balban's administration. Isāmi was forced to migrate to Daulatābād at the age of 16 where he lived for twentyfour years. Qāzi Burhānu d-dīn of Daulatābād was greatly impressed by his learning and scholarship and introduced him to the court of Sultān 'Alā u'd dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh. It was under the patronage of this king that 'Isāmi wrote his historical *Mathnavi*, *Futūhu's-Salātīn*. This important history has been frequently used by the subsequent historians of India.<sup>8</sup>

### 3 *Muhammad II*<sup>9</sup>

Muhammad himself a poet and calligrapher and a liberal patron of scholars and poets. He was well-versed both in Arabic and Persian. It is however unfortunate that all his compositions are lost. As has been mentioned above, Ferishtā has cited three of his verses which are too short to warrant a critical estimate of his poetical attainments. However these lines are lucid and natural and the ideas contained are original and forceful.<sup>10</sup>

### 4 *Fīrōz Shah*

Sultān Tāju'd-dīn Fīrōz (1397-1422) the eighth ruler in the line, was one of the most distinguished monarchs of the dynasty. In intellectual and martial attainments he has few parallels. Being himself a gifted poet his court witnessed the array of paragons of erudition, poetry and philosophy drawn from centres of Persia and Central Asia. Ferishta informs us that Fīrōz wrote under the pen-names of Fīrōzi and 'Uruji. The verses quoted by him, though not many in number, reveal the Sultān's unusual command over Persian language and poetry. As instances the following may be quoted:

بدای مشایخ زخم دهر بردم تنگ است      که دل بجز سودای عشق در جنگ است  
دماغ طبع مروجی چه دلکشا چمنی است      چمن مگوی که آبل آسمان نرنگ است<sup>11</sup>

### 5 *Khwaja Gēsū Darāz*

The renowned saint who had played the most significant role in the promotion of Sūfism and had thereby contributed lavishly to the development

8 Preface to *Futūhu's Salātīn* by its editor Dr. Mahdi Husain. The book was published by Hindustani Academy, Allahābād, in July 1937.

9 [For the controversy regarding the name of the Sultān, see above fn 1, *Bāhmants*, 139, fn 34 *Ed*].

10 Vol 1, 301-2. Some of the verses are

آنکھا که لطیف در سب دھد متصب مراد      نصف سیاه و طالع مژمون برادر است  
عاقبت در سینه کار خون فاسد میکند      رخصتی ای دل که از لباس شترمی خرم

11 Fer, I, 309

of Persian literature in the Deccan, is Khwāja Banda-Nawāz, Sadru'd-dīn Abu'l-Fath Syed Muhammad Husaini popularly known as Gēsu Darāz. Though born in Delhi in 721/1321, he was taken to Daulatābād at an early age and was brought up there. After some time Syed Husaini went back to Delhi where he became a disciple of Shaikh Nāsiru'd-dīn Mahmūd Charagh-i Delhi. On the death of his Pīr in 757/1356 the Khwāja was chosen as his successor. In 801/1398 Khwāja Bandā Nawāz left Delhi for Deccan via Gujarāt and Daulatābād, he is reported to have arrived at Gulbarga in 815/1412-13<sup>12</sup> and settled down there. The then Sultān, Fīrōz Shāh Bahmanī held him in great veneration and highly honoured him. The saint died within a few months after the Sultan's death, in 825/1422.

Khwāja Gēsu-Darāz was a scholar and poet of repute. He has left behind a number of books both in Arabic and Persian on religion and Sufism,<sup>13</sup> besides a *Dīwān* of lyrics named *Anīsu'l-'Ushshāq*.<sup>14</sup> The introductory part of the *Dīwān* comprises a poem in praise of God, verses in praise of the four Orthodox Caliphs, and a few poems in praise of his spiritual guide Shaikh Nāsiru'd-dīn. The Khwāja employs various pen-names such as Muhammad, Abu'l-Fath, Gēsu-Darāz and Sadru'd-dīn. His style is lucid and his rhymes are generally familiar and musical. He tries to conceal sentiments of divine love in the garb of allegory and symbolism, but these are too delicate to hide the radiant light of spiritual love. A considerable portion of the *Dīwān* was composed at an advanced stage of his life; but even in such verses the poet does not lose sight of lucidity of expression and sincerity of purpose.

## 6 *Ādharī*

Shaikh Ādharī's full name was Nūru'd-dīn Hamza son of 'Alī Malik Tūsī also called Baihaqī Isfrā'īnī.<sup>15</sup> He started writing poetry at an early age and was enlisted in the service of Ulugh Bēg<sup>16</sup> (d. 1449). His reputation as a panegyrist led him to the court of Emperor Shah Rukh (d. 1447) who, according to an authority, made him the poet laureate of the court. Ādharī had a spiritual bent of mind and the royal patronage and material prosperity could not give him spiritual contentment. With the passage of time he became more and more mystic minded and visited the shrines of saints and sufis. At first he became a disciple of Shaikh Muhiyu'd-dīn Tūsī and went with him on a pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return from the Hajj, his Pīr died.<sup>17</sup> Then he

12 *Fer*, II, 316

13 *Vide* Prof. K. A. Nizāmī's article in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1115

14 It has been edited by 'Āṭā Husain and published in Hyderabad

15 See *Fihrist-i Majlis*, III, 523. See also *Lughāt Nāmā* and *Ātashkada i Ādhar*, 88

16 In *Majālisu l-'Ushshāq* (73rd Majlis), *Fer*, I, V I, 326, *Farhang i Jahāngiri* for an interesting dialogue between Ulugh Bēg and Ādharī

17 *Fihrist i Majlis*, III, 513

got himself attached to Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh and turned into a devout spiritualist. According to Ferishta, after performing his Hajj he returned to the Deccan, perhaps about 832/1428-29 at the behest of his preceptor Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh (d. 834/1430-1). Shihābu'd-dīn Ahmad I the then Bahmani ruler of Deccan was greatly impressed by the saint and paid him due honour and respect. Subsequently the poet was asked to compose the history of the Bahmani rule in verse which he did under the title of *Bahman-Nāma-i Dakni* partly in the Deccan and partly in Khurāsān where he had ultimately returned by Ahmad Shāh's permission.<sup>18</sup> Ādhari died in 866 H. at an advanced age of 82<sup>19</sup> years and the date is to be calculated from the word "*Khusrō*"<sup>20</sup> in this line

چراو مانند خسرو بود در شعر      اراں تاراج تو تش گشت خسرو

His important compositions are:<sup>21</sup>

- 1 *Jawāhirul-Asrār* or *Miftahul-Asrār* regarding Huruf-i Muqatta'āt. Traditions of the Prophet, sayings of the saints etc. An abridged edition was published at Tehrān in 1303 H.
- 2 *Mirātu'l-Asrār*, a *mathnavi* dealing with sufism, philosophy and ethics.
- 3 *Sa'at-i Safā* a treatise written dealing with the rituals of the Hajj.
- 4 *'Ajaibul-Gharā'ib*, dealing with the wonders of the world. One copy is preserved at Leningrad and another incomplete MS. is located in the Majlis Library, Tehrān.
- 5 *Diwān* which exists in at least three MSS, one in the private library of Dr. Ehsān Yār Shāhīr of Tehrān, another in Leningrad and a third at Copenhagen.
- 6 *Bahman Nāma*. As it remained unfinished at Ādhari's death it was taken up by two other poets, viz., Naziri and Sāmiri. The *Bahman Nāma* was a long *mathnavi* in the Shāh Nāma metre. It is no longer extant but some verses are quoted in Ferishta<sup>22</sup> and other works.

Ferishta raised some doubts about its attribution to Ādhari while writing about the pedigree of 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh the founder of the dynasty.<sup>23</sup> But while writing the account of Sultān Ahmad Shāh he became quite sure about the authenticity of its authorship to Ādhari.<sup>24</sup> The late Naṣīru'd-dīn

<sup>18</sup> *Fer*, I, 32-56

<sup>19</sup> *Fihrist-i Majlis* and *Lughat Nāma*, 58 of works refer to *Fihrist-i Majlis*, 514-25 *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, No. 31, 1922

<sup>20</sup> *Daulat Shah*, 205

<sup>21</sup> *Fer*, I, 325

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, 296

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, 281

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, 325-26. It is significant to note that the author of the *Burhān-i Ma'ūthir* mentions Ādhari but does not mention his *Bahman Nāma*, 71

Hashimī considered *Ādhari* a poet of Dakhnī on the assumption that the *Bahman Nāmā* was in Dakhnī and not in Persian<sup>25</sup> But it has been decisively proved that he has totally misunderstood the whole point I shall quote below a few verses which have been recorded by Ferishta in his history These two verses are in praise of the royal palace

حیدر ا قصر مشید که در دوطاعت آسمان سدغ ار پایۀ ایں درگاه است  
آسمان هم نتوان گفت که ترک ادبست قصر سلطان جهان احمد بهی شاه است<sup>26</sup>

The following lines from the *Bahman Nāmā* are in praise of Mujāhid Shah Bahmanī

دگرواره چون پای بیرون نهاد که نشیند گفت کسی وقت شور  
چنان در سر کنگرغ میدان دید که انگشت حیرت ملک می گرد<sup>27</sup>

Here are some of the lines are of his *ghazals*

مجلسی که درو گنج کردیا بخشند هزار ادبشاهی بیک گدا بخشند  
نکوی میکند ار مجلسی چه عم دارم که ساقیا همه حام جهان نما بخشند<sup>28</sup>

## 7 Nazirī

Nazirī was born at Tūs and was a disciple of Shāh Nī 'matu'l-lāh On his arrival in India he got himself attached to *Khawāja Mahmūd Gāwān* He was ultimately raised to the position of a poet-laureate at the court of Sultān 'Alā'ud-dīn Ahmad II (d 862) The poet was on very close terms with the members of the family of Shāh Nī 'matu'l-lāh and on this account was suspected of secret alliance with Shāh Habibu'l-lāh He was therefore placed into confinement by Sultān Humāyūn Shāh (d 865), but was released after some time through the influence of a noble called Yūsuf Turk Subsequent to his release from prison Nazirī chose to lead a secluded life

Nazirī was very critical of the tyrannical rule of Humāyūn Shāh and when the Sultān died he denounced him again in the following *qit'ah*

همادون شاه مرد و دست عالم تعالی الله رهی مرگ همدون  
جهان پر رزق شد تاراج و تشر هم ار رزق جهان آرید بیرون<sup>29</sup>

Nazirī is stated to have undertaken to complete *Ādhari*'s unfinished *Bahman Nāmā* One of his contemporaries Mullā Sāmī'i and some other

25 Hāshimī *Dakan men Urdu*, 40

26 *Fer*, I, 325

27 *Ibid*, 296

28 *Ibid*, 326

29 *Ibid*, I 343

poets also collaborated in this task. The additional verses were given the title of *Mulhaqāt-i Bahman Nāmā* <sup>30</sup>

### 8 *Shahīdī Qumī*

Shahīdī, a resident of Qum, was the poet-laureate of Sultān Ya'qūb<sup>31</sup> of Tabriz and enjoyed his favours and patronage. He had been some time in Hirāt and lived in the company of Maulānā Jāmi<sup>32</sup>. He is reported to have come to India and settled down in Gujarāt where he is stated to have died at an advanced age of nearly one hundred years <sup>33</sup>

It is not quite clear from where the poet proceeded to India. Amīn-i Ahmad<sup>34</sup> and Taqī Isfahānī<sup>35</sup> are in agreement that having left Sultān Ya'qūb's court<sup>36</sup> Shahīdī arrived in Gujarāt. The former has completely ignored Shahīdī's residence at Hirāt with Jāmi, whereas the latter supposes that from Hirāt he went to Shāh Ya'qūb and lived with him till his arrival in India. But some other writers hold that from Tabriz Shahīdī went to Hirāt from where he migrated to India <sup>37</sup>. But it is not quite correct that he left Hirāt only after Jāmi's death. Taqī Isfahānī has this to say regarding his general behaviour —

"His manners were despised by the poets of the court, but Maulānā Jāmi knew his worth and had great respect for him. It is said he was the poet-laureate of the court of Sultān Ya'qūb but the poets, scholars and other dignitaries were very much tired of him. So he left them all, severed his connection with the court, and migrated to Gujarāt where after quite a long time he died" <sup>38</sup>

This statement is not in consonance with those who state that he left the court of Sultān Ya'qūb only after the latter's death.

Shahīdī was some time in the court of Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh. It is stated by Ferishtā<sup>39</sup> that on the surrender of the fort of Bidar about 935/1528-29, Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh was so pleased that he threw open the gates of the Barīd Shāhi treasury to the scholars and the poets of his court. Shahīdī who had very recently arrived from Gujarāt could not avail of this opportunity due to fatigue and infirmity and pleaded for another chance. The Sultān acceding

30 *Ibid*, 326

31 *Haft Iqlm*, 507

32 *'Arafāt*, Aligarh MS 259 f

33 *Majma'u'l Fuṣṣaha*, II, 43

34 *Haft Iqlm*, 507

35 *'Arafāt*, fol 259

36 Amīn says the poet left the court on Sultān's death

37 See Devare, *op cit*, 196

38 See *'Arafāt*, fol 259

39 *Fer*, II, 24

to his request permitted him to go to the treasury and take away as much gold as possible

Shahīdī seems to have spent the closing days of his life at the 'Ādil Shāhī court at Bijāpūr. As he is stated to have died in 936/1529-30, *i.e.*, within about one year of his arrival at this court, it has been supposed by some scholars<sup>40</sup> that he died at this place. But Taqī Isfahānī who had himself lived some time in Gujarat, has referred to his grave there. This view has been fully supported by the author of the *Khizāna-i 'Āmirā* who on the authority of Qāṭi'ī<sup>41</sup> states that the poet died at Sarkhēj near Ahmadābād.

Shahīdī's poetical compositions in the form a *Diwān* has been located by Dr. Devare in the Āsafīya Library Hyderabad.<sup>42</sup> On the basis of the existing writing of the poet he has formed a definite opinion about his poetry.<sup>43</sup> His lyrical poetry is highly effective. His odes are models of clarity and fluency of expression and in this form the poet has imitated Hāfiz and Jāmī. Both Taqī Isfahānī and Amīn have preserved a good number of lines from his lyrics.

### 9 *Maulānāzādā Badī'ī Samarqandī*

Maulānāzādā Badī'ī of Samarqand, some of whose *Qasīdās* and *Ghazals* are included in the Bankipūr MS. of Taqī Kashī's *tadhkira*, the *Khulāsatu'l-Ash'ar*,<sup>44</sup> was a poet attached to the court of Burhān Nizām Shāh. Nothing is known about him except that he migrated to the Deccan and led a successful life at Junnār. As the latter town was included in the Nizām Shāhī kingdom, it has been concluded that he was attached to the court of Ahmadnagar. This is also fully proved by his three *Qasīdās* which are all in praise of Burhān Nizām Shāh. For example

نظام جهان شاه دهرای که آردا      دود یخدر اخگر دسر جرح اخگر

In the Nizām Shāhī dynasty two rulers were known as Burhān Nizām Shāh. The first ruled from 911/1505-6 to 961/1554 and the other from 999/1590 to 1003/1594-5. Badī'ī was certainly attached to the former. This conclusion is based on the following facts. In one of his *Qasīdās* the poet informs us of the Sultān's design to annex Rāichūr and Mudgal.

دود داشت که سپاه تر دمآقا حاکم      حص راجور گشایند و حصار مدگل

Rāichūr and Mudgal formed part of the territory of the kingdom of Rāmarāj, the regent of Vijayanagar. As Rāmarāj was killed in 972/1565 in the battle of

40 See Devare *op cit*, 197. The date seems to be doubtful.

41 See *Khizāna-i 'Āmirā*.

42 Devare, 197. The MS. is numbered, 9 see *Fihrist i Asafīya Library*, I.

43 The present writer contributed an article on this poet in the *'Arshī Presentation Volume*, 291-308.

44 Fol. 354-56.

Bannihatti and parts of his territory was annexed by the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar Golkōṇḍā and Bijāpūr. The proposed invasion referred to in Badi'ī's Qasidā would have been contemplated much before this date. In other words the poem in question must have been written earlier than this date *i.e.* during the reign of Burhān Nizām Shāh I.

Regarding Badi'ī's stay in Ahmadnagar and the date of the composition of the qasidās we have some points to discuss. It appears from one of the qasidās that Burhān Nizām Shāh I had adopted the Shī'ah faith

چهار سال جهان از نسیم لطیف تو داد چو هست روزی جنت بحق هشت و چهار

And our authorities show that the Sultān adopted this faith in 944/1537-8.<sup>45</sup> The qasidā informing Nizām Shāh's design to invade Rāichūr and Mudgal was written earlier than 959/1552 for these fortresses were conquered in the said year.<sup>46</sup> From this it is evident that Badi'ī composed his poems in Burhān's praise some time after 944 H. and before 959 H. But we have no information about Badi'ī's actual date of arrival in the Deccan. In the qasidā giving the Sultān's design of the conquest of Rāichūr and Mudgal, the poet says that he has been living in the court for about a *qarn*. Though the term قرن is liable to various interpretations, the smallest period attributed to it is 30 years. And if the word is taken to mean 27 or 28 years, the time of Badi'ī's arrival in the Deccan would be fixed in the vicinity of 930/1524.

A poet named Badi'ī Samarqandī has been noticed by Daulat Shāh<sup>47</sup> and Taqī Isfahānī.<sup>48</sup> The former has stated that he belonged to the time of Baisunqur Mirzā (d. 837/1433-4), while the latter has added that he had survived till the reign of Shāh Tahmasp (d. 984/1479-80). As the verses quoted in the *Khulāṣatu'l Ash'ār* are also quoted by Taqī Isfahānī in the '*Arafāt-i 'Ashiqn*', it is surmised that according to Taqī, Badi'ī Samarqandī was contemporary with Baisunqur Mirzā, but it is not possible for, even if it is supposed that Badi'ī at the time of Mirzā's death in 837 H. was aged only 15 to 20 years, his date of birth would fall in the vicinity of 822-27. But how can he be identical with a poet who is known to compose a qasidā about 957-58 without proving his unusually long life of over 130 or 135 years.

Badi'ī was an effective poet. He could depict any event forcefully. The opening lines of one poem قصیدۀ بهار would bear it out.

رسید 'ار نسیم حیات بخش بهار که سرور را روشی و غنچه را دهد که تار  
 بعضی کوش که استاد کار گاه چمن و غنچه، در در رنج و عناد ده مسمار  
 در بهار دهن غنچه، هیچ خالی نیست عجب نباشد اگر غنچه میکند بسیار

45 *Fer*, II, 104, 109

46 *Ibid*, 32.

47 *Tadhkkira*, Teh. Ed. p. 464

48 Bankipur MS. of the '*Arafāt-i 'Ashiqn*'



His poems fully testify to his powerful imagination and capacity for using suggestive and new similes. But Badī'ī does not seem to be the best at his ghazals. Taqī Kōshī has selected six ghazals but none of them appears to be forceful and effective.

#### 10 *Mullā Muhammad Sharīf Wuqu'ī*

Mullā Muhammad Sharīf Wuqu'ī Nishāpurī was the author of *Majma' u'l-Akhhār* and the poet laureate of Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh. He remained in the Quṭb Shāhī service till the death of Ibīāhīm Quṭb Shāh in 988/1580. During the period of his stay at Golkonda, he commenced his *magnum opus*, viz., *Majma' u'l-Akhhār* which he dedicated to his royal patron, but on reaching the Mughal court, the dedication was changed to the name of Akbar. Badāyūnī admits his skill in calligraphy, *inshā*, and miscellaneous verse-writing.<sup>49</sup> He has cited Wuqu'ī's panegyric in praise of Imām Husayn, and many selections from his verses. He died at Lahore in 1002/1593-4.

#### 11 *Zuhūrī*

Zuhūrī, whose proper name was Nūru'd-dīn,<sup>50</sup> was born in Qā'in, and not in Turshīz as is generally averred, some time about 943-4/1536-8. It was in 988/1580 that he left for India and arrived in Ahmadnagar during the reign of Murtazā Nizām Shāh who warmly received him. He composed poems in praise of Murtazā Nizām, his ministers Salābat Khān and Mīrzā Nazīrī, and many other nobles of the court. He also sent some poems extolling Khān-i Khānān and received favours from him.

Zuhūrī composed his *Sāqī Nāmā* in praise of Burhān Nizām Shāh II, and was abundantly rewarded by this liberal patron. After the latter's death the poet left Ahmadnagar for Bijāpūr about 1004/1595-6 and got admittance into the 'Ādil Shāhī court to which he was attached until his death in 1025/1616.

A large part of his voluminous *Kulliyāt*, comprising more than thirty thousand verses of all forms, besides his prose-writings, was completed during this period of his life. It was at Bijāpūr that he composed poems parallel to Nizāmī's *Makhzanu'l Asrār*, at the instance of Ibīrahīm 'Ādil Shāh. Besides these, he wrote a large number of other poems in praise of the Sultān and his minister, Shāh Nawāz Khān, and many other nobles of the court. The *Sih-Nathr* which is considered to be the best type of ornate prose, was also completed at Bijāpūr.

49 *Munt*, III, 380

50 For a detailed study, see Nazīr Aḥmad *Zuhūrī, Life and Works*, Allahabād 1953.

12 *Maulānā Malik*

Maulānā Malik's career and achievements run almost parallel to those of Zuhūrī, his son-in-law.<sup>51</sup> Born at Qum about 934/1527-8, he left for Kāshān at an early age and stayed there for nearly twenty years. He then moved to Qazwīn from where heigrated to India in Ramazān 986/November 1578. He arrived in Ahmadnagar a year later during the reign of Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh and was received with favour at his court. His poems in praise of Murtaẓā, Sulāḥit Khān Burhān Nizām Shāh and Khān-i Khānān are still preserved in *Kulliyāt*. During his long stay of seventeen years at Ahmadnagar Malik produced a large number of poems of all verse-forms besides a *diwān* of *ghazals* which had been completed before his arrival in India.

On the death of Burhān, Malik left Ahmadnagar for Bijāpūr and found an elevated rank among the literary figures of the place where subsequently he and his son-in-law were destined to shine brilliantly in the galaxy of Bijāpūrī poets. His Bijāpūrī productions comprise poems of various forms written mostly at the instance of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh with a view to rivalling earlier masters of the art. For example besides his prose treatises<sup>52</sup> and the two joint anthologies,<sup>53</sup> the *Gulzār-i Ibrāhīm* and the *Khawān-i Khālīl*, his *Mambau'l Inhār* is parallel to Nizāmī's *Makhzanu'l-Asrār*, his *tarjībānds* are similar to those of Sa'dī and Waḥshī and a number of *ghazals* and *qasidās* are on the model of Anwarī, Khāqānī, Sa'dī, Hāfiz and others. In short, Malik did not lag behind in richly contributing to the development of the Persian literature during the reign of Ibrāhīm II of Bijāpūr.

13 *Muhamad Hāshim Sanjar*

Muḥammad Hāshim Sanjar of Kāshān,<sup>54</sup> son of the illustrious Mīr Haidar Mu'ammaī, was the third shining orb on the horizon of the literary firmament of Bijāpūr. He was born in Kāshān about 980/1572-3 and received his early education and training from his father. While quite young he happened to go to Isfahān twice, once at the tender age of seven or eight and again about 996/1588 when he stayed there for about two years. It is stated in the '*Arafātu'l-'Ashiqīn*' that from Isfahān he made his way to India about 1000/1591-2 but the *Ma'aṭhūr* says that on the eve of his departure for India he was present at Kāshān. Biographers differ widely about the place in India where he

51 It forms part of the present writer's unpublished book *Court Poets of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II*. See also Devare *op cit*, 198-213.

52 His three prose prefaces have been edited and published by the present writer. See *Oriental College Magazine*.

53 See the present writer's article in *Ma'arif*, Azamgarh, 1954.

54 It forms part of unpublished work cited above, see also a series of the present writer's articles in the *Nigār*, Lucknow, 1948, Devare, *op cit*, 233-38, *kitāb-i Nauras*, Delhi 1956 19-20.

arrived first. He went to Sindh and stayed there at a time when it was annexed by Akbar and Mīrzā Jānī was appointed as its governor. He composed poems in praise of Jānī and his son, Ghāzī. From Sindh he went to the Mughal court some time before 1009/1601-2 where he received due favour from the Emperor Akbar. He was also patronised by prince Salīm, prince Dāniyāl and prince Khusrō each of whom has been greatly eulogised by the young poet. Besides these, several nobles of the Mughal court extended their patronage to him. But he was imprisoned by the imperial order and was sent to a Rājā of Gujarāt and at length, after a year or so, sometime about 1013 H, Mīrzā 'Azīz and the Rājā became instrumental in securing his release. Then he proceeded to Bijāpur. He enjoyed the favour of Ibrāhīm II till the closing year of his life, and accordingly he composed various panegyrics in praise of the Sultān and his ministers, Shāh Nawāz Khān. Subsequently the ruler of Bijāpur received a message from Shāh Abbās of Persia to send Sanjar back to his native land. Ibrāhīm 'Adīl Shāh consented and was making arrangements for the poet's departure when all of a sudden the latter fell ill and breathed his last in 1021/1612.

Sanjar is stated to have attempted to rival Nizāmī by imitating the Khamsāh. But only one mathnawī without a title is preserved in his Kulliyāt<sup>55</sup> which might be termed as *Khusrō-o-Shīrīn*. His *Saqī Namā* and one *Tarjī' Band* have certainly been composed in a spirit of competition. All these are his Bijāpur productions.

#### 14 *Bāqir of Kāshān*

Bāqir of Kāshān<sup>56</sup> is another poet who has contributed in no small measure towards the popularity of Persian literature under the régime of Ibrāhīm 'Adīl Shah II. He was the younger brother of the more prominent bard, Maqsūd Khurda-farūsh and was born at Kāshān some time about 960/1552-3 where he was brought up and received his training in poetry from Muhtasham of Kāshān. Besides poetry he excelled in calligraphy<sup>57</sup> and his success in this art was greatly appreciated by his friend and well-wisher, Taqī of Isfahān. He learned this art from such an eminent calligraphist as Mīr Mu'izzu'-dīn of Kāshān<sup>58</sup>. During the early part of his life he entered into poetical competitions with Fahmī and Hātīm. But in 1000/1591-2 he was imprisoned by the order of Shāh 'Abbās on the charge of heterodoxy. On his release he was attached to

55 A MS of his *Kulliyāt* is preserved in Maulana Azād Library, Muslim University, Aligarh,

56 It forms a part of the author's unpublished book cited above see also Devare, *op cit*, 239-40, *Kitāb i Nauras*, 20

57 His contemporary Qāzī Ahmad introduces him as one of the artists in his memoirs of Painters and Calligraphers called *Gulistān-i Hunar* (1605 H.) Minorsky *Calligraphers and Painters*, Washington 1959, 168

58 For his attainments in Calligraphy and Poetry see Qāzī Ahmad's *Gulistān i Hunār* (Minorsky *Calligraphers and Painters*, 165). It is stated that merchants particularly exported his writings to India. He died in 995 A H

Farhād Khān, the prime minister. Then he proceeded on a pilgrimage to the holy shrines and staid in Karbilā and Najaf for about two years. He later bade farewell to his motherland and arrived in Bijāpūr where he stayed for over twenty-seven years until his death in 1034/1624-5.

At Bijāpur the poet got his admittance into the 'Adil Shāhī court and was ultimately placed in charge of the royal library of Bijapur. He composed a *mithnawi* in imitation of the *Mukhzanu'l-Ist'ār* at the instance of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh and wrote two *Tarjī' Band*, one parallel to that of Wahshī and the other to that of Si'di.

#### 15 *Haidar-i Zihni*<sup>59</sup>

Haidar-i Zihni was the last luminary in the galaxy of Bijāpur scholars. Born at Kāshān in a well-to-do family, he began to compose poems very early. But he was indifferent to eulogising and flattering wordly personages and so slipped into *ghazal* composition. But in this respect he did not progress much. He was an expert in various indoor games and was a ready wit. Besides poetry he excelled in punting and portrait making. Being a humourist and a man of pleasing temperament, he was more successful in humorous *ghazals*, specially in the dialect of Kāshān.

In his native town Zihni was closely associated with Syed Ruknu'd-dīn Mas'ūd who ultimately proceeded to India and resided at Ahmadnagar. Zihni too after sometime followed suit and renewed his associations with Mas'ūd at Ahmadnagar where he stayed probably until its siege by the Mughals. Thereafter he proceeded to Bijāpur where he was so honoured that 'his receptive dictums and shafts of wit were of the highest order'. It is stated that on one occasion he received a reward of one thousand gold pieces for a pen picture of the Sultān.

Although he does not seem to have contributed much to Persian literature yet certain very pleasing incidents are related about him in which the healthy literary atmosphere at Bijāpūr is evident.

#### 16 *'Askari of Kāshān*

'Abdu'n-nabi has, in his *Makhanā*,<sup>60</sup> noticed another comparatively obscure poet, namely 'Askari of Kāshān, who was a merchant by profession. So he did not consent to accept services of Ibrāhīm II at Bijāpur. He however, continued to stay at Bijāpur or at Golkonda for about eight years. In 1023/1614 he was in Kashmīr, proceeding to Ajmēr the next year to enlist himself in the retinue of Prince Khurram. Although by that time his *diwān* had not been compiled, the poet had composed over three thousand verses, including a

59 It forms part of the writer's unpublished work cited above, Devare, *op cit* 231-33, *Kitāb-i Nauras*, 20-22.

60 Lahore ed 477-91

*Sāqī Nāmā* which is written in the conventional metre of epic poetry (*Mutaqārib*) It rises to imaginative sublimity when the poet describes the after effects of spiritual wine on his mind and soul

#### 17 *Rashīd of Qazwin*

Rashīd of Qazwin was a minor poet who wrote under the *nom-de-plume* of Nauras He has been briefly mentioned in the '*Arāfatu'l-'Ashiqin*<sup>61</sup> and subsequently in the later biographies and lines from his *ghazal* are quoted in the former It has been stated *Majma'u' n-Nafāis*<sup>62</sup> that his pen-name is also the result of the popularity of the term Nauras during the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh But he contributed practically nothing towards the literary activities which would claim for him an elevated rank

#### 18 *Āqā Muhammad Nāmī*

Āqā Muhammad Nāmī of Tabriz was a poet and musician of the court of Ibrāhīm At first he was with the *Khān-i Khānān* but subsequently he went over to Bijāpūr and got an easy admittance into the 'Ādil Shāhī court The *Ma'athir-i Rahīmī* speaks very highly of his skill and attainments<sup>63</sup>

#### 19 *Maulānā Fahīm*

Maulānā Fahīm was Shāh Nawāz *Khān's* panegyrist He composed a *qāsidā* on the occasion of a son's birth to the *Khān* in 1010/1601-2, ten lines of which are quoted by Ferishta<sup>64</sup>

#### 20 '*Abdu'l-Qādir Naurasī*

'Abdu'l Qādir Naurasī seems to have kept his pen-name only after the popularity of the word 'Nauras' He has been claimed as an eloquent poet in the *Basātinu's Salātin*<sup>65</sup>, but no specimens of his writing have come down to us as to fix his comparative position among the poets of the court of Bijāpūr

#### 21 *Ghiyāth-i Munsif of Isfahān*

He was a didactic poet, writing plain and chaste poetry totally bereft of rhetorical delicacies He was in the Deccan for over a decade, first in the service of Mīrzā Rustam of Qandhār at Burhānpūr, and later at Golkonda in the Quṭb Shāhī service Not being satisfied with the favours shown to him by Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, *Ghiyāth-i Munsif* returned to Burhānpūr and died there in 1019/1610-11<sup>66</sup>

61 Bānpūr Ms f 781

62 Bānpūr Ms f 496

63 Vol III, 1600

64 Vol 11, 78

65 p 250

66 For his life, see *Maikhānā*, 216-18 The present writer also published a brief note on the life and achievement of *Ghiyāth* in the *Nadhr-i Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh*, 165-66

His *Dimān* was compiled posthumously by a friend of his. His *Sāqi Nāmā* is highly ethical and reflective in tone. It was written during the poet's earlier stay at Shāh 'Abbās's court. Like 'Askari, *Ghivāthā* too craves for the wine of Divine rapture.

## 22 'Ārif-i Egi

Another reveller-poet who casually visited Golkonda deserves a passing reference here is 'Ārif-i Egi.<sup>67</sup> He arrived at Golkonda in 1014/1605-6 from Allahābād, entered Quṭb Shāhī service in Muhammad Quṭb Shāh's time, wrote laudatory verses and was munificently rewarded for them.

'Ārif is distinguished poet. He is the author of *Audarz Nāmā* (Book of Admonitions) which is modelled on the *Shāh Nāmā* and comprises over two thousand verses. 'Ārif preferred the classical mode of expression by maintaining scrupulous purity of language and eliminating Arabic element from his expressions. He also composed a *Sāqi Nāmā* a few verses of which are quoted by 'Abdu'n-Nabi.<sup>68</sup>

## 23 Mir Muhammad Mu'min Adā'i

He was a Syed of Yezd who incurred the displeasure of his compatriots for his unorthodox views. He had therefore to quit his native place and seek shelter in India. He was for some time at Surat, then he went over to Golkonda. But he did not remain there for long, and came back to Surat, where he died in 1030/1623-24.<sup>69</sup>

Mu'min Adā'i was more inclined towards the *Rubā'i* form. As circumstances forced him to lead a lowly life, so pessimism is the key-note of his poetry.

## 24 Mir Mu'min Astrābādī

Mir Mu'min belonged to a family of Saiyids of Astarābād.<sup>70</sup> He received his early education from his maternal uncle Fakhrū'd-dīn Samākī. Then he became a pupil of Maulānā Nūru'd-dīn Mūsawī who taught him Qur'ānic sciences. He thus grew into a scholar reputed for his erudition and piety and subsequently he was appointed as a tutor of Prince Haidar. After the death of Shāh Tahmāsp in 984 H. and the murder of Prince Haidar he left Qāzwīn in 986,<sup>71</sup> and went to Kāshān where he stayed for some time. Then he turned towards India and arrived at Golkonda in 989/1581 and secured

67 For his life, see *Maikhānā*, 165-66. The writer also published a brief note on the life and achievement of 'Ārif in *Naḡhr-i Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh*. See also Devare, 249.

68 See *Maikhānā*, 427.

69 See Tāhūr Naṣrābādī, 291-92.

70 For a detailed account see Dr Zör's *Mir Mu'min*, and Devare, 168-76.

71 Devare, *op cit*, 170.

a post in the Quṭb Shāhī Court. He was finally appointed as of Pēshwā or Prime Minister which post he held for over forty years during the reigns of Muhammad-Qulī and Sultān Muhammad until his death.<sup>72</sup>

Mīr Mu'min was a scholar and divine and a man of wide experience and knowledge. He is the author of a few extant works in Arabic and Persian. His *Kitābu'r Ray'at* is in Arabic.<sup>73</sup> His reply to a letter of Shāh 'Abbās and preface to the *Kāthiru'l-Miyāmīn* are in a conventional style with dignified diction. He is the author of a small but erudite treatise on weights and measures called *Risāla-ī Miqdāriyāh*<sup>74</sup> and another treatise on prosody.<sup>75</sup> His poetical works were collected and compiled in the form of a *dīwān*, a copy of which covering 175 folios, is preserved in the India Office Library. This *Dīwān* comprises the following *Ghazals* in an alphabetical order, *Marāthī*, and *Qasidās* in honour of Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh.

Mīr Mu'min excelled both in the panegyric and lyric forms. In his *ghazals* the poet depicts the true sentiments of lovers and as such he succeeds in widening the scope of popular appeal to his lyrics which are free from affectation and rhetorical devices.

## 25 *Mullā Mīrak Mu'in Sabzwari*

Mīrak Mu'in was the poet-laureate of Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. He came of an illustrious Sayyid family of Sabzwār. Mīrak was a humourist and by his clever repartees provoked great fun and laughter in jovial assemblies.

Mīrak took to trade quite early and amassed great fortune. On his entry into India he proceeded to Ahmadnagar and was enlisted in the services of Mīr Murtaẓā, who deputed him as an envoy to Golkonda in 989/1581. He was at Ahmadnagar when Murtaẓā rose in rebellion against Salābat Khān, and being a protégé of Mīr Murtaẓā, Mīrak had to flee from Ahmadnagar. He proceeded to Golkonda and secured a high position there. Excepting a few poetic extracts in memoirs and histories of the period, Mīrak's poetry is extinct now.<sup>76</sup>

## 26 *Hājī Abarqūhī*<sup>77</sup>

The poet was born at Abarqūh near Yezd. His father died when the Hājī was only a small child. He took to trade and travelled for the purpose to

72. *Devare, op cit*, 170, but according to Etche the Mīr arrived during the life time of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh i.e. some time before 988.

73. MS. Āsafiyah, Majmū'a No. 31/8.

74. MS. in the Salar Jung Museum.

75. See *'Ālamārā*, I, 132.

76. *Devare, op cit*, 251-52.

77. See the present writer's article in the *Nadhr-ī Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh*, 150-56, also *Majlis Cat* Vol II, 252-54. Zia'ud-din Desai has published an article on this poet in the *Indo Iranica*.

Shīrāz and Kirmān. After some time he migrated to India and secured a position in the court of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh at Golkonda. He was later patronised by Muḥammad-Qulī in whose praise he wrote a number of poems. The poet compiled his poetical works at the instance of a prominent noble of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty, Muṣṭafā Khān. An incomplete MS. of the poet's *Dīwān* preserved in the Majlis Library at Tehrān comprising about 2400 lines contains the following: (1) *Qaṣīdās* including religious poems, (2) A small romantic *Mathnawī* called *Nāzīr-wa-Manzūr*, (3) *Ghazals* arranged alphabetically covering more than half of the *Dīwān*, (4) *Rubā'īs*, incomplete, the manuscript abruptly finishes at p. 217.

#### 27 *Mirzā Muḥammad Amīn, Mir Jumlā*<sup>78</sup>

Mirzā Amīn belonged to a renowned Saiyyid family of Shahrīstān in Iṣfahān. Members of his family commanded respect at the Safawī court. Muḥammad Amīn was born about 981/1513-74. He arrived at Golkonda in 1010/1601-02 and in recognition of his abilities he was very soon appointed to the office of Mir Jumlā. He held this office till the death of the Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. But during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh he could not hold it any longer. So he left the court and went to Bijapur. But finding the atmosphere there uncongenial he returned to Irān during the closing year of 1023/1615. He secured an office under Shāh 'Abbās Safawī but was not satisfied with his post. So he went to the Mughal court in India where he arrived in 1027/1617 and was granted a *manṣab*. Two years later he was appointed to the post of Mir-i Saman which post he held for 15 years. During the reign of Shāh Jahān he was promoted to the rank of Mir Bakshī and was granted a *mansab* of five thousand in 1045/1635-6. He died at Agra in 1047/1637-8.

Muḥammad Amīn had a fine literary taste, and was poet of no mean order. While at Golkonda he distinguished himself for his imitation of Nizāmī's *Khamsa* and dedicated his poems to Muḥammad-Qulī. He was a good lyric poet and has left a *dīwān* called *Gulshan-i Nāz*. He used Ruḥu'l-Amīn and Amīn as his pen-names. These *mathnawīs* are modelled after *Khamsa-i Nizāmī*.

(1) *Shitrīn wa Khusrō* was the first *mathnawī* in the *Khamsa-i Ruḥu'l-Amīn* and was composed in 1018 in imitation of Nizāmī's poem of the same name. One MS. is preserved in the Majlis Library, Tehrān<sup>79</sup> and the other in the India Office Library London.<sup>80</sup>

78 The present author's article in the *Nadhr-i Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh*, 156-60, see also Devare *op cit*, 176-82.

79 *Cat.* Vol. III, MS. No. 1120.

80 *Ethe*, No. 1530.



(2) *Matmahu'l-Anzār* being an imitation of Nizāmī's *Makhzanu'l-Asrār* was Amin's second *Mathnawī*. It comprises an epilogue in mixed prose and verse, praise of God, *Munājāt*, praise of the Prophet, his holy ascension and eulogy of Sultān<sup>81</sup>

(3) *Lailā-wa-Majnūn* being the third *mathnawī* of Ruhu'l-Amin's *Khamsa* was in imitation of Nizāmī's poem of the same name, completed in eight months. Its two manuscripts are preserved one in the British Museum<sup>82</sup> and one in the India Office Library<sup>83</sup>

(4) *Asmān-i Haftum* being the fourth *Mathnawī* of Amin's *Khamsa* was written in imitation of Nizāmī's *Haft-Paīkar*. It was started in the time of Muhammad-Qulī but could be finished only after his death. It was therefore dedicated to the Sultān's successor Muhammad Quṭb Shāh. One manuscript is preserved in the British Museum<sup>84</sup>

(5) We have no exact information about his fifth *mathnawī*. Besides these *mathnawīs* Mirzā Amin composed a large number of lyrical poems and those written in the early period of his poetical career were compiled into a *diwān* which exists in three manuscripts. One in the British Museum,<sup>85</sup> the other in the India Office Library<sup>86</sup> and the third in the Majlis Library, Tehrān<sup>87</sup>

## 28 *Mirzā Muhammad Muqīm*

Muqīm hailed from Astarābād and was a contemporary of Fuzūnī<sup>88</sup> and Ātāshī at Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh's court<sup>89</sup>. Muqīm's father left Astarābād while he was still a child, performed Hajj, came to Shīrāz and settled down there.

Muqīm's father died suddenly at Shīrāz, and bidding adieu to his native land he came over to India to join Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh's court as a panegyrist and a calligraphist. Zubairī pays eloquent tribute to Muqīm's

81 *History of Persian Literature*, 181-82

82 *Rieu*, II, 675, 676

83 *Ethe*, No 1540

84 *Rieu*, II, 676

85 *Ibid*

86 *Ethe*, No 2897

87 *Cat* III, No 988

88 He has been noticed by Fuzūnī in his *Futuhāt i 'Ādil Shāhī*, 378

89 Dr Zor's claim in his *Urdu Shahpare*, 35, that Mirzā Muqīm was a Dakhnī poet and the author of *Chandarbadan wa Mahyār*, is incorrect. Similarly his observation that he belonged to the period of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, which has been supported by Prof. Basu (*Indian Historical Records Commission*, V XVI, 158-163), Akbaru'd-dīn (*Nawā i Adab*, Oct 57) and Hāshimī (*Dakhnī Makhṣūṣāt*, 193-208), is quite untenable. See "Kitāb i Nauras" 1958, *Urdu Adab*, Dec, 1957

fine literary taste and his poetical excellence. A *Qasida* of Muqīm in praise of Khwāja Banda Nawāz is preserved in Fuzūnī's *Futuhāt* which begins thus: <sup>90</sup>

ای صای در گهت چو لنگه \*رش درین خشت درش آستان آستان هندی

## 29 *Hakīm Ātashī*

Ātashī was associated with the court of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh <sup>91</sup>. The famous 'Ādil Shāhī historian, Fuzūnī of Astarābād who was Ātashī's contemporary, speaks highly of the poet's skill in poetry and medicine <sup>92</sup>. Zubairī has also briefly noticed him in his *Basāʾtinu's Salāṭin*.

Ātashī's full name according to Ethe, appears to have been Amīn or Amīna. He was still young in 1050/1640-1 when the *Futuhāt* was being written.

On his arrival in India we find Ātashī at Bijāpūr where he held the office of the royal physician at Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh's court. He later became a great favourite and protégé of the Shāh, who entrusted him with the composition of the '*Ādil Nāmā*'.

His poetical works <sup>93</sup> comprised (1) *Qasīdās* and (2) *Qit'as*, several of them in praise of Nawwāb Bābā Muṣṭafā Khān, whose favourite the poet had been, (3) *Ghazals*, (4) *Rubā'īs*, and (5) *Mathnawīs*.

(i) '*Ādil Nāmā*' - A versified account of the military exploits of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh during the first five years of his reign. The poem was completed in 1042/1632.

(ii) *Mu'danu'l-Afkār* - A *Mathnawī* on the model of Nizāmī's *Makhzanu'l-Asrār*. It was composed in 1043/1633-34.

(iii) *Nuh-Sipīhr* - A *Mathnawī* probably modelled on Khusrō's *Mathnawī* of the same name. It was completed in 1034/1625.

## 30 *Shāh Abu'l Ma'ālī*

He was the most significant of the court of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II and despite the ruler's half-hearted encouragement of Persian Poetry, always remained his favourite protégé and an important courtier.

Abu'l Ma'ālī composed panegyrics, fragments and chronograms in his capacity as a court poet, some of which are cited by Nūru'l-lāh in *Iarī kh-i*

<sup>90</sup> pp 386-89

<sup>91</sup> See *Futūḥāt-i 'Ādil Shāhī*, 378. Fuzūnī has mentioned only two poets viz. Muqīm and Ātashī who were attached to the court of Sulṭān Muḥammad. But Dr Zör and even Professor Basu have erred in holding him an attachee of the court of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II.

<sup>92</sup> *Futūḥāt-i 'Ādil Shāhī*, 383.

<sup>93</sup> For Ātashī's works see Ethe, I, 838.

'*Ādil Shāhī*'<sup>94</sup> A *Qasīda* in the *radīf* of "gīreh" in honour of the birthday festivities of 'Alī in 1076/1675 received general approbation

31 *Ruknu'd-dīn Mas'ūd Kāshī, alias Hakīm Rukna-ī Masīh*<sup>95</sup>

He was a master-physician, a celebrated poet, and in his youth a personal friend and favourite of Shāh 'Abbās Safawī. Royal displeasure, however, forced him to migrate to India some time in 1006/1597-6. On reaching India, he entered Imperial service at Agra in 1011/1602-3. But he did not continue in that position for long. After joining Salīm's court at Allahābād, he finally left for the Deccan. He was received by Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh and Mīr Mu'min and liberally patronised by them. But Masīh could not enjoy the fruits of the Quṭb Shāhī generosity for long. Through sheer ill-luck he incurred the displeasure of Mīr Mu'min, and he had to leave Golkonda. He arrived at Bijāpūr during Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's reign. But soon he repaired his way back to the Mughal court, where he found some respite and peace in the reign of Shāh Jahān. He again left Agra in 1041/1631-32, went to Kāshān and Isfahān, and later at Shīrāz. Masīh died in 1066/1650-56 in his native place.

Besides his prolific literary output the profundity and versatility of Masīh's genius is manifest from his skill in medicine<sup>96</sup> and calligraphy<sup>97</sup>. Over and above the ten *Diwāns* of his verses which Tāhīr-i-Nasrabadī had seen in the library of Sā'ib, Masīh is the author of a *mathnawī*, entitled *Majmu'a-ī Khayāl*<sup>98</sup>. The poem comprises two thousand couplets and is written on the model of Nizāmī's *Khusrō-wa-Shīrīn*. His *Sāqī Nāmā* is quoted in the *Maikhānā*<sup>99</sup>.

32 *Sālik of Yezd*

Sālik of Yezd led a wandering life of a darwīsh. He was for sometime at Shīrāz and Isfahān from where he proceeded to Golkonda and enlisted in the service of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh<sup>100</sup>. After sometime he arrived in Delhi.

94 See *Tārīkh 'Ādil Shāhī*, ed Abu Naṣr Khālīdī, 72, 235 and 257.

95 For his life see *Maikhānā* 360-69, *Khulāsatul Ash'ar* (India Office MS), *Arafat 'Ashiqīn* (Bankipūr MS) and *Tadhkirat Nasrabadī*, Tehrān edition.

96 He was a royal physician of Jahāngīr's court but the Emperor was neither impressed by his skill in medicines nor by his temperament (see *Tōzuk*, Eng. Trans., 211).

97 Qāzī Ahmad, in his treatise on calligraphers, *Gulistan-i Hunar*, introduces him as a master of Nastā'liq style having full mastery of all kinds of poetry. For a couple of years he lived in Kāshān practicing medicine. Then he went on a pilgrimage to Meshhed where the Shāh paid no attention to him, and when the Sovereign left for Balkh, Rukna with his children took the way of India (Minorsky *Calligraphers and Painters*, 169). Qāzī Ahmad has cited some examples of Rukna's poetry.

98 See *Maikhānā*, 362, one MS of the *Mathnawī* is available in the British Museum (Rieu, II 688, Or 475).

99 *Maikhānā*, 369-75.

100 *Sarw-i Āzād*, 110.

Sālik was fortunate enough to secure a post in the imperial court of Shah Jahān in 1066/1655-66. According to some he died in 1091/1680.<sup>101</sup> Sālik's *Dīwān* is rare, but a copy is preserved in the Asafiyah Library, a selection of his lyrical poetry is housed in the Bombay University Library,<sup>102</sup> and sporadic verses have been selected in Persian *Tadhkirās*. According to Azad Bilgrāmī<sup>103</sup> Sālik was a poet of sweet and eloquent expression but to the author of *Makhzanu'l-Gharāib*, his verses are of an average quality, though not devoid of fluency.<sup>104</sup>

### 33 *Mirzā Rāzi Dānish*

He was a Rīzawī Sayyid of Meshhed and the son of a poet, Abū Turāb Fīrat. Dānish was a poet by nature, and the congenial environment that became his, prompted him to adopt poetry as his career and profession. He made a modest beginning of his poetic career by composing a *mathnawī* in praise of the holy cities and Rauza-i Meshhed, revealing his deep religious faith. On his arrival in India in 1065/1654-55 Dānish attached himself to the imperial court of Shāh Jahān and was for sometime in the retinue of Prince Dārā Shukōh. After a temporary sojourn in Bengal in the service of Prince Shuja', Dānish arrived at Golkonda in 1068/1657-58. As a Meshhedī Sayyid he naturally commanded the reverence of the Quṭb Shāhī ruler and he was exalted to high rank.

The poets noticed above do not exhaust the list of the singers who flourished under the aegis of the Sultānates of the Deccan, they rather constitute a negligible number of the vast number of poets who contributed greatly to the growth of Indo-Persian literature in the region.

### III *Historians and historical works*

The Deccanī rulers were interested in the art of historiography, and it was perhaps due to this that a large number of histories were written there. Below is given a brief assessment of the histories produced in the Deccan during the period under discussion.

#### (1) *Under the Bahmanīs*

A number of histories were written during the Bahmanī régime. Mullā Muhammad Lārī, the author of *Sirāju't Tawārīkh*, and Mullā Dāwūd of Bīdar, the author of *Tuhfatu's Salāṭīn*, were attached to the Bahmanī court as chroni-

101 *ASB Catalogue*. The same date is quoted in the *Sarw-i Āzād* but it may be applicable to Dānishmand Khān.

102 Vol 92, Book 152. Shaikh Abdu'l Qadir, *Catalogue*, 232.

103 *Sarw-i Āzād*, 110.

104 Muslim University MS f 1786. In this *Tadhkirā* his stay at Golkonda is not mentioned at all.

clers, and though their valuable chronicles have now become extinct, they have been incorporated by Ferishta and Tabāṭabā in their histories, *Tārī kh-i Muhammad Shāhī* of Mullā 'Abdu'l Karīm Hamadānī, written during the reign of Mahmūd Shah II and referred to in *Tārī kh-i Muhammad Qutb Shāh*, is also extinct. Of the two histories in verse, the earlier, 'Isāmī's *Futūhu's Salāṭīn* has already been noticed, while Ādhari's *Bahman Nāmā* is no longer extant. It is therefore not possible to form any opinion about the literary value of these pioneer historical works in the Deccan.

The subsequent period of about two centuries, during which the Mughals held their sway in the North, and the 'Ādil Shāhī, the Qutb Shāhī and Nizām Shāhī dynasties were at their zenith in the Deccan, great progress was made in art of historiography. The period gave rise to a group of eminent historiographers all over India like Abu'l Fazl, Nizāmu'd-dīn, Badāyūnī, Ferishta, Tabāṭabā, Khurshāh and Fuzūnī, whose historical works earned unprecedented popularity for this form of prose-writing.

A classified list of the important histories written in this period in Deccan which is given below, would at once show that the contribution of the Deccani writers to the field of Persian historiography was both rich and varied.

#### (ii) Under the 'Ādil Shāhīs

1 *Tārī kh-i Ferishta* Its proper title was *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* and it was also called *Nauras Nāmā*. Its author Ferishta, son of Hindu Shāh, had lived at Ahmadnagar for a long time previous to his arrival in Bijāpūr in 998/1589-90 where he got a high rank among the litterateurs of the 'Ādil Shāhī court. The history was written at the instance of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II in 1015/1606-7 but additions to it continued to be made till 1033/1623-24 and even after. It comprises an Introduction dealing with the political and religious conditions of India before the Muslim conquest and 12 Maqālās as follows

- Maqāla* 1, Salāṭīn-i Lahore also called Salāṭīn-i Ghaznawī
- Maqāla* 2, Bahmanī, 'Ādil Shāhī, Nizām Shāhī and Qutb Shāhī kings
- Maqāla* 3, Barīd Shāhī and 'Imād Shāhī kings
- Maqāla* 4, Kings of Gujarāt
- Maqāla* 5, Kings of Mālwa and Māndū
- Maqāla* 6, Fārūqī Kings of Burhānpūr
- Maqāla* 7, Kings of Bengal and Sharqī Kings of Jaunpūr
- Maqāla* 8, Kings of Sindh and Thatta
- Maqāla* 9, Kings of Multān
- Maqāla* 10, Kings of Kashmir
- Maqāla* 11, Rulers of Malabār
- Maqāla* 12, Mashāikh-i Hindustān

The history is well-known for richness of historical material and clarity of expression. Its style is simple and straightforward free from all sorts of intricacies.

2 *Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk* by Mīr Rafi'ū'd-dīn Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī is a history of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty completed in 1017/1608. It was written under the patronage of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah II<sup>105</sup>. It also gives a brief sketch of the historical events of the Bahmanī Sultāns in its introductory sections. It is primarily a history of the Sultāns of Bijāpur, and a general history of some other Muslim Sultānates which had close contacts with the 'Ādil Shāhīs, and of the Safawīs of Irān. It is not published and is only available in Manuscript form.

3 *Futūhāt-i 'Ādil Shāhī*<sup>106</sup> by Fuzūnī Astarābādī. It is a comprehensive history of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty written in the reign of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh and recording events up to 1054/1644, though the official date of its completion was 1050/1640. Its author was a great traveller, scholar and poet. He was also the author of an earlier work written in Kashmīr in 1025/1616 under the title of *Buhairā* which was published in Irān in 1328 H<sup>107</sup>. Fuzūnī's *Saqi Nāmā* is quoted by 'Abdu'n-Nabī in his *Maikhānā*<sup>108</sup>.

4 *Muhammad Nāmā* by Mullā Zuhūr ibn-i Zuhūrī—This is a history of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh II's reign up to 1649-50. It was written at the instance<sup>109</sup> of Bābā Mustafā Khān in a florid and ornate style. Two MSS, are known to us, one in the Maulānā Āzād Library, Muslim University Aligarh, and the other in the Kapurthala library now transferred to the Patiala Museum.

5 *Tārīkh-i 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh*. It is a valuable monograph on 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II written by Qāzī Nūru'l-lāh. Its alternative title *Inshā-i 'Alī 'Ādil Shāhiyah*, was quite appropriate, for its style is forceful and literary. Its author was munshī and an eminent scholar of the time of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, and he produced a work of rare value to students of literature because it is the only book which cites poetic extracts from contemporary poets such as Shāh Abu'l-Mā'ālī and others, and gives a critical appreciation of Sultān's Dakhnī poetry. This history was written in 1077/1666-67 and comprises ten chapters. It starts from the birth of the Sultān in 1048 H. It has been edited and published by Muhammad Khālidī of the Osmania University, Hyderabad in 1964 under the title of *Tārīkh-i 'Ādil Shāhī*.

105 See Devare, *op cit*, 312-18.

106 It exists in a single MS in the British Museum (Rieu, I 317-18). The late Sir J. N. Sarkar had a copy and the present writer consulted the MS in 1948.

107 See the present writer's article on Fuzūnī's life, *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, 1934-39.

108 *Maikhānā*, Lahore, edition, 44-47.

109 For a detailed account of the author and the history see my article in *Ajkal*, Dec 1958 also see Devare, *op cit*, 325-30.

6 A history of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty written by Mīr Ibrāhīm Lārī Asadkhānī during the reign of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II. The author was a descendant of Asad Khān Lārī and foster-brother of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh. The *Ahwāl-i Salāṭin-i Bijāpūr* is based on this history, while Zubairī has also cited the authority of this work in his *Basātinu's Salāṭin*.

7 A complete history of the 'Ādil Shāhs up to the end of the reign of Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh (up to 1097 H) written by Shaikh Abu'l Hasan b Qāzī 'Abdu'l-'Azīz. It was very rare even during the time when *Basātin* was written in 1240/1824-5.<sup>110</sup>

(iii) *Under the Quṭb Shāhs*

8 *Marghūbu'l-Qulūb* by Mullā Husain Tabasī, the Chief Justice of Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk's court. In it are recorded the reminiscences of Sulṭān Qulī's early life as narrated by the king himself. It is now extinct, but *Tārīkh-i Muhammad Quṭb Shāh* has however preserved a few extracts of this valuable history.

9 *Tārīkh-i Elchī-i Nizām Shāh*. The work, dealing with the general history of the world, was written in the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and was completed in 972/1564-65. It preceded by 25 years Muhammad Sharīf's *Majma'u'l Akhbār*, another chronicle produced at Golkonda during the same period.

The author Khurshāh, does not specifically mention the name of this work of his anywhere in the text, but it is commonly known as *Tārīkh-i Elchī-i Nizām Shāh*. It became rare even in the Deccan not long after its composition.<sup>111</sup> Ferishta who succeeded in obtaining copies of the Bahmanī histories like the *Sirāju't-Tawārīkh*, *Tuhfatu't-Tawārīkh* and *Bahman Nāmā*, could not get a copy of this work.

The account of the Bahmanī rule, provided by the author in the 4th *Guftār* of the VII chapter, going up to the death of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī, though brief, is earlier than that of *Burhān-i Mā'athir* and is therefore of considerable value.

Unfortunately Khurshāh stops short at the reign of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī and only says that he would deal with the Bahmanī succession States later, but we do not possess any such book by him.

110 The present writer published a detailed list of the histories in 1948 in the *U P Education* the official organ of the U P Teachers' Association.

111 It has been edited by Dr. Syed Mujāhid Husain Zaidī and published by Jāmi'a Milliyya Islāmiyya, Delhi, in 1965 under the title of *Tārīkh-i Quṭbī* which is, according to its editor a more appropriate title than *Tārīkh-i Elchī-i Nizām Shāh* [The name of the book is a misnomer as the book was completed after the author had settled down at Golkonda where he died in June 1565 Ed].

10 *Majma'u'l Akhbār* by Muhammad Shārif Nīshāpurī It is a comprehensive general history of the Muslim world written at the behest of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh (957-988 H) and completed before 988 H

11 A versified history of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty *Nasab Nāmā-i Quṭb Shāhī*, attributed to Munshī Hīrālāl Khushdīl, the secretary to Haidar-Qulī, son of Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭb'l Mulk This poem is written in the *mutaqarib* metre and on the model of the Bahman Nāmā of Ādharī A unique manuscript of this history is preserved in the Bengal Asiatic Society library collection <sup>112</sup>

12 *Nasab-i Nāmā-i Quṭb Shāhī* by Husain b 'Alī al-Fursī It is a history of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty in verse form comprising 18,600 couplets and goes on till the end of the régime of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh <sup>113</sup>

13 *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* by an anonymous writer This is a history of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty up to 1026/1617 six years after Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh's death It is an abridgement of an earlier comprehensive history compiled by an anonymous author at the behest of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh in 1025 H or 1026 H

14 *Tārīkh-i Quṭb Shāhī* <sup>114</sup> The book is in verse and is dedicated to Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh The author's name is not mentioned but he says that he was engaged in the compilation of this book for ten years The book consists of 137 folios written in clear nasta'liq

15 *Tawārīkh Quṭb Shāhī*, <sup>115</sup> also in verse, was likewise compiled in the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh It is a comparatively small work, covering only 55 folios and is written in beautiful nasta'liq There are blank spaces meant for vignettes which have not been filled in The manuscript narrates Quṭb Shāhī history till the Sulṭān's accession in 1580, but it is possible that the last few folios have disappeared

16 *Mā'athir-i Quṭb Shāhī* by Muḥammad bin 'Abdu'l-lāh Nīshāpurī— This work is a supplement to *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* recording in details the history of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh's reign till his death in 1035 H

17 *Hadīqatu's-Salāṭīn\** by Mīrzā Nīzāmu'd-dīn Ahmad Sā'idī This history is mainly a record of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh's reign (from his birth in 1023/1614 to 1053/1644) The author was a favourite of Shaikh Muhammad Ibn-i Khātūn, the prime-minister of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, at whose behest he undertook the composition of this work

<sup>112</sup> Ivonow, 691 The question of the authorship has been fully discussed in the catalogue

<sup>113</sup> Ivonow, 690

<sup>114</sup> Ethe, 1486

<sup>115</sup> Salar Jung, Adab Nazm i Fārsī, 1101

\* [This work has been published in 2 vols by the Idara i Adabiyat-i Urdu, Hyderabad, 1961 Ed]



18 *Hadā'iqū's-Salātin* by 'Alī bin Taifūr Bistāmī written in the reign of Abu'l-Ḥasan Tānā Shāh Though this is the last chronicle of this period, its literary value is unique since it preserves poetical extracts of the Bahmanī and the Quṭb Shāhī Sultāns as well as of other eminent poets of Persia and India The notices of Mīr Mu'min Astarābādī and Mīr Muhammad Amīn Isfahānī in this work are of great value

(iv) *Under the Nizām Shāhīs*

Under the patronage of the Nizām Shāhī Sultāns the most important history which has survived to this day is *Burhān-i Mā'athir* <sup>116</sup>

This history written by Syed 'Alī Tabāṭabā is certainly one of the most remarkable histories produced in the Deccan The *Burhān* being a notable specimen of rhetorical style abundantly intermixed with verses, is a great contrast to the simple and matter-of-fact style of the *Tārī kh-i Elchī-i-Nizām Shāh* Like *Khurshāh's* work, the *Burhān* also fell into oblivion not much after its composition, and it was only in 1936 that this memorable work was edited and published by Hāshimī

The *Burhān* is divided into three *Tabaqās* (sections) The first two contain the accounts of the Bahmanī rulers of Gulbarga and Bidar, covering 166 pages The third *Tabaqā* deals with the Nizām Shāhī dynasty and extends over 426 pages The last 40 pages of the work are devoted to a detailed account of the siege of Ahmadnagar by the Mughals which may be considered as accurate, for the author was an eye-witness to the whole affair

The author of the *Burhān-i Mā'athir*, Syed 'Alī b 'Azīzu'l-lāh at-Tabāṭabā, belonged to Simnān in Irān From Simnān Tabāṭabā went to 'Irāq and after residing there for sometime he came to Golkonda about 988/1580 where he joined the state service But subsequent to the arrest of Mīr Shāh Mīr, Tabāṭabā left Golkonda and went to Ahmadnagar During the reign of Burhān Nizām Shāh II Tabāṭabā was entrusted with writing a history of the rulers of the Deccan mainly of the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar and their predecessors the Bahmanīs He commenced his memorable history in 1000 H and continued to write it till 1004 H

#### IV *General and miscellaneous literature*

A considerable bulk of literary output in the form of Persian poetical and historical literature produced in the Deccan, has already been examined and evaluated in the preceding pages There still remains for examination various branches of prose literature such as religious, mystic, epistolographical and lexicographical, and even translations from Arabic and Sanskrit

116 For a detailed account of this history and its author see Devare *op cit* 283 96  
It was printed at Delhi, Jamī'a Press, 1936

*Mystical works of Khwāja Bandā Nawāz*

During the Bahmanī period a considerable number of books were written on Sūfism<sup>117</sup> But of these only a negligible part has survived The eminent Sūfī savant Khwāja Banda Nawāz is fortunate in this respect that some of his works dealing with sūfistic doctrines and practices and even religious and ethical matters are available to us<sup>118</sup> Of these the more important are

1 *Kitābu'l-Khātima* This is a work on practical mysticism in which mystic implications in many religious practices such as ablution, prayer, fast etc., have been emphasised It also lays down conditions and formulates regulations which every seeker of divine knowledge has to observe It was written in 807 H and has been edited by 'Aṭā Husain, Hyderabad, 1356 H

2 *Jawāmi'u'l-Kalīm* It is a voluminous collection of the Khwāja's day-to-day verbal discussions on various matters dealing with religion, Sufism, philosophy and ethics, and even problems of daily life It was compiled and edited by Syed Akbar Husainī, the eldest son of the Khwāja, about 803/1400-1

3 *Amsāru'l-Asrār*<sup>119</sup> It comprises of the mystical interpretations of the verses of the Qur'ān and the Traditions, their number corresponding with the total number of the *Surās* of the Qur'ān viz., 114 It also embodies various mystic matters like '*Ishq*, *Sulūk*, *Tauhīd*, *Dhikr*, *Murāqibā* etc. with religious interpretations It has been edited by 'Aṭā Husain, Hyderabad 1350 H

*Mahmūd Gāwān's Riyāzu'l-Inshā and Manāziru'l-Inshā*

Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān<sup>120</sup> was a versatile personality, at once a statesman, a diplomat, a military general and a litterateur of the highest order Though always occupied in diplomatic and military engagements he could devote a good deal of his leisure to literary pursuits, and he has produced two fine works on *Inshā*

1 *Manāziru'l-Inshā* This is an exhaustive work on the art of Persian epistolography which attained great popularity among the scholars and was a work of constant reference It comprises an introduction and two chapters which are again sub-divided into numerous sections This book is a clear exposition of the author's erudition, research and scholarship

117 As there is a separate section on Sufism in this volume I have purposely desisted from dealing with Sūfistic works

118 K A Nizami has given a list of 23 of his extant works in Arabic and Persian on Exegesis, Hadith, Fiqh and Tasawwuf (see *EI*, new edition, 1115) Of these *Sharh-i Fiqh-i Akbar*, *Sharh-i Jamhidāt*, *Sharh-i Risāla-i Qushairiya*, *Amsāru'l-Asrār*, *Khātima*, *Makātib*, *Majmu'ah-i Yazdah Rasā'il*, *Jawāhiru'l-Ushshāq*, and *Anīsu'l-Ushshāq* have been edited by S Aṭā Husain

119 A commentary on a section of this work by Shāh Rafī'u'd dīn son of Shāh Waliyu'l lāh Dihlawī is included in *Majmu'a Tis Rasā'il*, Delhi 1314

120 There is a separate *Life of Mahmūd Gāwān* by H K Sherwani, published in 1942

2 *Riyāzu'l-Inshā* It is a collection of official and private letters written by **Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān** on his own behalf and on behalf of the Bahmanī Sultān to kings of Islamic countries and Indian states, ministers of foreign and Indian Muslim Sultānates, eminent poets, scholars, philosophers, theologians, mystics and even his relatives, on diverse topics. The **Khwāja** possessed unique mastery in the art of letter-writing. His diction is of Arabic origin. But the use of obscure words and coinage of difficult compounds and phrases to the requirements of rhythmic cadence of sentences, free admixture of quotation from the Qur'ān, traditions and Arabic poetry have rendered the style of the book rather heavy.<sup>121</sup>

*Tarjuma-ī Salhūtar* It is the Persian translation of a book in Sanskrit by one Durgādās on veterinary science. The translation was made at the instance of one of the early Bahmanī Sultāns before the transfer of the capital from Gulbarga to Bīdar. The translation exists in MS preserved in the British Museum.<sup>122</sup>

*Tauzih-ī Ilhān* The *Tauzīh-ī Ilhān* ("Exposition of musical notes") is a treatise on Music. The name of the author is not clear in the unique manuscript we possess.<sup>123</sup> It is transcribed as **ریمانی**, which seems to be a wrong substitute for **ریمانی**, or so, though in its present form it appears more like a title than a name.

The author seems to have resided some time at the court of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī who has been briefly referred to in the introduction of the treatise in these words.<sup>124</sup>

"A king who has no equal in his time,  
Thanks to God that he belongs to our time,  
A king son of a king, descendant of Bahman, a world-sheltering king having the status of Solomon

"A king ranking with Jamshīd in authority, with heaven in sublimity, Sultān Mahmūd, round whose Harem the nine heavens serve as a curtain."

This is the only reference about the patron available in the book. But regarding his identity we are confronted with a difficult problem. His

121 See Devare *op cit*, 160-64. See also H. K. Sherwani "Riyāzu'l-Inshā as a Source Book of Deccan History", Proceedings *IHRC*, 1940, 170 f.

122 *Rieu*, Add. No. 14057.

123 It belongs to Āqā Fakhru'd dīn Nasīrī of Tehrān (See *Hunār wa Mardūm*, Vol. 49, 58).

124 *Ibid*. In the original Persian

«شاهی که در زمانه ندارد نظیر خویش  
شکرانه واجب است که در روزگار است  
احمدی شاه بهمنی نسب، حضور گیتی پدای سلیمان حسب  
شاه حم در ملک مرقده سلطان محمود که یکی پرده بود نه دلکش گرد حرم»

name is given as Sultān Mahmūd in the introduction, while in the course of an anecdote the author incidentally mentions the date of Farabī's death

اکبرى که پانصد سال از مرگ فارابى میگذرد

Fārābī was born in a village named Wasij near Fārāb in 257/870 and died at the age of 80 years in Damascus in 339/950. From this it may be calculated that the treatise under discussion was being composed in 839 H. Thus Sultān Mahmūd to whom the author of the *Tauzīh-i Ilhān* was attached, seems to have ruled during the first half of the 9th century of the Hijra era. Among the rulers of this dynasty according to Ferishta two kings bore this title. The first succeeded to Dāwūd Shāh in 779/1378 and died in 799<sup>125</sup>. The second succeeded to the throne as late as 887/1482<sup>126</sup>. But with the date above referred to neither of them can be identical with the patron of the author if we suppose that the term پانصد سال is to be interpreted literally, which may not be correct. It can therefore be surmised that the Sultān referred to was Mahmūd Shāh who ruled from 887/1482 to 915/1510.

But then there is another hurdle. The MS of the *Tauzīh-i Ilhān* which was discovered in the private collection of Āqā-i Fakhru'd-dīn Naṣīrī in Irānī has been introduced by Ruknu'd-dīn Humāyūn Farrukh in the *Majalla-Hunār wa Mardūm*, XLIX, 58-59. He identifies the patron of the author of the treatise with Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī of the Deccan. But in the 59th volume of the same *Majalla* Humāyūn Farrukh tries to identify him with Tāju'd-dīn Firōz Shāh, though referring to his previous articles, he completely forgets what he has written earlier. He says

“His library was one of the most significant collections of Persian MSS, and even a large number of books (MSS) are available in the private collections of the world which were included for sometime in the library of Tāju'd-dīn Firōz Shāh. Out of these was the treatise *Tauzīh-i Ilhān*, a book on music whose author composed it in the name and for the library of Firōz Shāh the solitary copy of which is preserved in the private library of Āqā-i Fakhru'd-dīn Naṣīrī Amīnī.”

This observation is defective in respect of the following points

1. It is at variance with his earlier observation that the *Tauzīh-i Ilhān* was dedicated to Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī.

125 [It has been definitely proved on the basis of coins and other evidence that the name of Dāwūd's successor was Muḥammad, not Maḥmūd. See Sherwanī *Bahmanīs of the Deccan*, ch 5, fn 34, where the question of the Sultān's parentage, name and title are fully discussed. Ed.]

126 See *Bahmanīs op cit*, 361

2 The treatise, as seen earlier, was written for Mahmūd Shāh and not for Tāju'd-dīn Firōz Shāh for besides the exclusive mention of the name, the latter had died in 825/1422 about 14 years before the compilation of the book

3 Since it was composed many years after the Sultān, the question of its compilation for the library of the said king does not arise

This much about the identity of the patron, now it is worth while to know the circumstance in which the treatise was started The author says in the Introduction

“The reasons for composing the treatise are that when this humble, incompetent, full of shortcomings and deficiencies, lowest of all the creatures, was blessed and honoured in the service of the world-sheltering—Alexander-like Sultān, he found him (Sultān) a scholar well-versed in various sciences His (Sultān's) accomplishment is to such an extent that most of the royal palaces and buildings constructed recently were adorned by the inscriptions in the hand of the Sultān himself He had great liking for Mathematics which is one of the most difficult sciences, and of this particular science he is chiefly interested in its toughest branch called *Adwar* or music And some of the books preserved in the royal library were not easily intelligible due to their inflated style and inclusion of other science When the Sultān was informed that this humble had acquired knowledge in this science the order was issued to the effect that I should prepare a treatise on music in a straightforward style so that all may equally be benefited Accordingly the treatise was composed ”

The *Tauzīh* consists of an introduction, four *Asls* and a *Khātumā* <sup>127</sup>

#### *Munsha'at-i Shāh Tāhīr*

Shāh Tāhīr b Shāh Razīu'd-dīn Husainī was a descendent of the *Kh*wandī Saiyids who traced their origin from the Ismā'īlī Caliphs of Egypt <sup>128</sup> Tāhīr was a native of Kāshān, where he studied theology and other sciences He was a great protagonist of the Shī'ah faith, and having thus incurred the displeasure of Mīr Shāh Ismā'īl Safawī, he migrated to India and entered the service of Burhān Nizām Shah I in 928/1522 Here he soon rose to great eminence and gained an unusual supremacy over Burhān Nizām Shāh by means of a supposed miraculous recovery of the Shah's son 'Abdu'lQādir Shāh Tāhīr died in Ahmadnagar about 952-953/1545-46 or 956/1549 Besides being an

127 *Hunar wa Mardūm*, (49), 59

128 See *Fer*, II, 104, *Burhān*, 251-56

eminent prose writer he was gifted with poetic talent. The author of the *Majālisu'l-Mu'minīn* enumerates a number of works by Tahir of which the following are known to exist

1 *Fath Nāmā* being an account of the conquest of Sālārpūr by Burhān Nizām Shāh I of Ahmadnagar. Its copy is preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipur.<sup>129</sup>

2 *Munshā at i Shāh Tahir*. This is a collection of letters written by Shāh Tahir, some in the name of Nizām Shāh, some in his own.<sup>130</sup>

*Saidiyah or Shikār Nāma-i Qutb Shāhī*

It is attributed to Mullā Husain Tabasī who seems to have held the post of Supreme Judge in the régime of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh. This work which was taken at the behest of the Sultān in 963/1556 deals with rules and regulations of hunting and is divided into ten chapters and *Khātima*. Its MSS are preserved in Mullā Fīrōz Library, Bombay and the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.<sup>131</sup>

*Fiqh-i Ibrāhīm Shāhī*

This work is a collection of opinions and decisions in law cases as given by Ahmad b Muhammad entitled Nizāmu'd-dīn and is dedicated to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I. Its manuscript is preserved in the Buhār Library, Calcutta (National Library).

*Barahin-i Qāti'*

It is a Persian translation of *As-Sawaqu'l-Muharrīqah* of Ahmad Husainī, a collection of lectures on the Sunnī creed in Arabic delivered at Mecca in Ramazān 950/November, 1543. The translation was made by Kamālu'd-dīn Ibrāhīm and dedicated to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I.

*Inshā-i Qāsim Tabasī*

Qāsim Tabasī had been in the service of Jamshīd-Qulī (d. 957/1550) for some time and passed the best of his life in the service of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh. This collection comprises official and semi-official letters from Sultān Ibrāhīm to the rulers of Bijapur and the Safawī Monarchs. Its MS is preserved in the library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, (Ivanow collection<sup>132</sup>).

129 Bankipur, *Suppl. Cat.*, II, 94-95 [Text published by M. Hidayat Husain in *JRASB* Letters V (1939), 137-53. Ed.]

130 Two MSS exist: one in the British Museum, see *Rieu*, I, 395, and the other in Bankipur, *Suppl. Cat.* II, 97-98.

131 *Cat.*, MS No. 350, 158.

132 *Cat.*, 153, No. 350.

*Kaḥṭru'l-Mayāmin* by Mīr Mu'min

It was originally in Arabic but was translated into Persian by Qāzī Ahmad, a pupil of Mīr Mu'min. A rare transcription of this translation is preserved in the Sālār Jung Collection, Hyderabad.

*Zubdatu'r Rumūz* 133

It is a Persian rendering of *Dāstān-i Amīr Hamzah* by Muhammad Hājī Hamadānī done in 1022 at the instance of Muhammad Quṭb Shāh.

*Nuzhatu'l 'Uyūn* 134

It is a Persian translation of Imām Yafī'ī's book in Arabic on Sūfī saints and Divines entitled *Rauzatū'-Riyāḥin*. The translation was made by Faḡlu'l-lāh Husainī in 1026/1626-27 at the request of Muhammad Quṭb Shāh.

*'Aruz-i Muhammad Mu'min and La'l-i Qutbi*

The first was a treatise on prosody by Mīr Muhammad Mu'min and the second its commentary by Nasīr of Hamadān. A collection containing the two is preserved in the Sipihsālār library, Tehrān.<sup>135</sup>

*Majma'u'l-Gharā'ib*

This book, which deals with the wonders of the world, was written in 1027/1618 at Bijapur and dedicated to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. Its author, Muhammad Hārūn 'Abdu's Salām with the pen-name Salāmī, was a native of Khāsh who left for India after 1000 H. and arrived at Dābōl on his way to Bijapur. In Bijapur he secured the favour of Ikhlaṣ Khān. He seems to have completed his work in 1027/1610 for its original manuscript is in the hand of the author himself and is preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad and bears the same date.

*Tarjuma-i Quṭb Shāhi* 136

It is a Persian rendering by Shaikh Muhammad b. Khātūn 'Amīlī, of Shaikh Bahā'ī's *Kitābu'l-Arba'in*. The translation was undertaken at the instance of Sulṭān Muhammad Quṭb Shāh and was finished in 1029/1619-20.

133 Bankipur Cat V, VIII, 179

134 *Ethe*, 642

135 Cat V, II, 443-44, *La'l-i-Qutbi* was completed on 20 Muḥarram 1021 H. See *Nadhra Muhammad-Quli*, 160-61.

136 For its MSS see the *Majlis Cat* Tehrān, V II, 12-13, Nos. 26-27. Shaikh Bahā'ī's *Kashkāl* was translated into Persian by Ahmad Shāhid Amulī at the behest of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh. A MS of this translation dated 1070—1659-60 is preserved in the Majlis library, Tehran (vide *Cat*, II, 159).

*Tarjuma-i Tajrīd* 137

It is a Persian translation of Shaikh Nasīru'd-dīn Tusī's Arabic treatise. It was completed in the reign of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh. The translator also wrote a commentary on *Tajrīd* and gave it the title of *Tuhfa-i Shāhī*.

*Makātīb-i Zamāna-i Salāṭīn-i Safawīyah*

It is a large collection of the letters of the Safawī Sultāns and includes five letters sent by various Dakhnī Sultāns to the Safawī monarchs.<sup>138</sup> One of these was a letter sent by Ibrāhīm 'Adīl Shāh II to Shāh 'Abbās through his messenger Shāh Khālīlu'l-lāh Khushnawīs. The letter is dated 1018/1609-10.

*Burhān-i Qāṭi'*

This is one of the most standard works on Persian lexicography compiled under the patronage of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh by Muḥammad Husain Tabrizī in 1062 H. The book has enjoyed wide reputation both in India and Irān till the present day. The most reputed poet and scholar Mīrzā Ghālīb had severely criticised the book in his *Qāṭi'-i Burhān* which resulted in enhancing the value of the *Burhān-i Qāṭi'* as a book on Persian lexicography.

*Tuhfa-i Mulki* 139

It is a Persian rendering of Ibn-i Bābwaiḥ's '*Uyūnu'l-Akḥbār*' by 'Alī b. Taifūr Bisṭāmī (the author of *Hadaīqu's Salatin*) prepared in 1058 H. for 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh.

*Jung-i Quṭb Shāhī* 140

It is a treatise on ethics and theology by an anonymous author who flourished in the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh.

*Lam'at-i Quṭb Shāhī* 141

It is a work on meteorology compiled by Ibn-i Husain b. Jamālu'd-dīn in the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh.

*Koka-Shastra* 142

It is a Persian translation of the popular Sanskrit work attributed to Pandit Koka of Kashmir. The translation was made by Muḥammad-Qulī Jāmī during the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh in 1036 H.

137 Devare *op cit*, 340

138 It is preserved in the Asafiyah Library

139 For his career see the present writer's article on Shāh Khālīlu'l-lāh in the *Nadhr-i Zakir* (1968)

140 A MS is preserved in Asafiyah Library

141 A MS is available in Buhār Library

142 A MS Salar Jung Library, Tibb, 53



Most of the books noticed above cannot be called literary in the strict sense of the term. Many of them are theological in nature and expose the tenet of a certain dogma or doctrine. A large number consists in Persian translations of original Arabic or Sanskrit books; while a major bulk deals with Shī'ah religious dogmas or the lives of the Imāms. Being in the form of manuscripts not easily accessible, they have not been used to any extent. It is hoped that a proper scrutiny of these manuscripts and a careful use of the unutilised material will throw new light on medieval Indian cultural and political history specially in respect of the relations of Deccan with northern India and even with Irān.



## APPENDIX

### *‘Abdu’l-lāh b. Shēr Malik al-Wā‘izī*

‘Abdu’l-lāh b. Shēr Malik b. Muḥammad al-Wā‘izī was the author of a small prose treatise consisting of 53 pages (in print) called *Risāla dar Siyar-i Shāh Ni‘matu’l-lāh Walī*. Nothing is known about the author except that he was one of the attaches of the court of the Bahmanī monarch ‘Alāu’d-dīn Aḥmad II. The author wrote the treatise on the life and teachings of the Ṣūfī saint Shāh Ni‘matu’l-lāh Walī (d. 834/1430-31) and dedicated it to the Bahmanī Sultān. It is based on the accounts given by Shāh Ni‘matu’l-lāh’s disciples of whom al-Wā‘izī specially mentions, Shaikh Nizāmu’d-dīn Aḥmad alias Shaikh Khujān Fārūqī and Syed ‘Alā’u’d-dīn Mahdī, and is divided into seven chapters. This is perhaps the earliest book on this subject and is mentioned by ‘Abdu’r-Razzāq Kirmānī in his *Risāla* (pp. 14, 24). It has been edited by Jean Aubin and published in a collection called *Majmu‘a dar Tarjuma-i Ahwal Shah Nimat Ullah Wali Kirmani* in 1956 in Tehrān (قسمت ایران شناسی انستیتو ایران و فرانسه تهران) and Paris (Institut d’ études iranienne de l’ Université de Paris). In this connection (pp. 287-88) Shaikh Khujān Fārūqī is mentioned as being descended from Sultān ‘Alau’d-dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh.



(vi) SANSKRIT  
by V. W. PARANJPE SHASTRI  
*Synopsis*

1. Introduction.
2. The Vēdas.
3. Pūrvamīmāṃsa.
4. Vedānta.
5. Tarkaśāstra.
6. Yogaśāstra.
7. Grammar.
8. Metrics (Prosody).
9. Dharmaśāstra.
10. Astronomy.
11. Astrology.
12. Polity.
13. Medicine.
14. Music.
15. Anthologies.
16. Rhetorics.
17. Champūs.
18. Historical Poems.
19. Lexicography.
20. Nāṭakas.
21. South Indian scholars who migrated to other regions.



## 1 Introduction

The creative period of Sanskrit literature may be said to have witnessed a decline by the end of the 10th century. No original work in Sanskrit seems to have been compiled during the period, 1300 to 1800. The main causes for this decline may be the following. Firstly, during the late medieval period, some of the Muslim rulers who had established political hegemony over North India, were not generally patrons of Sanskrit language and literature. Subsequently these rulers penetrated into the Deccan with the result that Sanskrit learning and literature found active royal patronage difficult. Secondly, during this period, the new Indo Aryan and Dravidian languages gained gradual supremacy over Sanskrit, the *lingua franca* of the cultured and the élite in India. Consequently no original Sanskrit work of outstanding merit was produced in the later medieval period.

Yet it is interesting to note that in spite of the rise of peoples' languages, Sanskrit continued to be cultivated during this period, and a number of commentaries on standard Sanskrit works have added to our knowledge.

The special characteristics of medieval Sanskrit literature arise from the fact that most of the writers focussed their attention on writing commentaries and glosses to general branches of Sanskrit literature. Of particular importance to us is the compilation during this period, of the encyclopaedic works on Dharmaśāstra.

Although no poet or dramatist of the genius of Kālidāsa or Bhavabhūti belongs to this period, a good number of *belles-lettres*—dramas, poems, lyrical, gnomic and didactic in character, were produced.

In the field of rhetoric at least half a dozen works, besides six works on dramaturgy were produced during the late medieval period. Most of these works, however, were based on older standard works on rhetoric, slightly rearranged and mostly illustrated with verses specially composed to praise the patrons of these writers.

The philosophers of this period focussed their attention on writing commentaries and sub-commentaries on well-known texts, such as the Upaniṣads, the Brahmasūtras and the Bhagavadgīta, thus popularising the philosophic thought embodied in these works.

Astronomy is the only branch of knowledge which continued to flourish in the period under review. Great astronomers tried to keep the calculations up to date. While new astronomical treatises were written, several commentaries on older works as the *Siddhāntasīromani* of Bhāskarachārya, were

composed in order to keep the old system alive. Furthermore, many writers from the Deccan contributed to Astrology, and thus utilised the science of astronomy for astrological investigations.

Even in the field of medicine, no original contribution was made. Nevertheless, some lexicons were written dealing with the properties of the medicinal plants and herbs. A work on the science of dietetics is also credited to this period.

Two main philosophic systems, Logic (*tarkaśāstra*) and Exegesis (*mīmāṃsa*) were developed in this period. But most of the works on the science of logic were written by the scholars from the area around Nadia and Mithila. A good number of *mīmāṃsakas* wrote their works at Varānasi, though they belonged to the Deccan. The science of grammar was also developed by the scholars of the Deccan who had migrated to Varānasi.

Most of the modern writers of the history of Sanskrit literature have concentrated their attention on chronology, the other factor *i.e.* location of the region or place of the writer have been neglected. The writers themselves very rarely give their personal history in the colophons to their works, and rarely do we find the region or place of the writers mentioned in their works. Unfortunately there are no books available dealing with the contribution of different regions to the development of Sanskrit literature.

In order to ascertain the contribution of medieval Deccan to Sanskrit language and literature one has to rely mostly on the available histories of Sanskrit literature, *i.e.* some critical editions of Sanskrit texts, the learned introductions to important Sanskrit texts, and a number of research articles published in various journals in India and in western countries.

## 2 *The Vēdas*

After the great etymologist Yāska, there seems to be a big gap of nearly 1500 years with regard to the interpretation of vedic texts. Later, some scholars like Uvata, Mahīdhara, Skandasvāmin, and Mādhavabhatta wrote their *bhāṣyas* on some vedic texts. But these attempts cannot stand any comparison to the gigantic attempt of Sāyanachārya during 14th century under the patronage of the Vijayanagar empire.

Sāyana, with the help of some eminent Sanskrit *paṇḍits*, wrote *bhāṣyas* on

- 1 Rīgvēda *saṃhitā*
- 2 Taittirīya *saṃhitā*
- 3 Kāṇva *saṃhitā* of Suklayajurvēda
- 4 Sāmavēda *saṃhitā*
- 5 Atharvavēda *saṃhitā*
- 6 Aitareya *brāhmaṇa*



- 7 Taittirīya brāhmana (of Krishna Yajurvēda)
- 8 Śatapatha brāhmana (of Sukla Yajurvēda)
- 9 Sadvimśa brāhmana (of Sāmavēda)
- 10 Aitareyāranyaka

Sāyana adds an introduction to his Rīgvēda bhāṣya and explains therein the nature of his approach to vedic literature. His interpretation of the vedic texts is strictly based on the ritualistic tradition. Sāyana explains most vedic words with the help of the rules of Panini. His bhāṣya will remain for ever a guiding pillar to the students entering the field of the interpretations of the vedic texts.

### 3 *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*

The science of Pūrvamīmāṃsā always attracts the attention of the pandits of south India. The Polymath Mādhavachārya (c 14th century) wrote his simple but very useful treatise, *Jaiminiya Nyāyamālāvistāra*,<sup>1</sup> in which he gives the rules of the interpretation of vedic texts with suitable illustrations. Sōmanātha (16th century) a paṇḍit from Andhra, has to his credit a commentary *Mayūkhamālikā*<sup>2</sup> on the text of *Śāstradīpikā*. His commentary is considered to be standard and authoritative one.

Rāmanujāchārya, who belongs to Dharmapurī in Andhra Pradesh, wrote a work *Tantrarāhasya*<sup>3</sup> elucidating the texts of the Prabhākara school of Mīmāṃsā. He has to his credit a commentary *Nāyakarātna*<sup>4</sup> on the Nyāyaratnamālā of Pārthasārathimīśra. This scholar is placed between 1350 and 1575 by Rāmāswāmī Śāstri.<sup>5</sup>

By the beginning of the 17th century Āpadēva, who resided somewhere on the banks of the Godavari, wrote his work *Mīmāṃsanyāyaprakāśa*<sup>6</sup>. His work has been accepted as a manual of the Pūrvamīmāṃsāsāstra elucidating the contents of the Daśalakṣaṇī. This work is considered most important because it deals with the contents of the later half of the Pūrvamīmāṃsāsāstra.

Annambhatta (c 1700) son of Tirumalāchārya, who belonged to Andhra wrote two works, namely (1) *Subōdhini*,<sup>7</sup> a commentary of *Tantravārttika* and (2) *Ranakaphakkika*<sup>8</sup> a commentary on *Nyāyasudha of Somēś-*

1 Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (ANSS) Poona No 24, 1892

2 Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, (NSP), Bombay, 1915

3 Gaekwar Oriental Series (GOS), Baroda, XXIV, 1956

4 *Ibid*, LXXV, 1937

5 Intr to *Nyāyaratnamālā* (GOS) LXXV, p lviii

6 Chaukhambā Sanskrit Series (ChSS) Benares, 53, 1921

7 *Descriptive Cat Oriental Library* (D C Ady), Madras, IX, 23

8 *Triennial Catalogue Oriental Library*, Madras, No 1532, 1653

*vara* Laugākṣi Bhāskara (c 1600) son of Mudgala, a native of Andhra, wrote an elementary book on *Pūrvammāmsā* called *Arthasaṅgraha*<sup>9</sup>, a useful book for beginners. It has been popular and is widely studied throughout India.

Bhāskarachārya (c 18th century) a Maharashtrian paṇḍit, has to his credit a commentary *Chandrodaya*<sup>10</sup> on Bhāttadīpikā. He wrote another commentary *Chandrika*<sup>11</sup> on the *Saṅkarskāṇḍa Sūtras*, giving very briefly the views of the Pūrvapakṣa and Siddhānta. V A R Sastri<sup>12</sup> remarks "His commentary is better and more helpful as it explains clearly the brief and enigmatic language of Khandadēva". A Maharashtrian paṇḍit Balasāstri Gadgil<sup>13</sup> (c 18th century) wrote a commentary on Khandadēva's *Bhāttadīpikā*. A single MS of this work is deposited at the MSS Library of Sanskrit Pathaśāla, Rajapur, district Ratnagiri.

#### 4 *Vēdānta*

Vidyārāṇya (c 1400) wrote two works expounding the theory of *Advāita Vēdānta*. (1) *Panchadaśī*,<sup>14</sup> (2) *Jīvanmuktiviveka*.<sup>15</sup> Vidyārāṇya's *Sarvadarśanasangraha*<sup>16</sup> is a unique work and is of great importance because it summarises the views of all the six Nāstika Darśanas as well as the six Āstika Darśanas. The author arranges the 12 darśanas in hierarchy beginning with Chārvāka the materialistic view, and ending with the *Advaitavedānta* of Śaṅkarachārya.

Dharmarājādhvārī (c 16th century) a brahman from the Andhra country, wrote a manual of Advaitavedānta. His work, *Vedāntaparibhāṣa*<sup>17</sup> is a popular work and useful for beginners.

Mādhavasarasvatī (c 1500) a great scholar of Karnataka, was resident of Sodapura in the vicinity of Gōkarṇa. He wrote *Sarvadarśanakaumudī*.<sup>18</sup> This is a work of the type of *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* of Vidyārāṇya.

Srīpati (c 14th century) belonging to a family of Ārādhyā Brahmanas in Godavari district, wrote a work *Śrīkarabhāṣya*.<sup>19</sup> on Brahmasūtras. It is considered a very important work explaining the Vīraśaiva philosophy.

9 Edited by Thibaut, Benares, 1888

10 *DC Ady*, IX, 210

11 Published in *Pandit*, Benares

12 V A R Sastri, *Intr to Tattvabindu*, 140

13 Gode, *Studies in Indian Literary History*, Bombay, 1955-56, III, 182-187

14 Shri Vanī Vilāsa Press, Shrīrangam, 1912

15 *Op cit*, No 20, 1890

16 *BI*, No 21, 1858

17 Jivānāṇḍa Vidyasagar, (JV), Calcutta, 1896

18 Trivandrum Sk Series (TSS) Trivandrum, No CXXXV, 1903

19 Edited by Hayavadana Rao, Bangalore 1936

Doddachārya, also known as Mahāchārya (c 16th century), hailing from Yataluru in the kingdom of Chandragiri, wrote a commentary called *Chandāmaruta*<sup>20</sup> on Satadūsanī a work of Vedāntadēśika. The author is credited to have written another work, *Vedāntavijaya*. His disciple Srīnivāsa (c 17th century) wrote *Yatīndramatadīpikā*<sup>21</sup> a work explaining the tenets of Rāmānuja.

Mādhvāchārya (1238-1319) was born in a family of Tulu brahmanas of Pajaka near Udīpi in South Kanara district. He is taken to be the greatest of the propounders of Dvaita philosophy. He wrote Bhāṣyas on Gīta, Brahmasūtra and the Upanisads. And also wrote a commentary on three adhyayas of the Rīgvēda.<sup>22</sup>

Jayatīrtha (c 14th century) one of the chief priests of Dvaita mathas, wrote a number of works. His commentary *Nyāyasudhā* on Anubhāṣya of Mādhvāchārya<sup>23</sup> is an important work. He has to his credit some 20 other works.

Vyāsarāya (1478-1539) another chief priest of Dvaita matha was held in high esteem by Sāḷuva Narasimha and Krishnadēvarāya of Vijayanagar. He wrote a good number of works on Dvaita philosophy. Some of the most important works are mentioned here —

- (i) *Tātparyachandrikā*,<sup>24</sup> a discussive commentary on Jayatīrtha's *Tātparyāsamgraha*
- (ii) *Tarkatāndava*<sup>25</sup> a work criticising the views of some famous nāyāyikas like Udayanāchārya, Gangeśa etc
- (iii) *Nyāyāmṛita*<sup>26</sup> an independent work especially written to refute the Advaita philosophy of Sankarachārya.

Vijayīndratīrtha (1514-1595) one of the prominent priests of Dvaita matha wrote some 40 works. He criticised the views of his contemporary Appayyadīkṣita and defended the philosophy of Mādhvāchārya.

Vādirājatīrtha (c 16th century) of Udīpi matha, wrote a voluminous work *Yuktīmālīkā* which has nearly five thousand verses. He was the first priest to bring the wisdom of his predecessors within the reach of the common man.<sup>27</sup>

20 BIND No 158, 1903-04

21 *Op cit*, No 50, 1906

22 N K Sarma *History of Dvaita School of Vedanta* (HDV), I, 98-116

23 *NSP*, Bombay, 1895

24 *Ibid*, 1913

25 Mysore Oriental Library, 4 volumes, 1932-43

26 Published at Belgaum

27 *Catalogue of Saraswati Mahal Library*, Tanjore, No 1879

### 5 *Tarkaśāstra*

Keśavabhatta (c 16th century), a resident of Punyastambha, in Ahmadnagar district, wrote a commentary *Tarkadīpikā* on *Tarkabhāṣā* of Kēśava-miśra. He has to his credit one more work, *Nyāyachandrikā*<sup>28</sup>, an elementary treatise on Indian Logic.

Kondabhatta (c 17th century) son of Rangajibhatta of Dikṣita family from Andhra, was well-known for the study of the science of Grammar. He wrote three works on Tarkaśāstra viz, (1) *Tarkapīḍipā*<sup>29</sup> (2) *Tarkaratna*<sup>30</sup> and (3) *Nyāyāpadārthadīpikā*<sup>31</sup>. A Maharashtrian pandit Vaidyanātha Gaḍgil, (c 18th century) wrote a commentary *Tarkachandrikā* on *Tarkasangraha*<sup>32</sup>. Mādhavasarasvatī (c 1300 century) from Karnataka wrote a commentary on *Mitabhāṣinī* on *Saptapadārthi* of Sivaditya.

### 6 *Yogaśāstra*

Srīnivāsa, a scholar from Andhra country, has to his credit a work called *Hatharatnāvalī*<sup>33</sup> dealing with *Haṭhayoga*. The author refers to Ātmārāma the greatest authority on *Yogaśāstra* and the author of *Haṭhayoga-pradīpikā* (c 1350 to 1650). We can place Srīnivāsa between 14th and 18th centuries.

Srīvānandasarasvatī has to his credit a treatise, *Yōgachintāmanī*<sup>34</sup> modelled after the work of the same title written by Godāvaramiśra. The author may be taken to belong to Karnataka as he shows high regard for Vidyārāya. He is placed by the scholars like Gode between 15th to 18th century.

### 7 *Grammar*

The first work on grammar belonging to the period under review must be taken as Ramachandra's *Prakriyākaumudī*<sup>35</sup>. He was a native of Andhra and belonged to the first half of 15th century. His work is supposed to be a model for *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhattojīdikṣitā. This *Prakriyākaumudī* has several commentaries, among which the commentary, *Prasāda*<sup>36</sup> by Viṭthala, the grandson of the author, is taken to be the most important one.

28 Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (BORI), No 796 of 1887-91

29 Catalogue catalogorum by Aufrecht (CC), I, 130

30 *Ibid*

31 Benares Sanskrit Series, (BSS) No 14, 1900

32 NSP, Bombay, 1876

33 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, (TSS) 1931, XI, p 4923

34 Edited by Haridasa Vidyavagīsa, Calcutta

35 Bombay Sanskrit Series, BORI, Poona, 1925-31

36 *Ibid*

Bhatta Akalaṅkadēva, a Jain paṇḍit, was patronised by the Raya of Vijayanagar. He wrote a grammar<sup>37</sup> of Kannada in Sanskrit and a commentary to explain it.

Koṇḍabhatta, the greatest grammarian of 17th century from Andhra country, wrote the following important works (i) *Vaiyākaranasiddhāntabhūṣana*<sup>38</sup> (ii) *Vaiyākaranabhūṣanasāra*,<sup>39</sup> (iii) *Vaiyākaranasiddhāntadīpikā*<sup>40</sup> and (iv) *Sphoṭavada*.<sup>41</sup>

Annambhatta, the famous Andhra scholar, wrote a commentary<sup>42</sup> on Paṇini's *Astadhyāyī*. He has to his credit a commentary<sup>43</sup> called *Uddyotana* on Kaiyata's commentary of *Pradīpa* on *Mahābhāṣya* of Patanjali.

### 8 Metrics (Prosody)

We come across a work of Virupāksha Yajvan on metrics. This work is known by the name *Nṛsiṃhavṛttamālā*, divided into a number of chapters. The ninth chapter of this work is called *Āndhrapradeśasiddhamātāvittapaddhati*. Virupāksha must be a native of Andhra as he discusses in his treatise the metres of the Telugu language, and shows great respect for the place 'Mudgala' which is famous for the temple of Nṛsiṃha in Andhra Pradesh. As Virupāksha wrote a commentary on *Kuvalayananda* of Appayyadīkṣita, he may be placed between 16th to 18th century.

Another work *Vṛttadyumani* seems to have been written at the village Nimbagav on the bank of the river Bhīma in Maharashtra. The name of the author, however, is not known. This work is divided in 12 chapters named Kīranas. It deals with both the Aryas and Vṛttas. This work belongs to second half of 18th century. There is one more work *Chandoratnāvalī* written by Raghunātha, a great scholar from Champāvati (Chaul) a small town about 40 miles south of Bombay. No manuscript of this work has come down to us and it is known to us only because the author himself mentions it in his work *Kavikaustubha*.

### 9 Dharmasāstra

Varadarāja has to his credit a work called *Vyavahāranirnaya*<sup>44</sup> popularly known as *Varadarājīya*. This was one of the important digests (nibandhas) recognized by the courts as forming the special authorities of the South Indian

37 *Madhyayina Caritra Kośa*, 577

38 BSS, No 14, 1900

39 ANSS, No 43, 1901

40 CC, I, 130

41 *Ibid*, 130

42 *Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS (TC)*, No 1500, 2113

43 *Ibid*, 2113

44 Published in "Brahmavidya" 1937-1939

School of Hindu law Gode<sup>45</sup> establishes the date of the author between 1000 and 1350

Mādhavachārya (c 1400) has to his credit a copious work *Pārāsa-ramādhava*<sup>46</sup> a type of commentary on *Pārasara Smṛiti*. He has to his credit one more work called, *Kālamādhava*<sup>47</sup> explaining in detail the concept of *kāla* or time

Khanderāya<sup>48</sup> (c 1500) son of Haribhatta and grandson of Nārāyaṇa, patronised by a chieftain of Vīdarbha, wrote a work called, *Kṛtyāratna*<sup>49</sup> dealing with the rites to be performed throughout the year

Viśvanātha<sup>50</sup> (c 15th century), son of Narasimhādīkṣita wrote a work called *Śrauta-prāyaścittachandrikā*<sup>51</sup> Though no information with regards to the native place of the author is available, we can take him to be a Dakṣiṇī on the strength of his name

Keśavabhatta<sup>52</sup> (c 15th or 16th century) of Punyastambha in Ahmadnagar district wrote a work called *Antyeṣṭipaddhati*<sup>53</sup> which is a manual of funeral rites

Dalapatirāja<sup>54</sup> (c 16th century) an officer of Ahmad Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar wrote a work called *Nṛsiṃhāprasāda*<sup>55</sup> dealing with all the topics of Dharmaśāstra

Raghunāthabhatta<sup>56</sup> (c 17th century) from Hardi, in Ratnagiri district, wrote a work called *Nirṇayaratnāvalī*. There is a unique manuscript of this work preserved in the Manuscript Collection of the Sanskrit Pāthśālā at Rajapur in Ratnagiri district

A Maharashtrian paṇḍit Raghunātha Gaṇēśa Navahasta<sup>57</sup> (Nawathe) (c 17th century) wrote an encyclopaedic work called *Janārdanamahodaya*. So far only a fragment of this work is available in manuscript in the Rajapur Collection

45 Gode, *op cit*, I, 334-340

46 *BI*, No 94, 1890-1892

47 *Ibid*, No 101, 1891

48 Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, (HD) Poona, 1930, Vol I

49 *Baroda Oriental Library MS* No 1953

50 Gode, *op cit*, II, 53-54

51 *Punjab University MSS Collection*

52 Gode, *op cit*, III, 132-139

53 *Bombay University Manuscript Collections (BU)*, I, No 952, p 345

54 Kane, *op cit*, Vol I, 406-410

55 *MSS Collection, Benares Sanskrit College, Varanasi*

56 Gode, *op cit*, II, 144

57 Gode, *ibid*, II, 404-415

On the advice of Sambhājī, Keśavabhattacha<sup>58</sup> Purōhita wrote a work called *Dharmakalapalatā* in 1682

In the last decade of 17th century an officer of Sambhājī, Trimbak Rao Hanumantē, wrote a work called *Asauchanirṇaya* which is generally known by the name *Tryambakī*

Pandit Krishnanrīsimhasesa<sup>59</sup> (c 17th century) wrote a work *Sudācharachintāmani* dealing with the religious rites of the non-brahmans, at the instance of Pilajī a sardar in Maharashtra

Sābājī Pratāparāya (c 17th century) of Ahmadnagar a protégé of Burhān Nizām Shāh I, wrote two works His work *Parasūāmāpratāpa*<sup>60</sup> is a digest (nibandh) dealing with all the topics of Dharmaśāstra, while his second work *Bhārgavārchana-chandrikā* is a treatise on the tantric forms of worship<sup>61</sup>

In the year 1710 Rudradēva Tōrō,<sup>62</sup> a resident of Paithan, wrote a work *Pratāpa Narasimha*, a general treatise on Dharmaśāstra The same author has to his credit two other works namely (i) *Āpastambavidhī* and (ii) *Kundapīakāsa*

In the year 1746 Sivadīksita, who belonged to the Chaturdhara family of Kūrparagrām in Ahmadnagar district migrated to Varanasi, came back to Paithan and wrote a work called *Dharmatattvaprakāsa*<sup>63</sup>

Kāśinātha Upādhyaya (c 18th century)<sup>64</sup> of Pandharpūr wrote a work *Dharmasindhusāra*, which is a leading work in matters of religious observances<sup>64</sup>

## 10 Astronomy

Vāvilāla Kocchanna,<sup>65</sup> a writer from Andhra region, wrote a book on astronomy in 1300 His calculations are based on the *Sūryasiddhānta* There is a work *Yāntrachintāmani*<sup>66</sup> written by Chakradhara son of Vāmana<sup>66</sup> A commentary on it by Rāma of Parthāpura on the Godavari, was completed in 1626 Chakradhara is generally placed between 1300 and 1600

In the year 1358 Mahādēva, son of Bopadēva from Trimbak on the bank of Godavari, wrote a work *Kāmadhenu* This work was very popular

58 M M Citraiva Sastrī, *Madhyayugina Caritra Kośa*, (MC), 270

59 MC, *op cit*, 255

60 Gode, *op cit* II, 137 45

61 Baroda Oriental Library, MS No 5887

62 MC, *op cit*, 710

63 Royal Asiatic Society (RASB), Calcutta, Sanskrit MSS Catalogue, II, 81, p 73

64 NSP, *op cit*, Bombay

65 Dīksit *Bhārattīya Jyōtisa Śāstra*, Poona, 1931, 254

66 *Ibid*, 352, BU, No 375

and even to this day and is used for making almanacs Makhibhatta<sup>67</sup> wrote a commentary *Ganitabhūṣana*<sup>68</sup> on Śrīpati's *Siddhāntasēkhara* The commentary was written in the year 1377 As Śrīpati was a Maharashtrian of the 11th century, we take Makhibhatta to belong to the region of Maharashtra Makhibhatta has to his credit one more work called *Ganitavilāsa*, a commentary on *Bṛhadbhāskariya*

Gangādhara, a resident of Sagar a place in the doab of Krishnaveni and Bhāgīratī wrote a work *Chandramāna*<sup>69</sup> This work is based on the *Sūryasiddhānta* A descendant of his family by name Chandāla supported solar reckoning system, while his son explained the work *Chandī āmanī* in a commentary in verse

Keśava Daivajna wrote a work *Graha-kautuka*<sup>70</sup> assuming the year 1497 as the base for his calculations He belonged to a village Nandagāon on the west coast some 40 miles from Bombay

Sūryadāsa son of Jñānarāja from Bīr in Marathawādā wrote a commentary<sup>71</sup> on Bījagaṇita of Bhāskarāchārya The work is known as *Sūryaprakāśa* It was written in the year 1639 The same scholar wrote a commentary *Ganitāmṛitakupika*<sup>72</sup> on *Līlāvati* of Bhāskarāchārya The author also wrote a book called *Śrīpatipaddhatiganita*

Jñānarāja, in the beginning of 16th century, wrote a work called *Siddhāntasundara*<sup>73</sup> The author follows strictly the method of Bhāskārāchārya Two parts of the work *Ganitādhyāya* and of *Golādhyāya* are preserved in the MS form in the Ānandāsrama Poona

Gaṇēsa Daivajña son of Kēśava wrote an important work *Grahalāghava*,<sup>74</sup> which is still used practically all over India He is also credited with the following works<sup>75</sup>

(i) Commentary on *Siddhāntasirōmanī*

(ii) Commentary on *Līlāvati*

Ananta, a resident of Dharmapuri in Vīdarbha, wrote a commentary on *Kāmadhēnu*<sup>76</sup> a treatise by Mahādēva of Tryambakēśvara Ananta later

67 *Ibid*, 274

68 Ed Bapuṃ Mīśra, Calcutta University, 1932

69 Dīkṣit, *op cit*, 316

70 *Ibid*, 258

71 *Ibid*, 271-73

72 CC, I, *op cit*, 0 731

73 *Ibid*, 210

74 Published at Ganapat Krishnaji Press, Bombay, 1900

75 Dīkṣit, *op cit*, 260 66

76 CC, *op cit*, I, 13



on migrated to Varanasi and wrote *Jātakapaddhati* Gōpīnātha from Sangamēswar in Ratnagiri district wrote a commentary on *Tarjanīyantra* a work on astronomy particularly meant for the measurement of time This author belongs to the later half of the 16th century Dhunḍhirāja, an astronomer of Parthāpura, (Pāthri) wrote *Jatakābharana* <sup>77</sup> The same author is credited to have written a commentary on *Sudhārasakarana* of Ananta <sup>78</sup> The commentary is known as *Sudhārasakaranachaśaka* The author is placed in the second half of the 16th century Gangādhara from Tapar in Maharashtra has to his credit a commentary on *Grahalāghava* written in the year 1603 <sup>79</sup>

Krishna, a Deshastha Brahman, residing in Māvala region of Maharashtra, wrote a work entitled *Karanakaustubha* <sup>80</sup> at the instance of Shivaji in 1653 He wrote another book called *Tantraratna* No manuscript of this work is extant

Biddana, son of Mallayya or Kaundinya gotra, probably belonging to Karnatak, wrote a work *Vārśikatantī* <sup>81</sup> As an anonymous commentary on Biddana's work, written at Bankapūr in Dhārwar district, is dated 1712, we can safely place Biddana to the last decade of the 16th century In the year 1719, one Maharashtrian Dādābhat from Konkan wrote a commentary *Kirnāvalī* <sup>82</sup> on *Sūryasiddhanta* A pandit, Chintāmaṇi Dīkṣita patronised by the Pēshwās and residing at Satara, wrote a work *Golānanda* <sup>83</sup> dealing with the calculations of the movements of the planets Rāghava Khandēkar, <sup>84</sup> a resident of Puntamba in Ahmadnagar district, has to his credit three works —

- (i) *Khēṭakṛitī*
- (ii) *Pañchangārka*
- (iii) *Paddhatichandrikā*

# 11 Astrology —

Kēśava, (c 1500), father of the famous astronomer Gaṇēśa Daivajña of Nandagāon (Konkan), wrote the work *Muhūrtatattva*, dealing with the muhūrtas or auspicious moments prescribed for various actions In his work the author adds a special chapter called *Naukāprakarana* dealing with the muhūrtas for building new boats and taking the newly-built boats to the sea

<sup>77</sup> Dīkṣit, *op cit*, 266

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*, 273

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*, 266

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*, 290 91

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, 291

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, 292

<sup>83</sup> *Descriptive Catalogue of SK and Pr MSS of the Bombay University*, 1944, n 41

<sup>84</sup> Dīkṣit, *Bharatiya Jyotiṣastracha Itihāsa*, 297

He has to his credit an independent work called *Nāvapradīpa*<sup>85</sup> His works *Jātakapaddhati* and *Tājakapaddhati* are considered as standard works on Astrology

Gaṇeśa Daivajña (c 1520-1600) the famous astronomer of Nandagaon has to his credit the works (i) *Laghutithichintāmanī*,<sup>86</sup> and (ii) *Bṛhattithichintāmanī*,<sup>87</sup> dealing mostly with the muhūrtas for various acts

Kanchapallu (c 1550), resident of Koṇḍāpallī, wrote a work *Jyōtiśādarpana*<sup>88</sup> This work is written in a mixed style i e both prose and verse He himself mentions that his work was considered a standard work for almanac preparation in the south extending up to the city of Kanjivaram

Narāyana, who flourished in the latter half of 18th century resided at Tapar wrote the well-known work *Muhūrtāmartanda*<sup>89</sup> It has been published many times in Maharashtra with a Marathi translation There are a number of commentaries on this work

Gaṇeśa Dhundhīrāja Daivajña (c 1560) resident of Parthpura on the banks of Godavari wrote a work called, *Tājikabhūṣana*<sup>90</sup>

## 12 Polity

This is the branch of Sanskrit literature that has been most neglected by Sanskrit pandits However we come across an anonymous work *Ākāśabhairavakalpa*,<sup>91</sup> written in popular tantric style as a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī A part of this big compendium is found in a fragmentary form which consists of 136 chapters covering 537 folios This fragment deals mostly with the king and his capital city, the ministers, the places and many similar topics The work seems to have been written by some eminent politician, perhaps a minister of the kingdom of Vijayanagar Gode remarks "This work is rich in contents, which depict in a simple manner the life as lived from day to day by the Rajas of Vijayanagar, and their zealous subjects who kept alive for more than two centuries the glory of Hindu religion and culture "

We have one more work, also of a fragmentary type written under the patronage of the Maratha King Sambhājī A great pandit, Kēśava by name, belonging to a purohita family wrote a large treatise *Dharmakalpalatā*<sup>92</sup>

85 Deccan College MSS No 332

86 BU, No 489

87 BJ, 260-266

88 Dikṣit, *op cit*, 272-73

89 NSP

90 Venkatesvar Press, Bombay

91 Gode, *op cit*, II, 122-32

92 *Ibid*, II, 349-63

So far, the manuscript of this encyclopaedic work is not found, but a part of the work bearing the title *Dandantimanjari* is found incorporated in the work *Budhabhūsana* assigned to Sambhājī

### 13 *Medicine*

A physician Trimalla alias Tirumalla, son of Vallabha, belonging to the region of Triling (Andhra) wrote the following works on medicine

- 1) *Yogataranginī*<sup>93</sup> giving a number of prescriptions
- 2) *Rasapradīpa*
- 3) *Dravyagunāśatasloki*<sup>94</sup>

The author may be placed in the 14th century

Lolimbarāja, a famous physician of the 17th century and resident of Junnār in Poona district, has been credited to have written *Vaidyajivana*<sup>95</sup> The work was commented on by Harinātha in 1675 *Vaidavatamsa*,<sup>96</sup> a medical work was also credited to Lolimbarāja One more work *Vaidyavilāsa*<sup>97</sup> has been assigned to a famous scholar Raghunāth Bhatta (c 17th century), from Champāvati a village 40 miles from Bombay A Mahāshtrian pandit from Chaphal in Satāra district, has to his credit a work on dietary known as *Bhojanakutūhala* The author deals with various preparations This work notes all the Maharashtra dishes of the 17th century

### 14 *Music*

Saṅgitasāra,<sup>98</sup> a treatise on music which is quoted by many authors, is ascribed to Vidyārāya No manuscript of this treatise has been traced so far Gauranārya the son of Ayamprabhu, was the author of *Laksanadīpikā*,<sup>99</sup> a general treatise on poetics, music and dramaturgy He belonged to the later half of the 16th century The part of the manuscript relating to music is preserved in Mysore Manuscript Library and is numbered 399 Aṣṭawadhani Somanārya is the famous Telugu poet Somana the author of *Uttara Harivamśa*, who was the donee of the grant dated 1344 by the Vijayanagar king Bukka His treatise is called *Svararāgasudhākara*<sup>100</sup> or *Nātyachudāmant*, having 7 chapters dealing with music and dance He adheres

93 *Anandāśram Sanskrit Series*, No 71, 2 Vol, 1913, 1914

94 *JBBRAS*, I, 175

95 Benares 1868

96 *BORI*, No 601, 1899 1915

97 *JBBRAS*, I, No 1925

98 Krishnamachari *History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937, Sec, 1019

99 *Ibid*, Sec 1019

100 *Ibid*, Sec 1018

to the school of the great sage Narada Sōmanātha<sup>101</sup> was probably an Andhra scholar of the Godavari area He wrote a famous work *Rāgavibōdha*,<sup>102</sup> in 1609 His work is written in a simple style in Ārya metre and deals with the Rāgas and Srutis He gives a number of types of vīṇas and their special features In the court of the king Dēvarāya I of Vijayanagara flourished the great musician Dēvanarāya<sup>103</sup> alias Dēvanabhatta He wrote a work, *Sangitamuktāvali*, dealing with dance but having a chapter on music as well This work belongs to the first half of the fifteenth century<sup>104</sup>

A large treatise *Sangitamakaranda*<sup>105</sup> was written by the poet 'Vēda' patronised by the Maratha king Shāhūji Vēda,<sup>106</sup> it seems, was assigned the work of teaching music to Sambhāji The author was well versed in Indian music

Lakshmidhara,<sup>107</sup> patronised by Tirumala Raya of Vijayanagar (1570-1593) wrote a work on music *Bhārataśāstrasangraha*<sup>108</sup> This author has to his credit a commentary, Rāgadīpika on Gītagovinda Lakshminārayana, a musician and Sanskrit paṇḍit in the court of Krishnadēvarāya of Vijayanagar, wrote a work *Sangitasuryōdaya*<sup>109</sup> in 5 chapters He deals in his work with *Tāla*, *Vṛtta*, *Svaragita* and *Jati*<sup>110</sup>

Gopēndra Tippa Bhūpāla<sup>111</sup> was a scion of the Sāluva dynasty of Vijayanagar He wrote a treatise *Tāladīpika*<sup>112</sup> dealing with Mārga and Desitālas Chatura Kallinātha,<sup>113</sup> a poet and musician in the court of Immadi Dēvarāya (1446-1485) wrote an exhaustive commentary *Kālanidhi* on the *Sangitaratnakara* of Sarangadēva<sup>114</sup>

## 15 Anthologies

Harikavi<sup>115</sup> alias Bhanubhatta, a protégé of Sambhāji, compiled a valuable anthology Gode says, "A glance at the varied and rich contents of

101 *Ibid*, Sec 1033

102 Ed Ramaswami Iyer with English Translation

103 Krishnamachari, *op cit*, Sec 1025

104 *Sanskrit MSS Cat of Bikaner*, No 526

105 *Saraswati Mahal Tanjore Library Catalogue*, XVI, 7968

106 Krishnamachari, *op cit*, Sec 971

107 *Ibid*, Sec 1031

108 *BORI*, No 40 of 1916-18

109 *Saraswati Mahal Catalogue*, XVI, 7333

110 Krishnamachari, *op cit*, Sec 1030

111 *Ibid*, Sec 1020

112 *Saraswati Mahal Catalogue*, XVI, 7307

113 Krishnamachari, *op cit*, Sec 1024

114 *Ibid*, Sec 1024

115 Gode, *op cit*, III, 100-127

the *Subhāṣitaratnāvalī*<sup>116</sup> will show that Harikavi was a versatile reader, and perhaps this encyclopaedic work, containing gems of Sanskrit poetry collected from innumerable sources beginning from poets of hoary antiquity down to his contemporary Krishnapandita ”

*Padyarachana*<sup>117</sup> is an anthology of a medium size comprising 759 verses, including the author's own 152 verses. The author belongs to the seventeenth century. If we take into consideration the name of the native place of the poet as given in the colophon 'Ankol' and identify it with a village in Nipāni Taluq of Belgaum district, we take the poet to be Maharashtrian.<sup>118</sup>

One more anthological work of the second half of the seventeenth century is known to us as *Padyāmritatariangini*<sup>119</sup>. The author of this work is known to be Hari Bhāskar Agnihōtri. The very name of the poet suggests him to be a Maharashtrian.

## 16 Rhetorics

Agastya, commonly known as Vidyānātha,<sup>120</sup> a court poet of Pratāparudra the Kākatīya ruler of Warangal, wrote a rhetorical work called, *Pratāparudrayaśobhuṣanam* in nine chapters. The author strictly follows Mammata's *Kāvyaaprakāśa*. The illustrative passages were specially composed by the poet in praise of his patron king. Singhabhūpāla, a king of Rāchakoṇḍa in Andhra (14th century) is said to have compiled the work *Nāṭakaparibhāṣa*.<sup>121</sup> This is a work dealing with all aspects of dramaturgy. The same author has to his credit a work entitled *Rasārnavasudhākara* in three chapters giving vivid and elaborate treatment of the canons of dramaturgy.<sup>122</sup> Krishnamachariar says, "This is probably the most comprehensive work on the subject so far available." Viśvēśvara, a court poet of Singhabhūpāla of Rāchakoṇḍa, wrote a work *Chamatkārachandrika*.<sup>123</sup> It is a small treatise on rhetorics. In this work the author illustrates various topics with verses in praise of his patron king.

*Sahityachudamani*,<sup>124</sup> a work on rhetorics, is ascribed to Vīranarāyaṇa alias Pēda Kōmatī Vēma, who lived in the fifteenth century. It seems that some court poet wrote this work and ascribed its authority to his patron king. The work has seven chapters with illustrative passages mostly in praise of his

116 BORI, No. 92 of 1883-84

117 NSP, Kavyam, 89, 1908

118 Gode, *op cit*, II, 340-348

119 *Ibid*, 348

120 Krishnamachari, *op cit*, Sec. 926

121 Bombay, 1905

122 Trivendrum Sanskrit Series, 50, 1916

123 *Triennial Catalogue of MSS*, Govt. Oriental Library, Madras, III, 3813 (HCSL)

124 Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Libraries*, 800 paragraph 935

patron king Vīranarāyaṇa Raghunātha (17th century) a resident of Chaul in Kolaba district, wrote a work, called *Kavikaustubha* dealing with all the topics of the science of rhetorics. So far only one manuscript has been discovered, and it is with S A Khandēkar of Nasik <sup>125</sup>

### 17 Champus

Tārkikāśimha Vēdāntachārya wrote a work *Āchāryavijayachampu* <sup>126</sup> The poet deals with the story of the life of Vēdāntadēśika who flourished about 1350. We may place the present work at 1400. Kesavabhata, <sup>127</sup> a resident of Punyastambha in Ahmadnagar district wrote 3 champus. His *Prahlada-champu* <sup>128</sup> describes the story of Prahlada from Bhagavata-Purāṇa. Nṛsiṃha champu <sup>129</sup> deals with the Man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu. The third champu of the author is known as *Ānandavṛndāvanachampu* <sup>130</sup> which is a large compendium of 16,000 verses.

A Maharastrian pandit, Sūryadaivajña son of Jñānarāja, wrote a champu <sup>131</sup> about 1550, dealing with the famous Man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu. An Andhra poet Rājanātha, <sup>132</sup> (c 16th century) has to his credit a champu called *Bhāgavatachampu* which deals with the story of Krishna.

Tirumalāmba (c 16th century) wrote a prose-poetic composition called *Varadāmbikā-Parinaya* <sup>133</sup>. This poetess describes in the beginning the achievements of king Narasa. She gives in detail his marriage ceremony with Oyyamāmba and subsequently narrates the birth of Achyūtarāja. A poet Sōmasēkhara, belonging to Kalluri family living at Perūr in the Godavari region, wrote *Bhāgavatachampu* relating the story of Krishna. He was honoured by the Pēshwa Mādhavarao I <sup>134</sup>.

Brahmasūri, son of Cherkuri Sarvēśvara wrote a work *Uttarakanda-champu* in 18th century. This work deals with the incidents in the life of Rama after his coronation ceremony at Ayodhya. Ekāmrānātha, <sup>135</sup> a court poet of Immadi Ankusa the chieftain of a region in Mysore state, wrote a work, *Yuddhakanda*, as a supplement to the *Bhōjachampu* which was incomplete till then. The poet is said to belong to the 17th century. Pandit Rāghavachārya, son of Venkatachārya, a protégé of a zamīndār near Bhadrāchalam, wrote a

125 Gode, *op cit*, II, 35-42

126 Sanskrit Oriental Library (DC) Madras, XXI, 8290

127 Gode, *op cit*, III, 132-139

128 CC, I, 127

129 BORI, Vol XIII, 1950, 355-368

130 Sanskrit MSS from N W by Dvivedi Part X, 160

131 Citrava Sastri, *op cit*, 814

132 DC, XXI, 8256

133 Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore, III, 3645

134 TC, III, No 2322

135 Krishnamachari, *op cit*, Sec 298, 518

champu <sup>136</sup> describing the mountain Bhadrāchalam This work may be assigned to 18th century

Padmarājā, (c 18th century), an Andhra poet, wrote a champu called *Bālabhāgavata*,<sup>137</sup> in 6 cantos The poet gives in detail the life story of his patron, the chief of Pithāpuram in Godavari district

### 18 *Historical Poems*

Puttubhatta, alias Pōtarāya, belonging to the region of Masulipattam, wrote a work *Prasangaratnāvalī*<sup>138</sup> in 79 chapters called Paddhatis in 1466 It is a collection of miscellaneous descriptions and comprises stanzas on man's moral and social duties The 77th chapter of this work give a short account of the princes from Vikramāditya to Simhabhūpati, king of Pithapuram

The poet Rājanātha II wrote an historical poem, *Sāluvaābhyudaya* in 13 cantos This poem describes in detail the achievements of Sāluva Narasimha who was then only a high official of Vijayanagar with his seat at Chandragiri This poem is said to have been composed about 1480

The poet Rājanātha III composed a poem, *Achyutarāyaābhyudaya* in 12 cantos, at the instance of the Achyutarāya of Vijayanagar This poem gives a short sketch of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagar, and closes with the description of the siege of Bijapur and the victory over the Sultān, ending in the king's triumphal return to his capital city This poem seems to have been written in the first half of the 16th century

The poet Paramānanda Nevāsakara wrote a poem *Śivabhārata*<sup>139</sup> in 32 cantos in which he describes various achievements of Shivaji The poem seems to have been written in the latter half of 17th century

A Maharashtrian poet Kēśavapandita wrote a poem *Rājarāmacharita*<sup>140</sup> with 5 cantos about the end of the 17th century This poem deals with the events connected with siege of the fort of Jinji

Harikavī alias Bhanubhatta,<sup>141</sup> a Maharashtrian pandit wrote a poem, *Sambhājīcharita* in twelve cantos at the instance of Sambhājī So far only 4 cantos of this poem are available The 4th canto deals with marriage of Sambhājī with Champa at Surat Gode says "Harikavī is not a man of talents, but he must have been foremost among the learned men patronized by Sambhājī"

136 *Ibid*, Sec 520

137 *Descriptive Catalogue of Oriental Library, Madras, (DC)*, XXI, 2249

138 *Ibid*, XX, 8065

139 *BISM*, Poona, 1927

140 *MC*, 270

141 Gode, *op cit*, III, 100-127 [This is controversial One view is that Sambhājī of this poem was a Zamīndār in Nandurbar *Ed*]

19 *Lexicography*

A small treatise of 50 stanzas divided into four chapters is known as *Avyayasangrahanighantu*<sup>142</sup> written by Sākalyamallabhatta, a protégé of king Singabhūpāla of Rāchakoṇḍa. Another lexicon *Ekākṣaranāmāla*<sup>143</sup> is ascribed to the prolific writer Mādhavachārya. It is a small work in three chapters called (i) *Svarakāṇḍa*, (ii) *Vyanjanakāṇḍa* and (iii) *Samyuktakāṇḍa*. Probably this lexicon was written by another scholar and then ascribed to the great scholar Mādhavachārya.

Vamanabhattabāna, a disciple of Vidyarānya, has two lexicons to his credit (i) *Sabdaratnākara*<sup>144</sup> (ii) *Śabdachandrika*<sup>145</sup>. *Śabdaratnākara* is a lexicon giving synonyms with 1050 verses, divided into three chapters having a number of sub-sections. The second work is small one with 100 verses divided into 5 sections called *Adhikaranas*.

Irupaga Dandādhinātha, who flourished in the kingdom of Vijayanagar in the fifteenth century, wrote a large lexicon of homonyms, *Nānārtharatnamālā* divided into 6 kandas<sup>146</sup>. *Anēkārthatilaka* or *Nāhārthatilaka* written by Mahipāl has already been published. The work is divided in four kandas. The oldest manuscript of this work seems to have been written in the year 1340<sup>147</sup>.

Somēśvara wrote a unique work *Śrautasabdasamuchchaya*, a lexicon of Vedic words<sup>148</sup>. This work is divided into 6 chapters. The oldest manuscript of the lexicon is dated 1500 and hence we can ascribe the author safely to the 16th century. As the tradition of the sacrifices described has been kept alive in south India we take the author to belong to the Deccan.

Aufrecht notes in his Catalogue a lexicon *Śīghrabodhinināmāla*<sup>149</sup> ascribed to the Pandit Pundārika Viṭthala. This work is divided into four sections. The first section deals with different parts of the body, the second with inanimate objects, the third with the objects connected with heavenly bodies, while the fourth gives homonyms. In all there are 472 ślokas. The author was the resident of a village Satanun in *Khāndēsh*. Later on he wrote the famous work *Rāgamāla* under Madhavasimha's patronage.

142 Patkar *History of Sanskrit Lexicons (HSL)* (unpublished, Poona), 117, CC, I, 34

143 *BORI*, No 579 of 1887-91

144 CC, I, 633

145 CC, I, 632

146 Published, Deccan College, Poona, 1954

147 Published, Deccan College, Poona 1947

148 *India Office MSS Catalogue*, I, 292

149, CC, *op cit*, I, 656



Kēśava wrote a lexicon called *Kalpādrū*<sup>150</sup> in the text of which he records the date 1650. This is a fairly large lexicon with four thousand slokas divided in three kandas.

There is a small lexicon called *Rājyavyavahāra-kōśa*<sup>151</sup> compiled at the behest of Shivaji by Raghunāth Nārāyaṇ Hanumantē who entered the Maratha ruler's service some time after 1674. This work was specially meant for introducing Sanskrit administrative terms in place of the then current Persian terms. It was thus a dictionary of synonyms. It consists of 384 verses of the main *kōśa* with another 84 verses of introduction and five of colophon. From the last five verses it seems that in the compilation of this dictionary Hanumantē was helped by Dhundirāj Lakshman Vyāsa.

## 20 *Nāṭaka*

Viśvanātha, patronised by Pratāparudra of Warangal, wrote a drama called *Saugandhikāharana*<sup>152</sup>. The drama is based on the incident in Mahābhārata of getting the lotuses from the Gandhārvas.

Pratāparudra has to his credit two dramatic works: (i) *Usāparinaya*<sup>153</sup> a nāṭika relating to the love affair between Usha and Aniruddha, (ii) *Yāyati-charita*,<sup>154</sup> a drama in 7 acts describing the Mahābhārata story dealing with the marriage of Yāyati and Sarmīsta.

Bhāskara's *Unmaṭṭatārāghava*<sup>155</sup> was composed to entertain an assembly of learned men who met together to pay homage to Vidyāranya. We may place the author in the 14th century.

Gangādhara was the son of the sister of Agastya, a poet patronised by king Pratāparudra. He has to his credit a drama *Chandravilāsa*<sup>156</sup> based on an imaginary story of the union of Chandra and Kumudini. His second drama is called *Rāghavābhayudaya*<sup>157</sup> which deals with the story of Rāma. The author is said to have composed a play but no copies of it are extant, as only a reference in the introduction to the *Mathurāvijaya* of Gangādēvi mentions this play.

Virupāksha son of Harihara II (c. 14th century), wrote a play *Narāyanavilāsa*<sup>158</sup> in five acts. He has to his credit another drama in one act, *Unmaṭṭatārāghava*,<sup>159</sup> describing the lamentations of Rāma on the loss of Sītā.

150 GOS, XIII, 1928

151 Ganapat Krishnaji Press, Bombay, 1880

152 Kāvya No 94, 1902

153 CC, op cit, I, 71

154 Mitra's Notices, III, 192

155 Kāvya No 17, 1889

156 CC, op cit, II, 36

157 Ibid, II, 96

158 Ibid, II, 63

159 DC Ady, II, 27

Nṛsiṃha (14th century) dramatised the story of Kādambarī in his *Kādambarīkalāṇam*<sup>160</sup> in 8 acts. The poetry is very imaginative and excels Bāṇa in the description of nature and pathos.

Vallinātha, a poet patronised by Achyutarāya (1577-1614) wrote a play *Madanamanyai mahōtsava*<sup>161</sup> which was enacted in the court of his patron. The drama describes the destruction of king Chāndavarman of Pāṭaliputra.

Śathakōpa, a high priest of Ahōbila matha (c. 15th century), wrote a drama *Vasantikaparīṇāya*<sup>162</sup> in 5 acts describing the marriage of Ahōbila Nara-siṃha with Vasantikā, a worldly nymph.

Kṛṣṇadēvaiyāya (1509-1529) of Vijayanagar wrote a drama *Uśāparinaya* describing the marriage of Usha with Anuruddha<sup>163</sup>. He wrote another play *Jāmbavatiparinaya* in 5 acts dealing with the marriage of Jāmbavatī with Kṛṣṇa<sup>164</sup>.

Gururāma, (c. 16th century), son of the daughter of Dindīma Rājanātha II, wrote a drama *Subhadāparinaya* in 5 acts dealing with the Mahābhārata story of the marriage of Arjuna with *Subhadā*<sup>165</sup>. He also wrote another play *Ratnēsvatīprasāda* in 5 acts<sup>166</sup>. This play deals with the marriage of Ratnāchuda with Ratnāvalī, the daughter of Gandhārva Vasubhūti. The author has to his credit one more dramatic piece called *Madanagōpālavilāsa* one act play dealing with the love-plays of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa<sup>167</sup>.

## 21 South Indian Scholars who migrated to other regions

Narāyaṇa Bhatta, (c. 16th century) was the son of Ramēśvarabhatta who migrated from Paithan to Varanasi. He was great scholar patronised by Rājā Todarmal. He wrote a work on Dharmaśāstra called *Tristhālitsetu*<sup>168</sup> dealing with the religious rites to be performed at places of pilgrimage, and has also to his credit some 20 works mostly dealing with Vedic ritual.

Rāmakṛṣṇabhatta, (c. 1600), son of Narāyaṇa wrote seven or eight works dealing with Vedic ritual. Kamalākara-bhatta (1610-1640) son of Rāmakṛṣṇa wrote a work on Dharmaśāstra called *Nirṇayasindhu*<sup>169</sup> which has been utilised since. He has to his credit about ten major and minor works. He also wrote a commentary on *Kāvyaaprakāśa*.

160 *Sarasvatī Oriental Library*, III, 3489

161 *Ibid*, VIII, 3447

162 *DC*, XXI No. 8500

163 *Wanaparti MSS Library*

164 *CC*, I, 296

165 *DC*, XXI, 8556

166 *Ibid*, XXI, 8482

167 *Ibid*, XXI, 8440

168 *ANSS*, 78, 1915

169 *Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series*, Varanasi, No. 52, 1919-1930

Lakshmanabhatta, (c 17th century), brother of Kamalākaraabhatta, wrote a work called *Āchārāṭha*<sup>170</sup> dealing with the religious rites to be observed throughout the year

Mahīdhara, (c 16th century) of vatsagōtra migrated from Ahicchatra to Varanasi and wrote *Vēdadīpa* a commentary on *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* He compiled an encyclopaedic work called *Mantramahōdadhi*<sup>171</sup> He has to his credit two other works namely, (1) *Yōgavāsīsthasāra*<sup>172</sup> and (2) *Mantranighanṭu*<sup>173</sup>

Mahīdhara's son Kalyāna (17th century) wrote a work, *Bālatantra*<sup>174</sup> dealing with diseases, particularly of children

Bhattōji Dikṣita, (1580-1630), a paṇḍit from Andhra, migrated to Varanasi and wrote his famous work, *Siddhāntakaumudī* with his own commentary *Praudhamanōrama*<sup>175</sup> He also wrote *Śabdakaustubha* and many works on Paninian system of Grammar He has also to his credit three other works on Dharmaśāstra namely (1) *Asauchaprakaraṇa*<sup>176</sup> (2) *Asauchanirṇaya*<sup>177</sup> and (3) *Tithinirṇaya*<sup>178</sup> Bhattōji also wrote a work called *Vēdabhasyasāra* The manuscript of this work, preserved at Sanskrit Pathashala, Rajapur in Ratnagiri district, is fragmentary

Varadarāja, (1600-1650), a pupil of Bhattōji compiled two abridged editions of *Siddhāntakaumudī*, namely, *Madhyasiddhāntakaumudī*<sup>179</sup> and *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī*<sup>180</sup> Varadarāja wrote one other book called *Gīrvānapadamañjarī*,<sup>181</sup> an elementary Sanskrit grammar written in a dialogue form and interspersed with moral tales This book mentions a good number of holy places both in the South and in the North

Jagannātha Paṇḍit, (c 17th century), son of Perubhatta, belonged to a village in the Godavari region of Andhra Pradesh but migrated to North India His best known work is *Rasagangādhara*<sup>182</sup> He has criticized Appayyadikṣita's *Chitramamamsa* in his work, *Chitramamamsākhandana*<sup>183</sup> Besides these works

170 New CC, II

171 BORI, op cit, No 1138 of 1886-92

172 Ibid, No 1138 of 1882-83

173 Ibid, No 243 of 1883-84

174 Ibid No 999 of 1891-95

175 ChSS, 1933

176 American Oriental Society MSS Collection, No 3029

177 Ibid, No 3026

178 Ibid, No 3102

179 Ganpat Krishnaji Press, Bombay, 1895

180 NSP, 1885

181 BORI, No 395 of 1899-190

182 Ibid, 1888

183 Ibid, 1893

on rhetorics, he has to his credit some *stotra* works such as *Gangālaharī*, *Yamunālaharī* etc His poem *Bhāminivīlāsa* <sup>184</sup> is also one of the best in Sanskrit

Viśvanātha Mahādēva Rāṇadē (later half of the 17th century) came from the Ratnagiri district and migrated to Varanasi After completing his studies at Varanasi he settled down in Jaipur and was patronised by Rāja Rām Singh He wrote the works, *Śringāravāpikā* and *Śambhuvīlāsa*, a kāvya in 3 cantos

Bhāskar Āpāji Agnihōtī, (c 17th century), a brahman from Trimbak in Nasik district, migrated to Varanasi He wrote a short work on medicine, *Śarīrāpadmī*, <sup>185</sup> in 110 verses This treatise explains the bodily lotuses mentioned in Yoga as well as Āyurvēda works The author has also to his credit a work on Dharmaśāstra, called *Smṛitiprakāśa* <sup>186</sup>

Lakshmana Pandit (c later half of 17th century) belonged to the southern region (probably Maharashtra, as Gode takes him to be on the strength of the name 'Goja' of his mother mentioned in the introductory verses) migrated to Varanasi and after completing his studies there wrote a commentary *Advaitasudhā* <sup>187</sup> on *Sarasvatōpaniṣad* He has written a work on medicine called *Yōgachandrikā* <sup>188</sup> in 38 chapters mostly giving information about medicinal plants

Nilakantha Chaturdhara (later half of 17th century), migrated to Varanasi from Kurparagrāma in Ahmadnagar district He wrote a running commentary on Mahābhārata in which the author explains difficult points in the text <sup>189</sup>

Dharmasudhī, (c 16th century), a Telugu Brahman belonging to Krishna district, migrated to Varanasi Having completed his studies there he wrote a book on rhetorics called *Sāhityaratnākara* <sup>190</sup> He also wrote a gloss on *Śankarabhāṣya* The author is credited to have written a *stotra* Krishnastuti and Vyayoga (drama), *Narakāsuravadha*

Nāgojibhatta, (1700 to 1750), a Maharashtrian Brahman, completed his studies in Varanasi and there wrote a commenatry *Uddyota* <sup>190</sup> on *Pradīpa* the commentary of *Kaṣyapa* on *Mahābhāṣya* His *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* is one of the most important text in Paninian system Besides the works on grammar he wrote a number of works on *Dharmaśāstra* and *Sāhityaśāstra*

184 *Ibid*, 1894

185 MS in possession of S A Jagatap, Kolhapur

186 *BORI*, No 161 of Visrama I

187 *Ibid*, No 143 of 1902 1907

188 India Office Library, Catalogue, Egging, I, 982

189 *HCSL*, Sec 932

190 Edited by Tatyasastrī Patavardhan, Benares, 1886

Kṛṣṇnakavī (1700 to 1750), eighth descendant of Bavīdīksita, an Andhra Brahman from Devarsi, migrated to Varanasi where he completed his study. He was patronised by the Rāja of Būndī. He wrote a poem, *Isvaravilāsa-kāvya*<sup>191</sup>. The author also wrote a devotional poem *Sundarīstavarāja*<sup>192</sup> and a philosophical treatise *Vēdantapañchavimsatī*.

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191 *BORI*, No 273 of 1884-1886

192 *Ibid*, No 597 of 1891-95



## (vii) TELUGU

by PROF K LAKSHMI RANJANAM

### *Synopsis*

#### I Literature

Telugu literature witnessed its most fertile phase during the period under review Tikkapa must have laid down his pen by this time The classical period or the age of *Purānas* was at its height Pāṅkurikī Sōmanātha, the militant Saiva poet, Ranganātha, Bhāskara, Yerrapa, Nāchana Sōmanātha, are the highlights of the 14th century Similarly Srinātha, Bammēra Pōtarājū and a galaxy of others lead the fifteenth century

Besides the *Purānas* we have other forms of composition like Dvīpada, Udaharana, Sataka, story poems, ballads like *Palnati Viracharitra* and socio literary writings like *Kṛidābhīramamu*

The next stage is the Prabandha period Prabandha is a combination of the old and the new The story or plot is generally taken from the classics but the delineation, Rasas and descriptions are the original contribution of the poet There are many interesting experiments like Dvyarthī (double meaning) Acha Telugu, Sataka, Samkīratana, Vinnapāmu (devotional prose) and historical poems The later Prabandha shows a decline in genius and original conception

Bhakti movement flowed in two channels, the Saiva and the Vaishnava schools The former was earlier The Vijayanagar period witnessed the Vaishnava movement at its best Māhātmaya Kāvya

Golkonda court and its subordinates Poets like Addankī Gangādhara, Ponniganti Telaganārya, Sarāngu Tammaya, Raja Malla Reddi, Surabhi Mādhava Rāyalu, etc *Rajamiti Ratnakaramu*

Rāmadās and his Kīrtanalu Vēmana and Virabrahmam

Prose writing did emerge but it was confined to the courts of Tanjore, Madura and Mysore

#### II Language

Telugu language reached its high watermark in the Mahābhārata of Tikkapa Pāṅkurikī Sōmanātha introduced the Dēsi element freely The age of Yerrapa Language of poetry compared with the language of inscriptions The latter mainly contains the spoken dialect Up to Yerrapa the difference between written and spoken language was not very wide From the time of Nachapa Sōmanātha the gulf became wider and deeper Preponderance of Sanskrit Srinātha, as a Saiva poet, introduced a good deal of Dēsi element along with Sanskrit Anya Dēsiya or foreign element makes its appearance for the first time in his works Muslim influence on the Deccan came to stay It reflected itself both in cultural traits and in language But there is not much evidence of literary forms being copied During the Prabandha period, Sanskrit element preponderated over the Dēsi element Vaishnavism was responsible for bringing in Tamil influence During the Golkonda period, it was only natural that Persian vocabulary should come in as a flood into spoken Telugu It makes its presence felt to a limited extent in the literary language also

During the period 1290-1724 many works on grammar and prosody were written and commentaries appeared Vyavahārika Bhāsha or spoken dialect raises its head in commentaries on grammatical and other technical works





## I-Literature

At the very outset we have to form a clear idea of the period which we propose to survey and the area included in the Deccan. The period under survey extends to nearly four and half centuries. A number of dynasties ruled in the Andhra part of the Deccan during this period and several social and religious movements stirred the country. Tastes rose and fell. Literary forms flourished and declined. The year 1290 represents the evening of the reign of queen Rudramadēvi of the Kākatīya dynasty. Her grandson, Pratāparudra assisted her in the administration of the kingdom which Ganapatidēva left as a legacy. Pratāparudra succeeded Rudramadēvi in 1296. After the fall of the Kākatīyas in 1323, the country fell into disorder. The Reddis of Kōndavidu and the Velamas of Rāchkonda ruled different parts of the region, the former in the coastal districts and the later in Tilangana. South-west Andhra was under the hegemony of the Vijayanagar empire. About the middle of the 15th century the Bahmanī rulers occupied Tilangana, the Gajapati of Orissa pushed their power into coastal Andhra, and Vijayanagar stepped into the former territories of the Reddi kings. Golkonda rose on the horizon in the beginning of the 16th century and gradually brought the whole of Tilangana under its sway. Vijayanagar, which had risen to its heights in the time of Krishnadēvarāya, declined after the decisive battle of 1565. The Qutb Shāhīs became the masters of the whole of the Telugu region and virtually became Telugu Sultāns. Their kingdom was conquered by Aurangzēb in 1687. From 1687 to 1724 the Telugu region had no central government. Neither could Mughal rule be established here on a firm footing because of the preoccupation of the Delhi empire with Maratha revolts. The Telugu region was torn between local rulers, warring Mughal generals and unsocial elements. This is the political background of the period under review.

It is not proposed to enter here into any detail regarding the geographical boundaries of the Deccan as they have been fully discussed in Volume I, Chapter I.

At the close of the thirteenth century, where we begin our survey, a great star in Telugu literature was about to set. He was the poet Tikkana Sōmayājī who is reckoned as one of the greatest poets of Telugu. Along with Nannaya Bhattū, these two great men rendered the Mahābhārata into Telugu and created a national epic for the Āndhras. Tikkana Sōmayājī laid down his pen about 1290. At this time there arose in Tilangana a meteoric Śaivite poet, Pāṅkurikī Sōmanātha. Some scholars assign him to the period earlier

than Tikkana Sōmayāji<sup>1</sup> Many modern critics assign him to the close of the thirteenth century<sup>2</sup> This was the time when Śaivism emanated from its home in the Kannada country and spread with vigour into the Telugu region It had a Vedic part and a non-Vedic part King Pratāparudra (Rudra II) was himself a devout Saiva but he belonged to the Vedic school of Śaivism Poet Pāṅkurikī Sōmanātha, though himself a Brahman and deeply versed in the Vedas, was a powerful advocate of the non-Vedic form of Śaivism The difference lay chiefly in the acceptance or rejection of the authority of the Vedas, in giving or rejecting a place of honour to the Brahman in the hierarchy of caste, in leaning towards or steering away from Sanskrit as a sacred language and an indispensable medium of art and culture, and in recognising the social structure based on caste system Pāṅkurikī Sōmanātha proclaimed a revolt against all these, the Vedas, the Brahman, the caste system and the time-honoured models of Sanskrit Language We will concern ourselves only with the literary side of his philosophy of revolt

His thesis is that the style of composition based on Sanskrit with all that it implies—namely a high-flown style with compounds, archaic words etc.,—is beyond the comprehension of an average reader Therefore he would substitute in its place the Dēśī style of composition which he calls 'Jānu Tenugu' Whether he succeeded in it or not, Sōmanātha set out to simplify Telugu style and release it from what he considered to be the thralldom of Sanskrit In pursuance of this ideal he discarded the Sanskrit metres of composition and adopted the Dēśī metre 'Dvīpada' for his two masterpieces, the *Basava Purāna* and *Panditārādhyā Charitra* Another important innovation which he introduced is in the field of the themes of literature Till now the Purāṇic themes based on Sanskrit literature were supreme in Telugu Pāṅkurikī Sōmanātha, following his predecessor Mallikāṛjuna Panditārādhyā, chose the lives of Śaivite saints and heroes for the subject matter of his poems This is a distinct gain to Telugu literature Former poets like Nannaya and Tikkana, though they were no less patriotic than Pāṅkurikī, could not introduce Telugu colouring, Telugu culture and social life into poetry, for their themes were classical Sōmanātha dealt with known persons close to him, which enabled him to describe the contemporary Telugu life around him This feature was adopted by most Śaivite poets after him Even the Vaishnava poets who showed no esteem for him, fell under his spell and drew beautiful and realistic pictures of Telugu life and Telugu country-side Pāṅkurikī Sōmanātha and the Śaivite poets may thus be considered pioneers for realistic poetry in Telugu Literature

If Saiva poets set the pace for Vaishnava poets in literary forms, the latter introduced a new form of devotional poetry and perfected it This is

1 Baṇḍāru Tammayya, Pāṅkurikī Sōmanātha Kavi', *Kākattya Saṅcika*, Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, 1935, 207-26

2 C Seshayya, *Āndhra Kavitaranginī*, Kapileśwarapuram, 1948, Vol III

what is called Vinnapamulu (devotional appeals) They are in the form of poetic prose and hence they are called Vachanamulu Though in prose form, they are set to some kind of music and song The first Telugu poet who brought into vogue this type of devotional composition was a Vaishnava devotee, Krishnamachārī His devotional lyrics are known as *Simhagiri Vachanamulu* He belongs to the times of Pratāparudra II The Vachana literature beginning with Basava Vachanas is well known in Kannada language and it is quite possible that Krishnamachārī borrowed this form from Kannada Credit must, however, go to him for bringing it into Telugu This type of devotional lyrics was perfected in the 16th century by the famous Tāllapāka poets, who were the leaders of Vaishnava thought

Pālkurikī introduced or developed in Telugu many new types of compositions like Sataka, Udāharāṇa, etc He was the first to make a reference to many Dēśi song metres<sup>3</sup> In order to appreciate the contribution of Saiva poets like Pālkurikī Sōmanātha and others we have to remember the broad distinction in literary styles of this time, called Mārga and Dēśi Mārga is the Sanskritic or classical school of poetry In this school the themes of poetry are from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas of Sanskrit, the metres are chiefly based on Sanskrit metres, the literary canons and conventions are drawn from the Alankāra Sāstra of Sanskrit The Dēśi school is the native type of composition and is generally common to the Dravidian languages The themes of poetry are local heroes or modern saints, the metres are generally song-metres or their variations, there is no emphasis on literary conventions or niceties Pālkurikī and others of his faith are advocates of the Dēśi school of composition in Telugu In spite of their vehement advocacy of the Dēśi type, Saiva poets too could not shake themselves off from the mellow and all-pervading influence of Sanskrit, ultimately a happy blending of Mārga and Dēśi came to prevail in Telugu literature

Before we go on to the next leading poet, Yerrāpragada we have to mention two or three lesser poets The poet Kētana was a friend and contemporary of Tikkana Sōmayajī He rendered the Sanskrit prose work *Dāsakumāra Charitra* of Dandin, into good Telugu poetry This poet also wrote a short grammar of Telugu in poetic form Some trace the beginnings of grammatical literature in Telugu to him Next comes the poet Māraṇa who was a disciple of Tikkana This poet composed *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and dedicated it to the commander of the fort of Warangal In the heyday of the Kākatiyas, the *karnam* of the capital must have been an important figure There is another work of this period *Bhāskara Rāmāyana* which is popular even at the present day The authorship of this work is ascribed to more than one poet, among them being Bhāskara A part of the work seems to be dedicated to Sāhinī Māra who was the commander of the Kākatiya cavalry The *Bhāskara Rāmāyana* is

an excellent epitome of Vālmiki's Rāmāyana. It appears that while the officers and generals of the Kākatiyas patronised many Telugu poets, the ruling dynasty is more associated with Sanskrit writers and Sanskrit learning. Notable among them is Vidyānātha, author of a work on Sanskrit Rhetoric—the *Pratāpa Rudra Yasobhūsana*. Vidyānātha is identified by some scholars with Agastya Paṇḍita of the time, who is an author of several works in Sanskrit.<sup>4</sup>

On the fall of the Kākatiyas their vast dominions were mainly divided between two smaller kingships, the Reddī rulers of Kōndavīdu and the Vēlama rulers of Rāchakonda. In the court of the founder of the Reddī Kingdom, Prōlaya Vēma, there flourished Yerrāpragada, a poet of a high order, next in rank to Nannaya and Tikkana. Yerrāpragada is as gentle in spirit as he is formidable with the pen. He completed the Telugu Mahābhārata. A small portion of it, in the Āranya Parva, was accidentally left over by the two great poets. Yerrana considered it his duty to complete it as a mark of veneration to his great predecessors. He completed the Telugu Mahābhārata. He composed his masterpiece, the *Harivamsa* which deals with the incarnations of Viṣṇu. The most interesting part of it is the life history of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Our poet showed great skill in pastoral poetry in dealing with his boyhood. Yerrana also composed *Nṛsiṃha Purāna* which mainly glorifies Ahobalam, a holy place in the Kurnool district. He is the pioneer writer in Kṣhētra Māhātmya Kāvya, poems whose theme is the glorification of a place of pilgrimage. We cannot forget that Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha threw out this suggestion in his descriptions of the holy Śrīsailam mountain. Yerrana stated that he also composed Rāmāyana but this work is not traceable now.

Nāchana Sōmanātha was a brilliant contemporary of Yerrāpragada. He was honoured by Bukka I of Vijayanagar with an agrahāra. Sōmanātha was a great Sanskritist and a follower of the cult of sacrifices. Yet he aspired to be a Telugu poet. He composed *Uttara Harivamsamu* which deals with the prowess of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the latter part of his life. The theme is parallel to the *Harivamsa* of Yerrana but the treatment is lofty, high flown and sometimes even artificial. He is a scholar first and poet next, whereas Yerrana is poet first and scholar next. However the graceful marshalling of numbers, the devices of balance and contrast in his descriptions, Nāchana Sōmanātha, had a powerful influence on succeeding poets like Śrīnātha, Pōtana and even distant Allasāni Peddana of the court of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.

The next great poet of the Reddī Kingdom is Śrīnātha who dominates the literary scene for more than fifty years in the beginning of the 15th century. The grandson of a poet who claims the esteem of the emperor Pratāparudra, Śrīnātha, began even as a youth to compose poetry. These compositions of

4 E V V Rāghavacārya, Introduction to C Rangacarya's *Āndhra Pratāparudra Yasobhūsanaṃ*, Hyderabad, 1961

his boyhood did not survive the test of time and only a few stray verses from them are available. By the fifteenth century most of the outstanding Purāṇas had been rendered into Telugu, except the Bhāgavata. Śrīnātha, being a Śaivite would not give a Telugu garb to this Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa. His genius is cast in the mould of Nāchana Sōmanātha. He therefore preferred a shorter theme which would lend itself to his desire for embellishment and the display of his scholarship. Hence his eye fell upon the Naishadhiya Charita of Śrī Harsha. This kāvya of Sanskrit has a halo round it. The story is of King Nala and Damayanti, an idyllic theme which Śrīnātha has rendered into Telugu in a masterly fashion.

True to his Śaivite leanings Śrīnātha wrote *Haraviḷāsa*, a kāvya which edifies the cosmic acts of Śiva. Herein he liberally drew on Kālidāsa. The themes of his two works *Bhīmēswara Purāṇamu* and *Kāsikhandamu* are Śaivite in essence. One concerns the holy place, Drākshārāmamu (in the present East Godavari district) and the other deals with Banares, the abode of Viśwēswara. Śrīnātha is a combination of the epicurean and the devotee. He can enjoy life at its best and be a man of piety at the same time. He is an out and out lover of Telugu life. In his *Bhīmēswara Purāṇamu* he has left for posterity some pictures of the beauty of the Gōdāvarī region, its holiness, its physical charms, its luxuriance in flowers, fruits, vegetables and scents<sup>5</sup>. He was widely travelled, visited various royal courts including Vijayanagar. In the evening of his life he wrote *Sivarātri Māhātmyamu* a kāvya that deals with the Śivarātri festival.

Two more works associated with Śrīnātha deserve mention. One is a ballad dealing with the battle of Palanādu. This describes a family feud of not much political significance but with rich literary potentialities. As already stated, Śrīnātha is a curious mixture of the mārga and dēśī mental attitudes. He wrote some striking scenes of this battle in the form of a ballad, in Dvīpada metre. Another work, *Krīdābhīrāmamu*, is not his direct composition but he had a considerable share in shaping it. This poem deals with life in the city of Warangal in the days of the last Kākatiya monarch. The episode chosen depicts the life of the poor with all their eroticism and rough tastes. It is highly realistic in so far as it goes but the unwary reader is apt to form the impression of a depraved society. This impression is happily corrected by *sidhēswara Charitramu*, a quasi-historical work which describes aristocratic life in Warangal in the time of Pratāparudra. This is a later work than *Krīdābhīrāmamu*.

Bammera Pōtarājū, the author of *Āndhra Mahā Bhāgavata*, the saintly poet of Telugu, was a contemporary of Śrīnātha, and it is said that the two were related to each other. The contrast between their lives, the one a plebeian

5 C. Papayya Sastri, *Śrīnātha Kavita Samiksha*, Kakinada, 1961,

and the other an aristocrat in tastes, has given rise to curious stories about their kinsmanship. Facts seem to be against it. The poet of *Bhāgavata* hails from Tilangana and is associated with the town of Warangal. The story goes that he belonged to the village of Bammara, near Warangal,<sup>6</sup> though some writers claim him to belong to the Cuddapah district. He lived in the Vēlama territory and in the early days of his poetic career he may have sought the patronage of its rulers. His small piece *Bhōginī Dandakamu* is an erotic composition, eulogising a Bhōginī woman of Singa III of Rāchakonda. Pōtana does not seem to have improved these contacts or even relished them as he developed a philosophical trend of mind. He exclaims "Instead of dedicating the *Bhāgavata* to wicked kings for the sake of lucre, lands and other honours, and as a result invoke the wrath of the god Yāma, this Bammara Pōtarājū dedicates the *Bhāgavata* to the god Śrīhari."

This poet therefore chose the hard path of poverty and independence in preference to the easier path of flattery of kings and consequent wealth. One more interesting thing about him is his broad tolerance of spirit. He declares himself a Śaivite by family tradition but his life work is *Bhāgavata* which deals with the greatness of Viṣṇu. The message of *Bhāgavata* is essentially the message of *bhakti*, devotion to the Lord and surrender of the ego to him. The devotee does not assume any volition to himself in action or thought, but places himself completely at the mercy of Viṣṇu. God's mercy alone is the cause of deliverance or otherwise from the thralldom of the cycle of births and deaths. Śrī Kṛṣṇa represents the Universal Soul, and the shepherd maids, who adored him, loved him and surrendered themselves to him, are but the human souls. This is called "Madhura Bhakti", the philosophy of Salvation through spiritualised Love. Pōtana introduced the message of *advaita* also into the *Bhāgavata*. Essentially it is a great song of devotion. In describing situations of devotion Bammara Potarāju forgets himself and surrenders himself to his poetic imagination. His poetry rises to great heights in these sublime scenes. The anecdotes of Dhruva, the royal child, of Prahlāda, son of the king of Rākshasas, of the elephant which appealed in distress to the Lord, of the gōpikas who chose to attain salvation through love, of Kuchēla the Brahman in rags, and numerous other stories make Pōtana's fame immortal.

The fifteenth century witnessed a number of poets as interesting if not as dominating as Śrīnātha or Pōtana. Long poems of the purāṇic type receded into the background. The emphasis shifted to poems of moderate length having story interest. Stories of travel and adventure began to occupy the stage. A poet Jakkana who was a protégé of one of the officers of Vijayanagar, wrote *Vikramārka Charitra*, which describes the valour and adventures of

6 A Subrahmanya Sastri, *Bammara Potana*, Jangaum, 1957

the ancient hero, King Vikramāditya. The poet Anantāmātya wrote a kāvya, the *Bhōjarājeeyam* which deals with king Bhōja, the famous patron of Sanskrit. The story of truthful cow, narrated in this poem, takes the poetry of pathos to a high watermark. The poet Gaurāṇa, who flourished at Rāchakoṇḍa wrote two interesting poems. One is based on the story of Hariśchandra, the embodiment of truth and virtue, and the other, the *Navanātha Charitra*, deals with the nine great saints of the Śaiva faith. Madiki Singana, a poet who enjoyed the patronage of a ruler of the present Karīmṇagar region, wrote three works of which the *Vāsista Rāmāyana*, a philosophical poem, is deservedly popular. Singana seems also to be the first compiler of a Telugu anthology of poems. The *Keyūrabāhu Charitra* written by Manchana is a kāvya dealing with worldly wisdom. The *Śivayōga Sāramu* is a philosophical poem dealing with Śaiva siddhānta. It was composed by Gaṇapati Dēva of the Kolanī family, which was a line of soldiers in the Kākatiya period. Technical subjects like grammar also are treated in verse. Thus *Kāvyāṅkāra Chudāmani*, written by Vinnakota Peddana is a book dealing with literary criticism and grammar. Another writer composed a treatise on horses in verse.

The later half of the fifteenth century is as rich in poetic composition as the earlier half, but there was no outstanding literary figure. The brother-in-law of Śrīnātha has left us a beautiful poem based on a theme drawn from the Upanishads. The poet Duggana, a pupil and relative of Śrīnātha, wrote the *Nāsikēta Upākhyānamu*. The love for narrative poetry which started in the beginning of the century was now in full play.<sup>7</sup> A poet named Narāyana Kavī wrote *Pañchatantra*. This collection of moral tales is well known. Children like them most, for in them animals and birds move about and talk like human beings. Another poet, Venkatanātha also chose the same subject, his treatment being more scholarly and stylistic.

The years between 1450 and 1500 witnessed a struggle for ascendancy among the three powers of the Deccan, the Vijayanagar rulers, the Bahmanī kings and the Gajapatīs of Orissa. As long as the famous and enlightened minister, Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān headed the administration at Bidar the Bahmanī kingdom held its own against its rivals. We have so far no evidence to show that the Bahmanī kings patronised Telugu men of letters, although an unpublished Telugu kāvya in palm-leaf manuscripts *Rājaniti Sāramu* written by one Nēbatī Krishṇayāmātya has come to light. This author seems to have some connections with an officer of the Bahmanī court. The Gajapatīs of Orissa are known to be patrons of letters. Under the ambitious ruler Kapileśwara Gajapatī, Orissan forces swept into the south as far as Nellore District. Their representative at Udayagiri, Basava Bhūpāla, was a patron of Telugu poets. His minister Anantāmātyuni Gangaya was

7 Arudra, *Samagra Āndhra Sāhityamu*, VI, Madras, 1965, 123-40

learned person The *Prabōdha Candrodaya*, a joint work of Nandi Mallayya and Ghanta Singayya, is dedicated to him The original play in Sanskrit deals with advaita philosophy and is the work of Krishna Misra Two joint poets, Mallayya and Singayya, rendered this great allegorical drama into a Telugu kāvyam

Here we may draw attention to a new tendency in Telugu literature, that of converting well-known Sanskrit prose works and dramas into Telugu poetry We already had the example of Kētana, a contemporary of Tikkana Sōmayājī rendering the *Daśa Kumāra Charitra* of Dandin, a Sanskrit prose work, into a Telugu kavya of the same name The Keyūrabāhu Charitra of Mañchana is based on the drama *Viddhasalabhanyika* The *Kṛidābhīrāmamu* of Vinukōnda Vallabharāya, with which Śrīnātha was intimately associated, is a Telugu poem fashioned on the *Prēmābhīrāmamu* of Tripurāntaka Kavī This is a vīdhi, a kind of farce originally written in Sanskrit The attempt of Mallayya and Singayya is a shining example of this tendency These poets were authors of another kāvyam, the *Varāha Purāna* in Telugu This is dedicated to Tuḷuva Narasa Nāyaka, a general of Sāḷuva Narasimha Even the conception of purāṇa is undergoing change It is no longer considered an orthodox composition with simple story interest, mainly devoted to convey the message of dharma and moral conduct to the reader Poets are taking the view that the purāṇa also must have the essential features of a kāvyam These are the selection of a more compact theme, apt poetic descriptions of men and objects, seasons etc, the proper delineation of rasas, embellishments of style and so on The joint poets, Mallayya and Singayya brought this tendency into full relief in their handling of a theme in *Varāha Purāna* It is the *Durjayōpākhyānamu* in which our poets showed the way for the future Prabandha form of composition

In the Vijayanagar Empire we come across the well-known poet Pillalamarri Piṇṇa Vīrabhadra Kavī This poet is credited with remarkable skill in poetry to the extent of believing that the goddess Saraswatī was at his beck and call We have two extant works of this poet One is *Śṛṅgāra Śakuntalamu*, the story of the famous drama of Kālīdāsa *Abhiñāna Śakuntala*, written in the form of Telugu kāvyam This is in line with the tendency of the age Why Sanskrit dramas were not rendered wholly into Telugu dramas, why the dramatic form was changed to the narrative form, cannot be accounted for One reason given is that the tradition of the Sanskrit stage fell into disuse and was beyond revival, there were no dramatic theatres even in royal establishments The Dēśī type of dramatic entertainment the Yakshagāna, satisfied the requirements and so the more complicated technique of Sanskrit drama was allowed to recede to the background Each one of these reasons may partly explain the strange phenomenon of writers converting drama into narrative poetry One more reason mentioned is that poets now show a



fondness for the elaborate method of Prabandha poetry. They have to project themselves through the *dramatis personae* as their technique does not give scope for elaborate descriptions of men and things. Quick action and brief speeches are its life blood. We may add to the list of reasons why the dramatic form fell into disfavour. For a long time the craft of the actor came into disrepute. *Natas* or actors lost their esteem in society and they were looked down upon as persons without morals or social status.

A literary reason also may be assigned for this transformation. Sanskrit drama uses two kinds of style. The dialogues are partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prākṛit. Characters of a high order like kings, ministers and Brahmins speak in Sanskrit, while the lower category of actors including women speak in Prākṛit. This was a conventional arrangement, reflecting the status and attainments of the dramatic characters. Now in Telugu there is no literary tradition corresponding to this. The grammatical and ornate style was the only style known to literature. The Grāmya or the spoken and colloquial style was prohibited in serious composition. In this way Telugu literary tradition was against the importing of Sanskrit drama in Telugu in its true form. Perhaps on account of these problems, the dramatic method was dropped and the narrative method was substituted.

The poet Pīna Virāṇa (Virabhadra) did good justice to the *Śakuntala* of Kālidāsa while writing it in the form of a kāvya. Some of the famous verses of Kālidāsa are ably brought out in his Telugu poem. Virabhadra Kavi wrote another long poem, known as *Jaīmini Bhāratamu* in Telugu. This is the story of the Pāṇḍavas and relates how they performed the sacrifice of Aśwamedha. This is dedicated to Sāḷuva Narasimha Rāya of Vijayanagar. Though Pīna Virāṇa is a scholar he chose a simple and clear style.

Sāḷuva Narasimha Rāya is famous for his association with Tāḷlapāka Annamāchārya, the saint singer, who hailed from the present Cuddapah district. He was a Vaiṣṇava devotee who travelled round the country visiting famous Vaiṣṇava shrines. Annamāchārya brought into vogue a kind of devotional musical composition known as *Samkīrtana*. Till now the *dēśi* forms of composition called *Pada-Kavita* had very few exponents. Pāḷkuriki Sōmanātha is our earliest champion of *dēśi* composition. The Tāḷlapāka school of poets, beginning with Annamāchārya, developed this branch of literature and raised it to eminence. The *Samkīrtanam*, the *Vīṇapāmu*, *Dvīpada* and *Śataka*, the innumerable song metres, like cradle songs, marriage songs, philosophical songs, all these features were either newly fashioned or revived by the Tāḷlapāka poets. The difference is that the object of their veneration is Vishnu whereas the earlier Śaīvaites sung the glory of Śiva. Annamāchārya, the founder of this tradition, was honoured by Sāḷuva Narasimha. The story goes that the Rāya asked the singer to compose a few *Samkīrtanams* in his

honour, but Annamāchārya declined to use his art for any earthly authority. It is related that the king became angry and imprisoned the poet. However he realised his mistakes later, released the poet from captivity and honoured him.<sup>8</sup>

Annamāchārya's son Peda Tirumalāchārya was as great as his father in the variety and grandeur of his devotional writings. The Tallapāka poets continued to maintain their independence of court influence. They lived at Tirupati and dedicated their song and life to Śrī Venkatēśwara. Even the brilliant court had no attraction for them. They were not needy, they even made many donations themselves to temples and shrines. Their most important and interesting literary legacy is known as 'Samkīrtana Bhāndāra'. The songs of Annamāchārya and others were collected and engraved on massive copper sheets, preserved for posterity, and came to be known as the library of Samkīrtanas.

Before we pass on to the sixteenth century, we have to consider the work of one famous women poet, Ātukuri Molla, the author of Rāmāyaṇa. There is no clear evidence about the actual period when she flourished. Since she did not mention the celebrities of the court of Krishnadēvarāya, and mentioned only earlier poets, she is assigned to an earlier age. Telugu poets are generally very reticent about their personalities, hence a critic has to undertake considerable research to establish the age of any given poet. Only two clues are open to him. The poet may mention his patron, a king or general or a wealthy citizen. With this aid, the scholar tries to fix the approximate time of the poet. There is one more interesting convention among Telugu poets and this is known as "Sukavistuti". The poet pays homage to the great poets that went before him out of veneration for them. A Telugu poem must begin according to convention with a blessing to the person who patronises it, if such a patron does not exist, the poet dedicates it to his own chosen deity. This is called "*Ishtā-dēvata-stuti*", i.e. paying homage to the god of the poet's devotion. Then comes the '*Sukavi-Stuti*', i.e. paying homage to great ancient poets.

In the same way the poetess Molla gives no information about herself, except her father's name, Kēsana. She is said to belong to the potter's caste. Molla composed Rāmāyaṇa in order to attain spiritual merit. It is a lucid poem with sentimental and devotional approach. Among the numerous Rāmāyaṇa Kāvya in Telugu Molla's Rāmāyaṇa has a place of honour.

Four and a half centuries had rolled by since Nannayya, the father of Telugu poetry, began the translation of Mahābhārata. He was faithful to the original without sacrificing his independent approach. During this long period poets generally held to his method of translation of the Purāṇas of Sanskrit into Telugu. Hence this period is known as the Age of Purāṇas. Some of the

8 '*Annamāchārya Caritra*' by Cinnanna, published by T T Devasthanam, Tirupati

best poetry of Telugu was written in this age. It is chaste, simple inspiring, and grand. Poets now desired some independence. They were not content with mere translations, however excellent and classical. They now wished to show their own originality in choosing stories and moulding them according to their conception. But as they were not ready to break completely with the past, a compromise was struck. The theme might be old, that is, it might have been taken from a Purāṇa but the treatment would be entirely the craft of the poet. This *via media* in Telugu literature is the Prabandha which came to the fore at the advent of the 16th century.

One of the highlights of the Prabandha period, Rāmarāja Bhūshana, put forth this idea in a picturesque manner. He says "Purely invented stories are like imitation diamonds, old stories, however good, are like undressed diamonds, ancient themes embellished by the fertile imagination of able poets are like polished diamonds." Therefore his patron requested him to attempt such a mixed story. Rāmarāja Bhūshana belongs to the later half of the 16th century. The Prabandha era actually counts its inception from Allasāṇi Peddana, the poet-laureate of the court of emperor, Krishnadēvarāya. Even with him it is not a sudden offspring. It was in the process of evolution down the centuries. Nannechōḍa, a Saiva poet who flourished between Nannayya and Tikkana is considered to be the mainspring of this Prabandha movement. Nachana Sōmanātha and Srīnātha added some distinctive features to it. We have seen how the poet Pina Virana and the joint poets Mallayya and Singayya carried forth this seedling. Allasāṇi Peddana of the court of Krishnadēvarāya gave it a full and brilliant shape. His *Swārōchisha Manu Sambhava* popularly known as *Manucharitra* is the highlight of Prabandha poetry.

The story is taken from the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. The interesting part of the story is simple. A Brahman by name Pravara, reputed for his Vedic orthodoxy and faith in Vēdic dharma, desired to see the wonders of this world. With the help of a magic ointment given to him by Siddha, the young Brahman flew to the Himalayas and visited various sacred spots there. By noon he thought of returning home for his ablutions and worship of the Fire. But he found that the magic ointment melted away and he was stranded on the Himalayas. Roaming about for succour, the young man was seen by a lovely young woman named Varūdhini, who belonged to the class of women of a semi-divine origin. On the first sight she loved him and desired him. The orthodox young Brahman was perplexed. He resolutely turned down her amours because it was against his dharma, and somehow extricated himself from her passionate embrace and escaped to the mountain. Varūdhini was disconsolate with sorrow. The story goes on further until she has a son, not by Pravara but by some one else, who was her former lover.

Now the difference in approach of a Purāṇa and Prabandha is the highlight of Manu-charitra. The Purāṇa stands for dharma or virtuous conduct. The Prabandha proceeds on the basis that human nature is a complex of Dharma and Kāma. Kāma or Love can be spiritualised also. There is an eternal struggle in the human breast between the divine and physical aspects of life. Prabandha depicts this struggle. Allasāṇi Peddana and the other honoured names in this line generally upheld the banner of dharma, though they also powerfully depicted the physical side of life. Later Prabandha poets did not think it their responsibility to hoist the flag of dharma. They thought that gross human nature is the fact of life and did not hesitate to describe defeat of the virtuous forces in life.

The Vijayangar Empire reached the zenith of its glory in the time of Krishnadēvarāya. He was justly eulogised as “the emperor on the field of battle as well as in the assembly of poets”. He patronised a galaxy of poets of whom Peddana and Nandi Timmana are the most important. The Rāya himself was no mean poet and he wrote a kāvya known as *Āmukta Mālyada*. This celebrates the marriage of the god Śrīranganātha of Śrīrangam with Godā Dēvi. The Rāya was a staunch Vaiṣṇavaite though tolerance was the motto of his public policy. *Āmukta Mālyada* holds aloft the banner of Vaiṣṇavism. Apart from this, the literary qualities of the poetry of Krishnadēvarāya are outstanding. If *Manū-charitra* excels in the depiction of the passions of the human heart, *Āmukta Mālyada* wins the palm in the presentation of Nature in all its gentle, sublime and awful aspects. Though a considerable poet himself Krishna Rāya loved and venerated Allasāṇi Peddana and adorned him with the title “the grandfather (the Brahma) of Telugu poetry. The emperor’s tolerance is shown by the fact that a staunch Śaivaite poet Dhurjati received his approbation and adorned his court.

During the second half of the 16th century we have two or three outstanding poets who carried forth the colours of prabandha. Pingaḷi Śūrana and Rāmarāja Bhūshana are traditionally counted among the “Aṣṭa Diggajamulu” of the court of Krishnadēvarāya. “Aṣṭa Diggajamulu” means the eight great elephants of the region meaning thereby the eight giant poets of the court of the Emperor. Śūrana and Rāmarāja Bhūshana may have had their roots in the period of Krishnadēvarāya but their literary production belongs to the next generation. Of these Śūrana is a poet of a strong creative imagination while Rāmarāja Bhūshana is a scholar and musician. Pingaḷi Śūrana has left us three works of which two at least are original types by themselves and the third is in turn a brilliant performance. Śūrana’s first work *Rāghava Pāṇḍaviyamu* exhibits that flexibility of the Telugu language by which each verse can yield two different meanings by breaking up a verse in a given order. For instance each verse in *Rāghava Pāṇḍaviyamu* will give alternately the story of Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata. This is made

possible by the structure of the Telugu language where Telugu and Sanskrit are indissolubly intertwined. Earlier poets may have discovered this genius of the language and written a stray verse to illustrate it, but Sūrana had the courage and scholarship to demonstrate this in a whole kāvya.

His next composition *Kalāpūrnōdayamu* is an original poem which stands by itself in the whole field of Telugu classical literature. It is a romance in poetry, a novel in verse. In order to make it acceptable to his contemporaries, Sūrana chose some familiar scenes—the court of Sri Krishna, familiar personages like the sage Narada, celestial personages like Rambha and Nalakūbara. But the whole theme is the creation of his forcible and fertile imagination. It is astonishing in its scope and pleasing in its variety. *Kalāpūrnōdayamu* is a metrical novel. It was compiled centuries in advance of time. It is so removed from the prevailing tastes that even the poet is apologetic about it. It is in the comparatively modern period with its love for creative works that *Kalāpūrnōdayamu* received its need of praise. Modern critics<sup>9</sup> think that Pingali Sūrana stands next only to Tikkana Sōmayāji in the history of Telugu literature. Sūrana's third poem '*Prabhāvatī Pradyumnamu*' is a brilliant performance where the whole story proceeds on the dramatic technique. Sūrana's poetry reached its high water mark in this poem with simplicity in language but complexity in meaning and rasa.

The great contemporary of Sūrana, Rāmarāja Bhūshana is noted for three works. The first is his poem *Vasucharitra* the story is taken from Mahābhārata. There is not much originality in moulding it, but as artistic poetry of great skill and observation of life, *Vasucharitra* has few equals in the prabandha field. Rāmarāja Bhūshana exhibits his fine skill in music in his poetry. *Vasucharitra* so fascinated the contemporaries and succeeding generation up to the threshold of the modern period that poets prided themselves on modelling their works after it. Rāmarāja Bhūshana tried his hand at Dvyarthī kāvya (poem with two meanings) as Pingali Sūrana did. His theme for double entendre is the story of Nala and Harischandra. *Rāghava Pāndaviyamu* is easier of manipulation due to similarity in some incidents of the two stories. *Hariscandra Nalōpakhyānamu* has fewer such situations. Hence it is more intricate in execution. The third work of Rāmarāja Bhūshana is a book on poetics.

Of the eight great poets ascribed to the court of Krishnadēvarāya two more may be mentioned. The poet Dhūrjati, a firm Śaivāite, wrote *Śrīkālahastī Māhātmyamu* which deals with the holiness of the place Kālahastī, centre of Śaiva pilgrimage, near Tirupati. True to the tradition of the Śaiva school of poets, Dhūrjati selects local stories and introduces realism into the description of men and things. It is said that the emperor was highly pleased with the

9 '*Kavitra tattva vicāramu*' by Sir C. R. Reddi, Andhra University Publication, Waltair, 1977

evenness of his numbers and exclaimed, "how could such sweet mellowness overflow the poetry of Dhūrjati, the master Telugu poet " A famous śataka, which is popular in the Andhra region, the *Śrī Kālahastīśwara Śatakamu* is ascribed to Dhūrjati. It is a devotional composition, with a strong vein of subjectivity in it.

The other noteworthy poet who takes us almost to the end of the 16th century, Tenālī Rāmakrīṣṇa Kavi wrote the *Panduranga Māhātmyamu*, a Vaiṣṇava counter-part of *Śrī Kālahastī Māhātmyamu*. This deals with the holiness of the Panduranga Kṣhētra, modern Pandharpur. This type of composition, which eulogises a holy place of pilgrimage, had its origin in the *Nṛsimhapurāṇa* of Yerrana and passed through the *Bhīmaśwarapurāṇa* of Śrīnātha. In this type of kāvya a trinity occupied an important place: the god of the holy place, the holy river which passed by the Kṣhētra and the holy land in which the pilgrimage centre is situated. The earlier poets were content to bring out the greatness of the presiding deity of the pilgrimage centre and the holy river or tank associated with it. Later poets were anxious to introduce the human element into it. In their eagerness to establish the purifying qualities of the place, they introduced a sinful man who attained Mōksha or salvation on account of the holiness of the Kṣhētra. The greatness of the holy place is in contrast with the depravity of the human beings. This approach accords better with the Vaiṣṇava conception of God than with the Śaiva conception. In Vaiṣṇavism, the Supreme Lord is all mercy and all powerful. The merciful nature of the Lord is demonstrated by his pardoning the greatest sinner, if he repents and approaches the Lord in a spirit of penitence. The Śaivas also believe in the mercy and justice of God but their saints seem to maintain a sturdy spirit of independence and question the Lord also at times. The Vaiṣṇava doctrine of Surrender to the Lord, is known as "Śaranagati" and "Prapatti".

The introduction of the erring human being into the story affords the poets an excellent opportunity to exhibit their observation of men and manners. *Panduranga Māhātmyamu* of Rāmakrīṣṇa has some very significant characters—Nigāma Śarma, a sinful man attaining the reward of the mercy of the Lord, his sister, who is all solicitude for her brother, and so on. There is no central story but a garland of stories woven round a holy place. Some very beautiful stories of Telugu literature are embedded in these kāvyas. Though Krishnadēvarāya ruled for a comparatively short period of 21 years, his political influence was all-pervading. Similarly the literary influence exercised by the emperor and his famous poet Allasāni Peddana spread itself far and wide.

Two more books of the century are worthy of mention. The *Vishnu Purāṇamu* of Vennelakantī Sūra Kavi, written in the first quarter of the 16th century, is perhaps the last pleasing work in the line of Purāṇas. The Vennela-

kantī family of poets is an old family known even in the time of Reddī kings. The second book *Kavikarnā Rasāyanamu* is the work of Śakuntalā Nṛsimha Kavī. Some consider him to be a member of the Tāllapaka family of poets. He was a powerful writer and claimed that he could sway the reader alike on the path of eroticism and on the path of Vairāgya *i.e.* detachment from worldly pleasures.

We now pass on to the Qutb Shāhī Kingdom which increasingly became a centre of men of Telugu letters after the so-called battle of Tālikōṭa \* Sultān Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, the fourth ruler of the dynasty, endeared himself to the Telugu people by his broad tolerance and love for Telugu poets. He cultivated acquaintance with Telugu poets during the period of his self exile at Vijayanagar. Telugu people considered the Golkonda kingdom their own and called Ibrāhīm “Malkibharāma” out of love and respect for him. Later the Qutb Shāhī Kings issued bi-lingual grants, both in Persian and Telugu. Ibrāhīm’s court was adorned by Addanki Gangādhara Kavī. He wrote *Tāpatī Samvarana-upākhyānamu* and dedicated it to “Malkibharāma”. In the prologue to the poem he eulogised the family of his patron, and a few important historical facts can be gleaned from it. Generally the prologues of Telugu poetical works yield us much historical information and constitute one of the primary sources of history.

The story of Gangādhara Kavī’s poem is taken from Mahābhārata and is moulded by him to suit the requirements of a prabandha. *Tāpatī Samvarana-upākhyānamu* is on the lines of *Vasucharitra*, the great arch type for later prabandhas.

Vijayanagar poets specialised in Dvyarthī kāvyas (kāvyas with two meanings) *Rāghava Pāndaviyam* and the story of Hārīschandra and Nala are shining examples. Perhaps to offset this lead the Golkonda school of Telugu poets conceived the idea of ‘Acha Telugu’ kāvyas. “Acha Telugu” means pure Telugu *i.e.* that content of the Telugu language which cannot be traced to Sanskrit. Like kāvyas with double meaning, an Acha Telugu kāvyas is a novelty. So far poets regaled themselves by writing one or two stray verses in pure Telugu, but no earlier poet thought of composing a whole kāvyas in Acha Telugu. This literary feat was attempted and successfully executed by Ponniganti Telaganārya, a poet of the time of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh. Telaganārya dedicated his poem ‘*Yāyāti Charitra*’ written in “acha” Telugu to Amīn Khān, one of the noblemen of Ibrāhīm’s court. Amīn Khān was in charge of the Potlachēruvu (Patanchēru) region, nearly twenty miles from Golkonda. He was very popular with his fellow citizens. One of his wives, Badī Bibī, was an ideal woman both in and outside the home. Many were her benefactions to the people. Amīn Khān took pleasure in humanitarian activities. He used to arrange marriages of poor unmarried Brahmans. He displayed such a zest in this that the god Hanumān, who was a sworn bachelor, is said to have been

\* [ This battle which was fought in January 1565, was really fought at Bannihatti, 34 miles south of Tālikōṭa, and 12 miles south of the river Krishna. Ed ]

alarmed lest the Khān should force him into matrimony, and hence the god ran away to the forests

Such is the popular personage who received the dedication of the pure Telugu kāvya of Telaganārya. The story of *Yayāti charitra* is taken from the Mahābhārata. It will be remembered that Telugu vocabulary consists of three kinds of words, Tatsama, Tadbhava and Dēśya. Tatsama words are words, taken direct from Sanskrit without structural changes or with minor changes only to which Telugu nominal and verbal terminations are appended before they can be used in Telugu. Tadbhava words are those that are derived from Sanskrit but which have undergone considerable modification to suit the requirements of the speech habits of the Telugu people. The Dēśya words are purely native words whose origin cannot be traced to Sanskrit or Prākṛit. Scholars and grammarians recognise Prākṛit also as one of the mainsprings for the Telugu language, and they distinguish a class of words as Prākṛita-sama (equivalent to Prākṛit) and Prākṛita-bhava (derived from Prākṛit). But this distinction got very much obliterated. Prākṛit itself is a *tadbhava* (derived from Sanskrit). As such this category of Prākṛit equivalents and Prākṛit derivatives became merged into *tadbhavas* only. In the dēśya also a subdivision is recognised, *i e*, Anyadēśya or loan words from other languages.

Now the question faced Ponniganti Telaganārya and other poets like him as to what is Acha Telugu. Strictly speaking pure Telugu would be that part of the vocabulary which is freed from tatsama (Sanskrit - Prākṛit equivalents) Tadbhava (derived words) and Anyadēśya (loan words). After centuries of tutelage of Sanskrit and Prākṛit Telugu language came so much under their influence that it was now unable to stand without them. He who is a hero can overcome this influence and who can write any serious and lengthy composition without recourse to Sanskrit words. This is the challenge taken up by Telaganārya. He did succeed in his attempt no doubt, but few readers can easily follow him. Since it was possible to eschew all the extraneous elements, Telagana effected an intelligent and happy compromise, he avoided only tatsama words and admitted tadbhava and anyadēśya words also into his stock. That became the standard for subsequent poets who attempted pure Telugu kāvyas. They are more a curiosity like *dvyārthi kāvyas* than poems read with pleasure or ease.

There were other Telugu poets who received the patronage of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. Kaṇḍukuri Rudrakavi, author of *Nirankuṣopākhyānamu*, *Sugrīva Vijayamu* and *Janārdhana Astakamu*, is said to have been honoured with a land grant by Ibrāhīm. Of the three writings of Rudra Kavi, the second one *i e* *Sugrīva Vijaya Yakshagānamu* is of considerable importance in Telugu literary history. The *Yakshagāna* is a kind of dēśi dramatic composition. It is distinct from the tradition of Sanskrit drama which has a place in world



literature The *Yakshagāna* is not so elaborate in technique or literary excellence It is more in the nature of an opera with only a few characters and much of dēsi music The metres used in *Yakshagāna* are the native song metres The exponents of *Yakshagāna* are a tribe of common people known as “Jakkula vāndru”, an itinerant class of actors and singers There have been references by poets to *Yakshagāna* but no composition of the nature has come down to us The *Sugriva Vijayamu* of Rudra Kavī thus becomes the first extant *Yakshagāna* written by a poet of fame The story is taken from Rāmāyaṇa and deals with the relations of Śrī Rāma with the kingdom of Banaras and the brothers Vali and Sugriva

Another poet of the time of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh was a member of the Maringanti family of scholar poets<sup>10</sup> Singarāchārya of this family, a Vaiṣṇava by faith, wrote a Kāvya ‘*Daśaratharāja Nandana charitra*’, the story of Śrī Rāma as a ‘Niroshthya’ kāvya Niroshthya means free from labial sounds The poet wrote Rāmāyana without using the familiar sounds of speech, p, ph, b, bh, m It is a kind of literary feat to avoid words with labial sounds Later poets developed this and similar techniques a kind of hurdle race in literary composition not always to the liking of the reader

During the reign of Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh the policy of broad tolerance was well maintained Though the Sulṭān did not receive the dedication of any Telugu poem like his father, he encouraged Telugu poets Sārangu Tammaya, the karṇam (accountant) of the city of Golkonda, enjoyed his confidence Timmaya wrote the very popular poem ‘*Vajayanti Vilāsamu*,’ which deals with the life of the Vaiṣṇavite saint Vipranarāyana Some of the feudatories of Golkonda also contributed to the advancement of Telugu literature The Kāmineni family of Reddī rulers of Bikkānavolu (in the present Mēdak district) were petty chieftains owing allegiance to Golkonda A member of this family Rāja Mallā Reddī wrote *Shat Chakravarti charitra* and other kāvyas Mallā Reddī has the heart of a genuine cultivator and shows great solicitude for the comforts of cows in his poem *Śiva-dharmottara* Another member of a royal family of Telangana, Rāja Surabhi Mādhava Rāyalu of Jataprolu (Jatpole), wrote a scholarly poem *Chandrikā Parinayamu* This poet flourished about 1650

During the last days of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty, in the reign of Abu’l Hasan Tānā Shāh, the friendly relations between Hindus and Muslims of the Deccan appear to be at their best The brothers Mādanna and Akkanna were in ministerial positions, while their nephew Gopanna was the tahsildār of Bhadrāchalam area Gopanna became popular by his *Dāsarathi Satakamu*, a kind of devotional poem It is said that as Tahsildār he appropriated

10 For details see B Rāma Rāju, ‘Maringanti Kavulu’ in the *Telugu Encyclopaedia*, VI, 754-756, published by Telugu Bhāsha Samithi, Hyderabad

Government revenue for the improvement of Srī Rāma's temple at Bhadrāchalam and for providing ornaments to the shrines. He was arrested and imprisoned by royal officers but was miraculously rescued by Srī Rāma. Gopanna came to be known as Rāmadās ('Servant of Rāma') for his unflinching devotion. During imprisonment and earlier, he poured out his heart in plaintive devotional songs known as *Kīrtanamulu*.

Some of the Quṭb Shāhī Sultāns encouraged music and culture. Sultān 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh was a lover of music. It is said that the famous Telugu Vāggeyakāra, Kshētraya, visited the court of 'Abdu'l-lāh and won his esteem and presents by composing some padamas in his honour<sup>11</sup>. After the fall of Golkonda in 1687, the Telugu region, and in fact the whole of the South was plunged into confusion. The Mughals could not establish their authority firmly. All cultural activity was suspended. Poets could only send up piteous wails to the gods. A local chieftain, Dhamsa, sacked the Bhadrāchalam temple, and the priests carried away the idols in the shrine to a place of safety. A poet, Bhallā Pēraya wrote the *Bhadrāgiri Śataka* in which he refers to these incidents. The *Simhādri Narasimha Śataka* of Kūrmanātha is a *Sataka* written in the same strain. A Mughal contingent attacked the Simhāchalam Temple (Visakhapatnam district). The poet appeals to the god in a significant language: "if you are not able to protect yourself, how can you protect your devotees". The literary scene gradually shifted to the southern courts of Tanjore, Madura, Mysore, Pudukkota and lesser principalities. All honour to them for keeping the lamp of literature and art burning, though with diminished lustre. As this area does not fall under our definition of the Deccan, we will not enter into greater details regarding their contribution.

It now remains to describe a few more important types of kāvyas which flourished at this time. The historical kāvya in Telugu is one such type. The idea of singing the glory of dynasties like the Kākatīyas was a later development. Even from the earliest periods of Telugu literature, the prologue to a poem, the verses at the beginning and end of Āśvāsas provided occasion for the poet to eulogise his patron. These references give the reader some clue for constructing the history of the patron. Long historical poems belong to a later period. It is quite possible that the Persian chronicles compiled in the Deccan influenced the writing of Telugu chronicles as well.

However, the Kākatīyas were the first dynasty who enjoyed the distinction of having Telugu chronicles about their past. Ekāmranātha, whose date is not clearly known, first composed a prose chronicle setting forth the glory of Kākatīyas, known as *Pratāpacharitra*. Fact and fiction are freely mixed up in the account. Kasē Sarvappa (circa, middle of the 16th century), a resident of Hanumkōnda wrote a history of the Kākatīya dynasty entitled *Siddhēśwara*.

11 *Kshētraya Padamulu* Introduction by Vissā Appā Rao, Rajamundri

*Charitra*, partly in prose and partly in verse. He generally followed the account of Ekāmrānātha. *Rāya Vāchakamu*, is a prose chronicle dealing with the reign of the emperor Krishnādēvarāya. It is in the form of a report sent by the representative of the ruler of Madura, Viśwanātha Nāyaka. This formed the basis for a later kāvya, the *Kṛishnarāya Vijayamu* written by poet Kumāra Dhūṛjati. This poet claims to be a descendant of the elder Dhūṛjati who was one of the courtiers of Krishnādēvarāya. Andugula Venkayyā wrote *Narapati Vijayamu* a kāvya dealing with the Āravīdu dynasty. In this poem the three southern powers, the kings of Orissa, the Bahmanī Sultāns and the Rāyās of Vijayanagar, enjoyed the titles of Gajapati, Aswapati, and Narapati respectively, representing the dominant position which their armies maintained in elephants, cavalry and infantry. The account of Venkayya is more realistic and true to facts, than *Kṛishnarāya Vijayamu*, without losing its quality as good poetry.

Prose works as such made a late appearance in Telugu literature, although prose writing was not unknown. The earliest inscriptions in Telugu were in prose. The classical poets Nannaya and Tikkana interspered their poetry with prose passages. Nannaya's prose is as lucid as his poetry. Later poets gave lesser importance to prose. Instead of using it as a vehicle for simple narration of story, they moulded it as an embellishment, as a source of rhythmic descriptions, full of alliteration, puns etc. Thus prose lost the charm of simplicity and directness, and became highly learned and artificial. This tendency started with Nāchana Sōmanātha of the 14th century and was avidly followed by poets who liked a display of scholarship. Writers like Srīnātha and Krishnādēvarāya were skilled in both types of prose, the simple dramatic type and the ornate artificial type. Independent prose works as such made their appearance in the southern courts like Tanjore, Madura and Mysore. The *Dandakamu*, *Vinnapamu*, *Vachanamamu* are all minor variations of devotional prose. They are short in extent and rhythmic.<sup>12</sup>

An important branch of Telugu literature is the type 'Śatakamu' to which reference has already been made. Śataka is usually a "garland" of one hundred and sometimes of 108 verses. There are some Satakas which go far beyond the usual number. The *Śiva Tatva Sāramu* of Mallikārjuna Pandita and the verses of Vēmana are instances. There is no story in a Sataka, but it is a string of verses woven on the thread of devotion. Sataka had its origin in devotional offering to a god. A Śataka contains a vocative motto which is called a "Makuta" or head-line. This is repeated in each verse. The poet usually adopts one small metre for his verses in a Śataka, while a regular poem employs a variety of metres. Though Sataka had its origin in devotional appeal very soon it converted itself into a convenient medium for moral instruc-

12 See N Venkatarao, *Andhra Vacana Vangmayamu*, Madras, 1954

tion, for putting forth worldly wisdom and political maxims. Hence it became popular and has retained its great attraction to poets and readers even to the present day.

There are many branches in Śāṭaka literature, devotional, philosophical, moral, political and humorous. The earliest in this field is the work of Mallikāṛjuna Paṇḍita mentioned above. Pālkuriki Sōmanātha, the militant poet of Saivism wrote *Vrshadhīpa Śāṭaka* in which he offers homage to Siva. Among the most popular devotional Śāṭakas may be mentioned *Devaki Nandana Śāṭakamu*, *Kālahastiswara Śāṭakamu*, *Dāsarati Śāṭakamu* etc. Among Śāṭakas which are rich in worldly wisdom and political maxims are the *Sūmatī Śāṭakamu*, *Bhāskara Śāṭakamu*, *Venkateśwara Śāṭakamu* etc. The age of some of the philosophical Śāṭakas, such as the *Narāyana Śāṭakamu*, *Mānasabodha Śāṭakamu* and others cannot be specified. There are a few humorous Śāṭakas like *Chandra Śekhara Śāṭakamu*. Viled satire, which is really devotional, runs through a few clever Śāṭakas, such as *Bhadragiri Śāṭaka* and others already mentioned.

Though not strictly a Śāṭaka, the vast body of verses of Vemana come under this category. They contain some features of the Śāṭaka. The verses have one motto or last line throughout and read "Listen Oh Vēma, one dear to the universal giver". They are mostly in one metre, the Āṭaveladī which is very brief and crisp like a couplet. There is no story content. They contain moral instruction, suggestions for wordly conduct, philosophy, the 'here' and 'hereafter', social criticism and a world of wisdom and observation. Vēmana is said to belong to the Redḍi community, at any rate a villager by birth and choice. His date is not exactly known, but he is generally assigned to the later half of the 17th and early part of the 18th century. It was a time when all independent Hindu kingdoms had disappeared. There were no vitalising and heroic forces, and the society was in despair and dejection. True religion and religious spirit were on the decline and there was much of cant. Ignorant people were duped in the name of religion and superstition was rampant. The Brahman, who should have been the leader of thought and the path-giver in spiritual matters, failed in his mission and became a selfish exploiter of ignorant people. The exterior of religion was more to the front than the real kernel. Vēmana disliked and condemned the prevailing spirit. He sometimes criticised the self-appointed tutors of mankind. He eschewed idol worship, and would make fun of priests and sham yogis. In short, Vēmana was a great social philosopher and did yeomen service to purge the intellect and spirit of his contemporaries, of camouflage, whether in religion or social conduct. He advocated the simple religion of truth and faith in a single Supreme Being.

Up to now very little has been said and can be said about the literature of the common people and women. There is a different world of thought, taste

and literary attainment It would not be correct to say that during these long centuries, the women and common people had no literary tastes of their own and no mental food There are indications that literature of the common folk existed, though we have no clear specimens of these handed down to us Women and the common people preferred the simple, artless stories to the elaborate and artificial poetry of the cultured classes The simple people liked song metres as against highly technical rhythms One important feature about folk literature is that it was not committed to writing, and was therefore subject to revision both in language and content from generation to generation Stories like *Bālanāgamma*, *Pāmu pāta* (song of the serpent) *Kāmbhōjarāju Kathā* and others appear to be very old and their origins are lost in the dim past Women must have had from times immemorial their songs of *Rāmāyāna* and *Mahābhārata* Moreover there are songs covering each stage of the woman's life, some of them very humorous and some highly pathetic It is these simple songs which kept up and nourished the great unwritten culture of our women and our villagers It is a pity that scholars did not think it worth while to preserve this wonderful tradition in Telugu These ballads and songs persist even to the present day, only we do not see them in their pristine purity<sup>13</sup>

During the period under survey technical literature made its appearance This chiefly covers the fields of grammar, prosody, *Alamkāra Sāstra*, and a few professional works Grammatical studies were naturally the earliest to make their appearance The earliest works are the *Āndhra Śabda Cintāmani*, (grammar for Telugu written in Sanskrit), ascribed to Nannaya Bhāttu and *Āndhra Bhāsha Bhūshanamu*, (grammar in Telugu verse), written by Ketana, a friend and contemporary of Tikkana Sōmayāji There is a keen dispute in the world of scholars about the authorship and time of *Āndhra Śabda Cintāmani*, but both this works appeared before the close of the 13th century Another work on Telugu grammar, the *Atharvana Kārikāvali* is written in Sanskrit, and is ascribed to a scholar Ātharvana Āchārya, a contemporary of Tikkana This is a complementary work of *Āndhra Śabda Cintāmani* Similarly in the field of prosody, the work *Kavijanāśrayamu* is very old and its time and authorship are not definitely established

Vinnakōta Peddana, a poet of the court of one of the lingering families of Chālukyas, wrote *Kāvyaśālmkāra Cudāmani*, a book dealing mainly with poetics and incidentally with grammar Equipment in the three subjects, grammar, prosody and poetics was considered necessary for budding poets, and experienced writers composed works dealing wholly or partly with one or more of these subjects Such writers are called *Lākshanikas* Vinnakota Peddana is a respected *lākshanika* Very near to him in time flourished Anantāmātya, a poet who wrote the *Chandō darpanamu* on prosody Another

13 For details of Telugu folk literature, see B Rama Raju, *Telugu Jānapadagēya Sahityamu* Hyderabad 1958

landmark with regard to the works on poetics is *Kāvya-lamkara Samgraha* written by the famous poet Rāmarāja Bhūshana in the middle of the 16th century

The *Āndhra Śabda Cintāmani*, which had been in the eclipse for a long time, came into limelight with its running Telugu commentary written by a scholar named Yelakūchi Bālasaraswati at the opening of the 17th century. Since then *Cintāmani* held the first place in grammatical studies. Another scholar Appakavi began to expound the *Cintāmani* in Telugu verse. His book is dated 1656. Having started to elucidate *Śabda Cintāmani*, Appa Kavi developed his work as a masterpiece on prosody. It is known as *Appakavi-yamu* after the poet. *Āndhra Śabda Cintāmani* received its highest and masterly exposition at the hands of Ahōbala Pandita a well known scholar who flourished at the close of the 17th century and who wrote a great commentary on *Cintāmani* in Sanskrit.

For poetical composition, dictionary also is an indispensable aid just like grammar and prosody. The modern method of alphabetical arrangement of vocabulary was unknown as yet. Ganapavarapu Venkata Kavi, a voluminous writer, seems to have attempted a sort of Telugu dictionary in verse. He was patronised by the Madhura Nāyakas. Young poets had to be instructed in the occurrence of the hard 'r' sound in Telugu words. There are two kinds of pronunciation in Telugu of the second semi-vowel 'r'. In some words it has a light pronunciation and is called rough 'r'. This is what is called 'Sakata Rēpha' and it had a definite function and distinctive accentuation in cultured speech, but as centuries passed by this Rēpha fell into trouble. Its special sound was lost and it got assimilated to the soft 'r', and it became difficult for poets to know which words contained the Sakata Rēpha and which the Sādhu Rēpha or soft 'r' sound. As orthodox scholars considered that it would be a great sacrilege to the language to mix up these two pronunciations, some of them took pains to collect lists of words containing the one or the other Rēpha. This gave rise to small dictionaries of words with or without Sakata Rēpha. At the present day the distinction between the two sounds of Rēpha is completely lost and any attempt to revive it or preserve it is considered pedantic.

Among the works on technical subjects written in this period we may mention only two. One is a book on the science of diamonds, how to use them, their qualities, draw backs etc. This was written by Bhairava Kavi perhaps in the 15th century. A more important work is from the pen of a poet named Manumanchi Bhattu. This book is on horses, the most useful animal in war and peace in the middle ages. This seems to have been preceded by another work *Śālihōtramu* written by an unknown poet of the Kākatiya period.

Another branch of accessory literature is commentary writing on difficult works. The Dvyarthī Kāvya (poem with two meanings) of Telugu are tough compositions. Even a scholar cannot easily unravel their meaning, much less a lay reader. Hence it became a service to language to write commentaries on such difficult works. The *Rāghava Pāṇḍaviyamu* of Pingalī Sūraṇa got this treatment from a scholar Muddarāju Peda Rāmaṇa. Quoting elaborately from dictionaries and grammars he split the kāvya into meaningful units and earned the gratitude of appreciative audiences. This scholar lived about 1575. The *Harischandra Nalōpākhyāna* written by Rāmarāja Bhūṣaṇa was similarly commented upon by Chitrakavi Anantakavi, who lived about 1580. These commentaries have a special standing in technical literature. When there is any difference of opinion about a point in grammar or prosody, the Dvyarthī Kāvya acts as an umpire, for they are so firmly fixed that it is not possible to alter them. There is no fear of interpolation or emendation in a poem of this type. Therefore the evidence supplied by it regarding grammar or such other controversial point is accepted as authority.

## II- Language

During these centuries the literary language remained almost settled. Minor variations in vocabulary, terminations, tenses of the verb, and *sandhi* may have occurred but the fulcrum remains *ī e*, the language of the three master poets of Mahābhārata—Nannaya, Tikkāṇa and Yerrāṇa. There may be the desire on the part of a younger poet to assume some freedom in expression but there is the wholesome fear that he might be detected and censured by elderly poets. There were some lākṣhaṇikas who declared unhesitatingly that the language of Nannaya is the final standard with regard to the purity of expression. They would not admit even Tikkāṇa Sōmayāji to this authority. But this stiff attitude is rare. Generally these Kavītrayamu (three master poets) are considered authority for standard expression.

From the earliest times Telugu language seems to be flowing in two channels, the literary language and the spoken language. The spoken language, called Vyāvahārika Bhāṣha in recent discussions must have had much dialectal variety. The literary language, as evolved by Nannaya Bhattu, the first great Telugu poet, is naturally based on the speech of the cultured classes and that too of the dialect of Vengidēśa, the coastal area between the rivers Godavari and Krishna. Poets like Tikkāṇa found it convenient to follow the standard set by Nannaya with minor dialectal additions. At the close of the 13th century, from where we began our survey, literary Telugu received a settled form, and since then it held fast to the paths laid down by Nannaya and Tikkāṇa. That the spoken dialect is different from the literary form is evidenced by two things. Writers on grammar recognised one form of Telugu which they called 'Grāmya' (current in villages) or colloquial. Besides this they

enumerated three more forms, the Tatsama, Tadbhava, and Dēśya, which have already been explained. Grammarians state that the last three are fit for usage in a literary composition but not the 'Grāmya' or colloquial. Liberal minded grammarians like Atharvāṇa would permit the use of the colloquial also in appropriate contexts such as in the speech of lowly persons.

Our source for the study of the literary language is the vast body of writings that we have surveyed so far. The colloquial language has no such records. The only sources for a study of this will be the few examples of 'Grāmya' given by grammarians by way of illustration. One imperishable record of Vyāvahārika Bhāṣha is the body of Inscriptions in Telugu which we get from time to time. Although their scope is limited, being confined to the description of the charitable acts of kings and other donors, still they are a valuable source. Even in the inscriptions the verse portions are in the standard literary language, and it is only the prose portions of inscriptions that exhibit the spoken dialect. As we passed the Vyāvahārika Bhāṣha began to enter the hallowed portals of literature through the means of commentaries on works of grammar, prosody and difficult poetical works. At the beginning of the 19th century when Telugu books began to be printed, the language of these commentaries etc. was revised and brought on a par with the standard literary dialect, so that specimens of colloquial language disappeared.<sup>14</sup> The classical dialect was made to appear supreme.

Coming back to the march of the literary dialect we observe that by the time of Tikkana Sōmayāji, there is already a movement to depart from the standard of language set by Nannaya. This was chiefly due to the Saiva poets who staged a revolt against the Vēdic religion and the caste system. They carried this revolt into the field of literature also and upheld the cause of the dēśi metres and a simpler literary dialect which they called Tzānu Telugu. Though there is no clear definition of Tzānu Telugu, it is understood to mean a literary dialect nearer to the spoken language than was sanctioned by Nannaya's example. The Saiva poets delighted to use a larger content of pure Telugu words, some of them obsolete and therefore unserviceable, and popular compounds called Vairi Samāśas (constructions which are not sanctioned by grammar). Beyond these little irritants to the classical scholar, even the Saiva poets did not venture to depart from Nannaya. It means that the path which he laid down was broad-based, generally well-planned, and represented the true genius of Telugu.

The only poet of stature who could reverse the gears of Nannaya was Tikkana Sōmayāji. He contented himself with introducing a larger element of the Dēśya into his great work, the *Āndhra Mahābhārata* and did not sanction anything more. He criticised the use of obsolete words used by some poets

14 G Venkaṭaramamurti Pantulu, *Gadya cintāmaṇi*, Guntur, 1933



It is understood that this referred to the practice of Saiva poets. The result is that literary diction in Telugu depended largely on the use of Sanskrit words and current Telugu vocabulary. With regard to the Sanskrit element that can be used in Telugu compositions, the *Āndhra Śabda Cintāmaṇi* laid down a wholesome regulation. It says that easy and well-known Sanskrit words alone are to be employed and pedantic usage is to be eschewed. This is what Nannaya and Tikkana did, and that became the age-long fashion for Telugu literary dialect. The later poets who leaned too heavily on Sanskrit paid the penalty in the form of loss of popularity. Apart from Kavitraya, only two or three poets attained universal popularity. They are Bhāskara with the *Rāmāyana* and Bāmaṇḍa Potārāju with his *Mahābhāgavatamu*.

We may notice a few outstanding changes which came about in the language from the 14th century to the early 18th century. In the matter of phonology, a sound which stands between 'a' and 'e' came into usage. Grammarians did not mention it though they must have been aware of it. Telugu as a Dravidian language generally shuns the aspirated consonants of Sanskrit, but the Telugu people overcame this inhibition and learnt to use some of the Mahāprāṇas especially in numerals. The dental and labial aspirants are popular in this way. The cerebral sound 'r' had two forms, the lighter and the harder pronunciation. The distinction between these two types of pronunciation became gradually obliterated and confusion consequently set in. Classicists would not easily give up the attempt to retain them. Nature only triumphed and the distinction between 'r' sounds became more a historical feature than practice.

In nominal influxion many of the older terminations used by Nannaya dropped out. Nouns with consonantal endings in Sanskrit entered Telugu with a doubling of the ending consonant. There is an alternate form also. Both these became well-established in Telugu during the passage of centuries. Religion played a part in enlarging the vocabulary of Telugu. Saiva poets had a leaning towards Kannada as Saivism specially Viraśaivism, hailed from the Kannada region. Similarly Vaishnavism had its mainsprings in the Tamil region and along with it Tamil words entered Telugu and got naturalised. The most important political influence came from the Muslim conquests. The Telugu region had alternate friendly and hostile relations with the Bahmanī Sultāns. The poet Srīnātha mentions that his patron Bendapūḍi Annamantri knew many languages including Arabic, Persian etc. and that he could write despatches to the Sultāns in these languages. However, the influence of these languages on Telugu is not much perceptible.

As by the middle of the 15th century the Bahmanī kings came in possession of the Tilangana part of the Andhradēśa, Muslim administration must have increasingly familiarised people with Arabic and Persian words.

From the beginning of the 16th century the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom took roots in the Telugu region. Its influence both on administration and the culture of the people was appreciable, with the result that a large body of Persian and Dakhnī words entered the Telugu language. They were more acclimated in the language of Tilangana than of other parts of the Telugu region due to the continuity of Muslim administration in that part of the country. French and Portuguese words also entered the Telugu language in small numbers during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Telugu verbs did not undergo any appreciable modification. Passive voice became more common. A second form of past tense with terminations “nāmu,” “nāvu,” “nāḍu,” added to the past indefinite form of the verb, became more popular than the older ‘tini, tivi, enu’ forms of past tense. The Telugu school of grammarians was content with noticing the three normal tenses, past, present and future. The Sanskritic school of Telugu grammarians discovered a new tense and termed it ‘taddharma’, a tense used for universal truths—such as “sun shines”, “fire burns”, etc.

The rules of *sandhi* or coalescence were already well formed in the language. Poets assumed some latitude now and then and made sandhi even where it was not sanctioned by Nannaya’s language. The sandhi of the past indefinite form of the verb with a succeeding vowel is an instance. Similarly coalescence of the ending ‘a’ with the succeeding vowel is more common in later forms.

There is a tendency to liberalise the language to the extent of laxity, but it is looked upon with trepidity. There is no disposition to question the authority of masters but an attempt is made to discover points which would justify a relaxation from the classical dialect. The grammarian is, however, always alert with his frowning glance. Loopholes found in the language of great poets are worthy of respect but they are not meant for imitation.”

CHAPTER II  
ŞŪFĪ MOVEMENT IN THE DECCAN

by PROF. K. A. NIZAMI

*Synopsis*

- I. Significance of the Şūfī movement with reference to the Deccan — Impact on the cultural, social and religious life of the people; role in bringing the south and the north culture-patterns nearer and closer.
- II. Individual mystic teachers in the Deccan before the organisation of the *silsilahs* in the north; nature and significance of their activities; contact with the local population.
- III. Deccan in the 13th century—Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī's report to Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn Auliā and its significance.
- IV. Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn Auliā's disciples in the Deccan and the establishment of the Chishtī mystic centres.
- V. Muḥammad bin Tughluq's Deccan Experiment—Exodus of saints to Daulatābād; activities of the migrant saints; relations with the local Hindu population; cosmopolitan approach and its results; the *malfūz* literature produced in the Deccan.
- VI. Chishtī saints and the Bahmanīs.
- VII. Development of the mystic ideology in the Deccan—Maḥmūd Gāwān's contact with the centres of Islamic mysticism; Gāwān's correspondence with Khwāja 'Ubaidu'l-lāh Aḥrār and Jāmī; Gāwān introduces the works of Shaikh Shihābu'd-dīn Suhrawardī and Ibn-i 'Arabī in the Deccan.
- VIII. The cultural role of the Şūfīs in the Succession States of the Bahmanī kingdom.
- IX. The Shaṭṭārī *silsilah* in the Deccan: activities of Shaikh 'Isā and Shaikh Burhān: Khānqah of Shaikh Burhān.
- X. The Qādirī and the Naqshbandī orders in the Deccan and the nature and significance of their activities.
- XI. Contribution of the Şūfī saints of the Deccan to the Indian mystic movement and the impact of their life and thought on the cultural life of the Deccan.



## Introduction

The role of the Sūfī movement in the cultural and religious history of Medieval Deccan cannot be over-emphasized as it constitutes a necessary adjunct to our understanding of the processes of social and cultural change in the south. Considered in its broad cultural perspective, it was through the medium of mysticism that the Muslim culture-group adjusted itself with the local milieu and all those social and linguistic barriers which had separated the South from the North began to yield to the pressure of new all-India trends. The reciprocity of relationship between the *khānqāhs* of the North and the South and the pan-Indian organizational pattern and perspective of some of the spiritual orders helped in bringing the North closer to the South and initiated a new phase of rapprochement between regions, creeds and cultures. The eagerness of the sūfīs to establish direct contact with the common man and share the joys and sorrows of his life led to the growth of a new medium of communication — called proto-Urdu<sup>1</sup> by H K Sherwānī — and the *khānqāhs* became veritable centres for the exchange of views between men belonging to different religions and speaking different languages. The Muslim mystic, in the Deccan as elsewhere in India, thus became a symbol of harmony and humanism.

Surveying the history of the Muslim mystical movement in India in the later years of the 16th century Abu'l-Faẓl has referred to fourteen orders<sup>2</sup>

While this list includes some *silsilahs* which did not play any part in the religious or cultural life of the South, it ignores others, like the Qādirīyāh, the Shattārīyah and the Naqshbandīyah, which along with the Chishtīyah *silsilah* occupy a significant place in the history of Medieval Deccan and round which revolves the entire history of the Muslim mystical movement in that region.

### *Muslim saints in the Deccan before the Muslim conquest*

Muslim settlements began in the South long before the Muslim armies entered the Deccan. According to tradition the earliest Muslim settlers were the Arabs of the Navayīṭ clan who reached the Konkan in the early years of the 8th century<sup>3</sup> and in course of time, got completely Indianized. When Malik Kāfūr reached Kandūr (in Trichonopoly district) in pursuit of Rāja Bīr Dhul he found that many Muslims were living there and the Rāja of that

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1 IC, XLI, 1, 50

2 *Ain i Akbarī*, ed., Sayyid Ahmad Khān II, 203

3 *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, XI, 74, XIII, 216

place was being supported by his Muslim subjects<sup>4</sup> Several decades later when Ibn-ī Baṭūṭa visited the South, he came across Muslim settlements and mosques in Travancore, Malabar and in the Kannada areas<sup>5</sup> The presence of twenty thousand Muslim soldiers in the army of Rāja Ballāla Dēv of Dwāraśamudra<sup>6</sup> and the appointment of Taqīyū'd-dīn 'Abdu'r Rahmān as minister by Rāja Sundar Pāndya of Ma'bar shows<sup>7</sup> that Muslim culture-groups had struck sufficiently deep roots in the soil and, under the circumstances, it is not improbable that a number of Muslim saints whose names have been handed down by tradition, but about whom no early records are available, settled in these areas The names of Mīrān Sayyid Husain (ob circa 1188), Sayyid 'Alāu'd-dīn (ob circa 1253) and Sayyid Husāmu'd-dīn Tēgh Brahnaḥ (ob circa 1281) may be particularly mentioned in this context<sup>8</sup> Some disciples of Shaikh Shihābu d-dīn Suhrawardī (ob 1234), the famous author of 'Awārifu'l-Ma'ārif, who is reported to have said that there were a number of his disciples in India,<sup>9</sup> reached the Deccan also<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately the nature and significance of their activity in that region remains obscure Later generations have so generously added legendry veneer to their personalities that it is difficult to see them in any historical perspectives, but, given the fact of Muslim settlements in that area, their role in the early history of the Deccan cannot be ignored

#### *Deccan and the Muslim mystics of Delhi*

It was in the closing years of the 13th century that the Deccan became a subject of discussion in northern India, particularly at Delhi In 1296 'Alāu'd-dīn Khajī then governor of Kara, raided Dēvagiri but the Deccan remained in the background of political history for another fifteen years Then began the campaigns of Malik Kāfūr Great as was the political significance of these military operations, their cultural impact remained limited Some ripples were created on the surface but the main contours of cultural life were not touched 'Alāu'd-dīn Khajī himself did not want to go beyond recognition of his overlordship by the rulers of the Deccan and so there was little or no incentive among the Muslims for migration to the Deccan But in the armies of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khajī went men like Amīr Hasan Sijzī, a

4 *Khazā'inu'l-Futūḥ* (Calcutta ed.), 149

5 *Rihla*, Eng Trans 180-93

6 *Rihla*, 288

7 *ED*, III, 32

8 Muhammad 'Abdu'l 'Azīz "The Deccan in the fifteenth century", in *JASB*, XXI, n series, (1925), 570

9 'Abdu'l Haq of Muhaddith Dihlawī, *Akhhāru'l Akhyār*, Muṭtaba'ī Press, Delhi 1309 H, 36

10 Like Bābā Sharafu'd dīn 'Irāqī who lies buried on a hillock a few miles south of Hyderabad

distinguished disciple of Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn Auliya, who saw in the Deccan a new field for mystic activity. In 718/1318 we find the Deccan being mentioned in the assemblies of Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn Auliya at Delhi. The Shaikh appreciated the action of a disciple who had liberated a slave-girl at Dēvagiri by paying her price from his own pocket.<sup>11</sup> It was a mystic principle to discourage slavery and inculcate respect for all human beings, irrespective of their status, caste, colour and creed.

It appears that later on the Deccan became a frequent topic of reference in the assemblies of Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn Auliya whose eminent disciples were to undertake vigorous religious and cultural activity in the South. Two significant incidents of the *khānqāh* of Nizāmu'd-dīn Auliya connected with the South may be mentioned here. (1) When Malik Kāfūr led the Khalji forces into Warangal and the Sultān did not hear for long about the fate of his army, he sent a messenger to Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn Auliya to seek his spiritual help and request him to pray for the safety of his army.<sup>12</sup> (2) One day a visitor called at the *khānqāh* of Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn Auliya and stayed at the gate hoping to be called in. Just before him Ulugh Khān (the future Muhammad bin Tughluq) had left the hospice. The Shaikh summoned one of his attendants and said, "One king has left and another is waiting at the door, bring him in." The saint received the visitor with affection and prophesied a bright future for him in the Deccan. He pressed a piece of bread on one of his fingers and offered it to him saying that it was the *chatī* of his Sultānate. The visitor—the future founder of the Bahmanī kingdom—took it as a happy omen and left the *khānqāh* in good cheer and elated.<sup>13</sup> The respect and regard shown by the Bahmanīs to the Chishtī saints who subsequently settled in the Deccan assumes an entirely different significance in the context of this incident. We are informed that the first act of the founder of the Bahmanī kingdom after his assumption of royal power was to send five *maunds* of gold and ten *maunds* of silver to Shaikh Burhānu'd-dīn Gharīb for distribution amongst the needy and the poor in order to bless the soul of Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn Auliya.<sup>14</sup>

In 722/1322 when Ulugh Khān, the future Muhammad bin Tughluq, marched to Dēvagiri to quell some disturbances, Amīr Khusrō also accompanied him. Dēvagiri, then officially known as Quṭbābād, attracted the fancy of the poet and he wrote a *maṭnavī*, *Sahīfatul Ausāf*,<sup>15</sup> in praise of the city. "It is no flattery to call it paradise," he wrote, "but I do not call it that, lest it be confounded with the Paradise of Shaddād. The city was surely destined to

11 *Fawa'idul Fu'ad* Nawal Kishore ed., Lucknow, 202

12 Baiānī, 332

13 *Burhān*, 12, *Tab*, III, 6, *Fer*, I, 274

14 *Fer*, I, 277

15 It is included in his *diwān*, *Nihāyatul Kamāl* MS 47/102 Habibganj Collector, A M U Library. It has been edited separately by K. A. Nizami.

become a paradise under Islamic rule, for that is why it has been so carefully decorated. It was on hearing the fame of this city that Cairo dipped her garments in the Nile<sup>16</sup> and Baghdād split herself into two.” Muhammad bin Tughluq’s decision to make Dēvagiri a second administrative city of the Empire was no doubt a political decision, dictated by the exigencies of political situation but the way in which Khusrō had drawn his attention to the charms of Dēvagiri could not possibly have left his mind untouched or uninfluenced.

### *The first Chishtī Centre in the Deccan*

Long before Muhammad bin Tughluq embarked upon his Deccan project, Shaikh Nizāmu d-dīn Auliya summoned to his presence two of his younger disciples, Khwāja ‘Azīzu’ d-dīn and Shaikhzādah Kamālu’ d-dīn—both grandsons of his spiritual master Shaikh Farīdu’ d-dīn Ganj-i Shakar. He gave one *jalālī* (a silver coin) to Kamālu’ d-dīn and ordered him to proceed to Malwa, and placed another on the hand of ‘Azīzu’ d-dīn and asked him to settle at Dēvagiri. When they came out, ‘Azīzu’ d-dīn said “What can this single *jalālī* do?” To this Kamālu’ d-dīn replied “Be contented. The Sultānu’l Mashāikh has bestowed *jalāl* (spiritual prestige) on us.”<sup>17</sup> Thus blessed Khwāja ‘Azīzu’ d-dīn proceeded to Dēvagiri, determined to propagate the Chishtī mystic principles in the Deccan. Years afterwards, when the saints and scholars of Delhi reached there, driven by Muhammad bin Tughluq, some of them met him also and were deeply touched by the popularity he enjoyed amongst the indigenous population. “The (people of the) areas of Dēvagiri and Tilang,” wrote Amīr Khurd, “were all believers in him and were virtually his slaves.”<sup>18</sup>

### *Impact of Muhammad bin Tughluq’s Deccan project on the Mystic Movement*

Organized mystic efforts in the Deccan began as a result of Muhammad bin Tughluq’s historic decision to make Dēvagiri ‘a second administrative city’ of his Empire. He forced the ‘ulama and the *mashā’ikh* of Delhi to migrate to Dēvagiri. While this demand of the Sultān completely paralysed *khānqāh* life at Delhi,<sup>19</sup> where according to the author of *Subhu’l Ā’shā* there existed about two thousand *ribāts* and *khānqāhs*,<sup>20</sup> it provided a viable nucleus for syste-

16 There is a play on the word *nīl* (literally indigo) here. This is the colour of mourning and the name of the famous river Nile. Baghdād is divided into two by the river Tigris.

17 Amīr Khurd, *Siyarū l Auliya*, Delhi, 198.

18 *Ibid*, 197.

19 According to Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz only a few mausoleums of Delhi, including those of Shaikh Quṭbu d dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and Shaikh Nizāmu’ d-dīn Auliya, survived the shock of exodus demanded by the Sultān *Jawāmu’ul Kalīm*, 143.

20 *An Arab Account of India in the 14th century*, tr. by Otto Spies, 20. [By “two thousand” the writer evidently means a very large number. Ed.]



matic organization of the mystic movement in the Deccan. Many of the saints who left for Daulatābād—like Shaikh Burhānu'd-dīn Gharīb, Maulānā Fakhrū'd-dīn Zarrādī, Amīr Hasan Sijzī, Syed Yūsuf (father of Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz), Khwāja Husain, Khwāja 'Umar<sup>21</sup> and others—were brought up in the traditions of Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn Auliya and had imbibed from him the Chishtī mystic principles. Though many of them had left their homes under duress and had a nostalgic remembrance for Delhi,<sup>22</sup> they none-the-less played a very vital role in organizing the Sufī movement in the Deccan.

One of the senior most disciples of Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn Auliya to reach the Deccan was Shaikh Burhānu'd-dīn Gharīb<sup>23</sup>. Maulānā Ghulām 'Alī Azād Bilgrāmī calls him *Sahib-i Walāyat*<sup>24</sup> of the Deccan,<sup>25</sup> which shows that his supreme position amongst the mystics was recognized even by the later generations. In fact it was he who laid the foundations of the Chishtī mystic ideology and institutions in the south. He was more than 70 years of age when he reached the Deccan. His long contact with Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn Auliya—whose *langer-khānā* (kitchen) he had supervised for years<sup>26</sup>—had been instrumental in shaping his personality according to the ideals of the great Shaikh. The cardinal principle of the religious activity of Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn Auliya was his concept of religion. "Devotion", he used to say, "is of two types—*lāzimī* (intransitive) and *muta'addī* (transitive). In the *lāzimī* devotion, the benefit which accrues is confined to the devotee alone. This type of devotion includes prayers, fasting, pilgrimage to Mecca, recitation of religious formulae, turning over the beads of rosary etc. The *muta'addī* devotion, on the contrary, brings advantage and comfort to others, it is performed by spending money on others, showing affection to people and by other means through which a man strives to help his fellow human beings. The reward to *muta'addī* devotion is endless and limitless."<sup>27</sup> Nurtured in this ideology, Shaikh Burhānu'd-dīn explained Chishtī mystic principles to his

21 Khwāja 'Umar and Khwāja Husain were sons of Syed Mahmūd Shirāzī (*Rauza-i Auliya*, 26). Shaikh Husain's son Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn Dāwūd was a distinguished Khālifā of Shaikh Burhānu'd-dīn Gharīb. See also 'Isāmī, *Futūhu's Salāṭin*, Madras edition, 8.

22 See *Diwān-i Hasan*, (ed. Mahvi), 191.

23 For biographical notices see *Siyarū'l Auliya*, 278-82, *Akhbaru'l Akhyar*, 93-4, Ghulām Mu'īnu'd-dīn 'Abdu'l lāh, *Ma'arifu'l Walāyat* (MS), Azad Bilgrāmī, *Rauza-i Auliya*, I'jāz-i Ṣafdarī Press, 1310 H, 4-14.

24 For the mystic significance of this concept see Nizāmī, *Religion and Politics in India during the 13th century*, 175-6.

25 *Rauza-i Auliya*, 4.

26 Trained in exacting discipline, Burhānu'd-dīn Gharīb developed a high sense of responsibility, dedication to duty, and an extremely affable personality.

27 *Fawā'idul Fu'ad*, 13-14.

anxious audiences at Daulatābād and made the great saints of the first cycle of the Chishtī *silsilah*—particularly Shaikh Farīdu'd-dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i Shakar and Shaikh Nizāmu d-dīn Auliā – household words in the mystic circles of the South. It is not known how he reacted to Muhammad bin Tughluq's orders to migrate to Daulatābād, but when the Sultān permitted the people to go back to Delhi if they so desired, he was so much in love with Daulatābād that he preferred to stay there. His servant Kākā Sa'd was so anxious to return to Delhi that as soon as he heard the royal announcement, he packed up the Shaikh's luggage without his permission. The Shaikh pointed to the place where his grave stands and said that he would rather be there than go back to Delhi.<sup>28</sup> His table-talks (malfuzāt)—*Ahsanu'l Aqwāl*,<sup>29</sup> *Shamā'ilu'l-Atqiyā*,<sup>30</sup> *Nafā'isu'l-Infās*,<sup>31</sup> *Gharību'l-Karamāt*,<sup>32</sup> *Baqiyātu'l-Gharā'ib*<sup>33</sup>—throw considerable light on his work in the Deccan. Though a septuagenarian at this time, he had the necessary intellectual alertness to plant a *silsilah* in a region without any background of mystic tradition. He had an extremely persuasive manner of instructing those who thronged round him. He made abstract mystic ideas living realities by weaving them in the pattern of didactic stories. Following the tradition of Shaikh Farīd, he also taught higher mystic works to his senior disciples.<sup>34</sup> True to the traditions of his spiritual master he disdained possession of private property and distributed amongst the needy and the poor whatever gifts came to him. One day Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq sent to him a gift of 3,000 *tankās* through Malik Nā'ib Barbak (the future Firōz Shāh). The Shaikh knew that refusing the Sultān's gift would be courting trouble. He added twenty *tankās*, which were in his *khānqāh* at that time, to the royal gift and distributed the entire amount in charity.<sup>35</sup> The Shaikh was very fond of mystic music (*simā'*). His disciples, emulating their master, used to dance in a peculiar manner and were known as

28 *Rauza-i Auliā*, 13-14

29 For an account of its contents see Nizami, "A note on *Ahsanu'l Aqwāl*", *JPHS*, I, January 1955 40-41

30 Its full title is *Shamā'ilu'l-Atqiyā wa Dalā'il-i Atqiyā* and it deals mainly with the principles of Islamic mysticism. Manuscripts are available in the Aligarh Muslim University Library and the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Nos 1197/E 125, 1198/OA 19 respectively)

31 It records the conversation of the Shaikh from 732/1331 to 738/1337, the year of his death. Azad Bilgrami thinks that it was planned on the model of *Fawā'idu'l-Fu'ād* (*Rauza-i Auliā*, 5). MS in the Library of Nadwatul 'Ulama, Lucknow

32 MS in Salar Jung Museum, No 43/876

33 The existence of this work is not reported in any library catalogue. Azad consulted it in the preparation of his *Rauza-i Auliā*

34 E.g. he gave lessons in *Mirsadu'l-Ibād* to Shaikh Zāmu'd-dīn Dāwūd (*Rauza-i Auliā*, 27)

35 *Rauza-i Auliā*, 13

*Burhānīs* <sup>36</sup> Like Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn Auliya and Shaikh Nasīru'd-dīn Chirāgh, he remained a celibate all his life. An atmosphere of quiet contentment and determined resignation reigned supreme in his dwelling. His disciples worked zealously to extend the influence of the *silsilah*. Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn Dāwūd, Maulānā 'Imād Kāshānī, Maulānā Ruknu'd-dīn, Maulānā Hammād, Maulānā Majdu'd-dīn and Maulānā Farīdu'd-dīn Adīb<sup>37</sup> played a significant part in popularising the mystic ideals of Shaikh Burhānu'd-dīn Gharīb. Shaikh Hammād alone is said to have admitted one thousand disciples to the Chishtī fold <sup>38</sup> The rulers of Khāndēsh felt deeply attracted towards his spiritual order. Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn Dāwūd, one of his senior *khalifās*, was known for the courage of his convictions. He criticised sharply Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī for his drunken orgies and boldly defied his authority. His *malfuzāt*, *Hidayatu'l-Qulūb* compiled by Amīr Hasan, reveal mature mystic thought. Nasīr Khān Fārūqī of Khāndēsh was one of his disciples. According to Ferishta he built the town of Burhānpūr in memory of the *pir* of his *pir*, Shaikh Burhānu'd-dīn, and laid the foundation of the *qashah* of Zainābād in honour of Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn <sup>39</sup>

A younger brother of Shaikh Burhānu'd-dīn Gharīb, Shaikh Muntajabu'd-dīn Zarzārī Zar-Bakhsh,<sup>40</sup> also attained great fame in the Deccan. Though little is known about his life, it appears that his impact on the religious life of his contemporaries was great, and later generations fondly cherished his memory by celebrating his death anniversary ('*urs*') with great enthusiasm and faith.

Another famous Chishtī saint who settled in the Deccan was Amīr Hasan A'lā-i Sijzī, the compiler of *Fawā'idu'l-Fu'ād* <sup>41</sup> Though in the service of the Sultāns of Delhi, he was not devoid of higher mystic sentiments and was deeply respected for his attachment with the great saint of Delhi, Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn Auliya. He was a scholar and a poet. Apart from *Fawā'idu'l-Fu'ād*, three other works have come down to us from his pen, (a) a *diwān* <sup>42</sup> (collection of verses), (b) an elegy in prose in memory of Prince Muhammad son of Balban<sup>43</sup> and (c) *Mukhkhū'l-Ma'ānī*,<sup>44</sup> a short treatise on "love" in

36 *Siyāru'l-Auliya*, 279

37 *Rauza i Auliya*, 25-26

38 *Baqiyatu'l-Ghara'ib* as quoted by Āzād Bilgrāmī, 6

39 *Fer*, II, 401

40 For brief biographical notices, see, *Rauza i Auliya*, 14, etc

41 For brief accounts of his life see, Baranī, 359-60, *Akhbarul Akhyār* 100-102, *Gulzar i Abrār* (MS), *Oriental College Magazine*, Feb-May 1958, Dr M. Salim's, article, 12-17

42 Edited by Mas'ūd 'Alī Mahvi, Hyderabad, 1352 H

43 This elegy has been quoted in full by Yāhyā Sirhindī in *Tārīkh i Mubārak Shāhī*, Bib Ind, 44-51

44 The only manuscript of his work is in the Aligarh Muslim University Library (Sir Shāh Sulaimān Collection 5/115). For an account of this MS see Nizāmī, *Tārīkh i Maqālat*, Delhi 1966, 166-72

mystic discipline His poetic genius earned for him the title of Sa'dī of Hindustān<sup>45</sup>, and all the great Persian poets of India, including Amīr **Khusrō** and Faizī, paid their tribute to his muse It was thus the vision of Burhānu'd-dīn **Gharīb** the dedication of Zainu'd-dīn Dāwūd and the verse of Amīr Hasan which drew the people of the Deccan to the mystic fold and prepared ground for the germination of mystic ideas The saints who followed them pushed ahead their traditions and subsequently, when some other *silsilahs* like the Qādirīyah, reached the Deccan, the Sūfī movement gathered great momentum

### *The Bahmanis and the Saints*

The kingdoms that rose up in various parts of India following the disintegration of the Sultānate of Delhi sought the help of saints and divines in the consolidation of their power The founders of these dynasties offered endowments in the form of villages, stipends, buildings etc to the saints, and they in their turn gave moral support to them and whipped up public opinion in their favour The Bahmanī rulers also enlisted from the very beginning of their rule in the Deccan the goodwill and cooperation of the saints and *mashā'ikh* who, apart from many other contributions in the cultural sphere, carried the roots of Bahmanī power deeper in public confidence In many moments of crisis connected with accessions, campaigns, and factious conflicts in the history of the Bahmanīs, the saints exerted their influence in favour of one or the other claimant, and their support or opposition went a long way in determining the course of political events 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh (1347-58) had great respect for Shaikh Burhānu'd-dīn **Gharīb**, Shaikh 'Ainu'd-dīn Bijāpurī and Shaikh Sirāju'd-dīn Junaidī<sup>46</sup> He is even reported to have invited the saints to his camp in the midst of a campaign and loaded them with presents<sup>47</sup> Sultān Muḥammad I (1358-75) always counted on the prayers of Shaikh Sirāju'd-dīn Junaidī whenever he set out on a campaign In 1366, when he marched against Vijayanagar, he sent his son Mujāhid to the Shaikh with a large amount of money to be distributed amongst the sayyids and saints<sup>48</sup> Ahmad Shāh Walī (1422-36) was deeply attached to Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz and, when the latter expired in the beginning of his reign, he enlisted the moral support of Shāh Nī'matu'l-lāh's sons When 'Alāud-dīn Ahmad II (1436-58) went through the ceremony of enthronement Shāh **Khālilu'l-lāh** was on his right and Syed Hanīf on his left<sup>49</sup> In the conflict between 'Alāu-dīn Humāyūn Shāh (1458-61) and his younger brother Hasan **Khān**, Shāh Muhibbu'l-lāh supported the Sultān against heavy odds

45 *Baranī*, 360

46 *Fer*, I, 277

47 *Fer*, I, 280 Sherwani, *Bahmanīs*, 56

48 *Fer*, I, 289

49 Sherwani, *op cit*, 231

Thus throughout the history of the Bahmanīs one finds the saints and the *mashā'ikh* deeply involved in the politics of the time. This was detrimental to the larger interests of their *silsilahs*. The early tradition of keeping away from politics and eschewing the company of the rulers had given great moral and spiritual vitality to the mystic movement in India. But when the saints of the Deccan began to work for public welfare under the patronage of the Bahmanī rulers their freedom of action was curtailed and the *khānqāhs* became appanages of the court subsisting on state finances and functioning in concert with the policies of the rulers of the day. With big *jāgirs* to administer it became impossible for the saints to keep succession to the spiritual *gaddi* open for men of talent. The principle of heredity which had so long been looked down upon by the early saints, inevitably came in to determine the organization of *khānqāhs*. Since it is difficult to postulate a succession of able saints under such a hereditary system, the leadership of the mystic orders in course of time passed into the hands of saints of smaller stature and inferior mettle. Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz once expressed his deep concern at this degeneration of the mystic families. "Surprising indeed is the position of the sons of the *mashā'ikh*" he said, "with what ease they become *shaiḡhs* after the death of their fathers. They know not that their fathers attained that position after spending (years of) their lives in jungles, without food and without dress. It was after (undergoing) so many hardships that they attained that status" <sup>50</sup>

It was probably due to hereditary succession that, though the Deccan produced a number of outstanding saints who kept the organisation in good health and vigorously pursued its spiritual ideals, it could not produce a line of able saints as had appeared in northern India in the early phase of the history of the Chishtī movement.

#### *Shaiḡh Zainu'd-dīn Dāwūd and Sultān Muhammad I*

Shaiḡh Zainu'd-dīn Dāwūd was, as already pointed out, an eminent disciple of Shaiḡh Burhānu'd-dīn Ghārīb and possessed great independence of spirit and courage of convictions. His relations with Sultān Muhammad I became bitterly hostile on account of his sympathy with two rebels, Bahrām Khān Māzendarānī and Kumbh Dēv. The Sultān had nearly crushed their rebellion when both these rebels stole out of the fortress in the night and came straight to Shaiḡh Zainu'd-dīn. The saint advised them to fly away to Gujarat in order to save their skin. <sup>51</sup> Naturally the Sultān felt deeply incensed at this role of the Shaiḡh in the escape of the rebels. What accentuated his bitterness was an unpleasant memory of the Shaiḡh's attitude on the occasion of his accession. He was the only saint who had absented himself, not due to any

<sup>50</sup> *Jawāmi'u'l Kalīm*, 26

<sup>51</sup> *Fer*, I, 294. See Sherwani, *Bahmanis*, 97, 98

accident but deliberately and in a defiant mood. He was critical of the Sultān's addiction to wine and his indifference to the moral and ethical principles of Islam. It was on this account that he had refused allegiance to him. The Sultān now became firm in his attitude and demanded submission and allegiance from him and summoned him to the court. The saint was equally adamant to submit to the wishes of a ruler whom he considered morally unfit to rule. When he came to know of the summons of the Sultān, he narrated the story of a Sayyid, a scholar and a eunuch who had been captured by an idolator and were offered freedom on condition that they bowed to his idol. The idolator threatened to chop off the head of one who hesitated to make obeisance to the deity. Slowly reciting verses from the Qur'ān the scholar bowed before the idol saved his neck and secured his freedom. The Sayyid did like-wise. When the eunuch's turn came he said that since the Sayyid and the scholar were both pious men they could behave like that, they had many good acts to their credit, but he had been sinning all his life. He could not end his life in sin. With his refusal to bow went off his head from his body. Narrating this story Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn remarked that the Sultān would find him emulating the eunuch in the story. The Sultān then issued orders for his expulsion from the city of Daulatabād. The saint put his prayer-carpet on his shoulders and retired to the tomb of Shaikh Burhānu'd-dīn Gharīb, sat at the foot of the grave and challenged if there was any one who could remove him from there. A challenge emanating from a Chishtī centre, which commanded great love and reverence from the people, could not be thoughtlessly accepted. The Sultān changed his posture of hostility and found in tactful reconciliation a real solution of the problem. He sent Sadru'sh-Sharīf to the saint with a warm message of goodwill. "I am yours and you should be mine." The Shaikh replied that if the Sultān abstained from drinking at least in other people's presence, closed wine shops in his territory, followed in the footsteps of his father and issued orders to his officers to act according to the Islamic principles of morality, he would not only give up his hostile attitude but would become most friendly towards him. "The Sultān would then find no better and sincere friend than me." The Sultān accepted the terms and cordial relations were then established between the two.<sup>52</sup> Apart from the great moral significance of this episode and the light that it throws on the character of the Sultān, it shows the extent of prestige and influence enjoyed by the saints during this period. A ruler, however powerful otherwise, could not afford to antagonise the saints. He had to humour and placate them at all costs. It must, however, be confessed that it was on account of saints like Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn that the Sūfī movement retained its virility and vigour in the South and countered the abuses that came in the wake of contact with the state.

*Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz*

One of the most prominent figures in the early history of Islamic mysticism in the Deccan was Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz<sup>53</sup> He was born at Delhi on 4 Rajab 721 / 30 July 1321, but when Muhammad bin Tughluq forced the saints and celebrities of Delhi, among others, to migrate to Daulatābād his father Syed Yūsuf Husainī, better known as Syed Rājā (ob 731/1332), migrated to Daulatābād with his family In 1335 Gēsū Darāz came back to Delhi with his widowed mother to complete his education Delhi was then recovering from the great blow it had received at the hands of Muhammad bin Tughluq, and scholars and saints were again flocking to it to be dispersed later by the Timurian invasion Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz, however, found scholars like Syed Sharafu'd-dīn Kaithalī, Maulānā Tāju'd-dīn Bahādur and Qāzī 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir to complete his education The most outstanding Chishtī saint in Delhi at this time was Shaikh Naṣīru'd-dīn Chirāgh (ob 1356) who had boldly defied the orders of Muhammad bin Tughluq to migrate to Daulatābād and was spending his time in imparting moral and spiritual education to people who thronged to his *khānqāh* in large numbers Gēsū Darāz also decided to join his spiritual discipline immediately after completing his education in external sciences ('*ulūm-i zāhir*) For years he served his master with single-minded devotion and imbibed from him the spirit of the Chishtī *silsilah* and a consuming concern for the moral and spiritual uplift of humanity He would have perhaps stayed on in Delhi but when Timūr turned towards India in 1398 he heard the rumblings of a distant storm and decided to leave Delhi He was nearly ninety years of age when he moved to the Deccan After a brief sojourn at Gwalior and Gujarat, he turned to Gulbarga determined to spend the rest of his life there For about a quarter of a century he propagated the Chishtī mystic principles in the Deccan and died at the age of more than a hundred years on 16 Dhīqa'dah 825/1 November, 1422

The saint could not, like his spiritual teacher Shaikh Naṣīru'd-dīn Chirāgh, close his doors against the rulers and the nobles Firōz Shāh Bahmanī (800-825/1397-1422) received him warmly and assigned a few villages for the expenses of his *khānqāh*<sup>54</sup> A brief letter of four lines addressed to the Sultān praying for the safety of his person and the destruction of his opponents is

53 For biographical notices see 'Abdu'l 'Azīz, *Tārīkh i Habībī wa Tadḥkīra-i Murshidī*, completed in 849/1445 6 (MS As Soc of Bengal, 246), Syed Muhammad Husainī, *Jawāmi'u'l Kalīm*, Kānpūr, 1356 H, Muhammad 'Alī Samnānī, *Siyār i Muhammadī*, Allahabad, 'Abdu'l Haqq Muhaddith Dihlavi, *Akḥbārū'l Akhyār*, Delhi, 1309 H, 129-134, Abdu'r Rahmān Chishtī, *Mir'āt i Asrār*, MS personal collection, Ghulām Mu Inu'd dīn 'Abdu'l lāh, *Ma'ārijū'l Walāyat*, MS personal collection, Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Rauza-i Auliya*, Aurangābād, 1892, 18-25, Ghauthī Shaṭṭārī, *Gulzār i Abrār* MS As Soc of Bengal, f 45 v, anonymous, *Madh-i Gēsū Darāz*, a mathnawī in Dakḥnī, MS As Soc Bengal, 1736 See also *EI*, new ed II, 1114-1116

54 *Burhān*, 44, *Fer*, I, 316 For an account of the *Khānqāh* see *RHAD*, 1347-49, F 2

included in his collection of letters <sup>55</sup> But not long afterwards the ruler fell from the esteem of the saint and their relations became frigid if not strained According to Āzād Bilgrāmī the Sultān's interest in philosophy and his philosophic bent of mind brought about coldness in their relations <sup>56</sup> On 24 Ramazān 802/19 May 1400 only a couple of years or so after his arrival in the Deccan, we find him reminding his audience of an Apostolic Tradition that speaking out a just thing before a tyrant was a higher act of courage (and brought greater reward) than participating in a battle <sup>57</sup>

The estrangement, however, seems to have assumed a political complexion Firōz appointed his son Hasan Khān as crown prince in 818/1416 and after the ceremonies were over, the Sultān sent the prince to the saint for his blessings The saint was reluctant to bless him and when he was pressed by the royal emissaries he remarked that God had already appointed Ahmad Khān Khān-i Khānān, brother of Firōz, as the next ruler The Sultān was deeply annoyed at this and the first thing he did was to ask the saint to shift his hospice to some distant place as its proximity with the palace was a source of disturbance and distraction for him on account of the large number of people who assembled there and the noise that they created Gēsū Darāz then moved to the place where his tomb now stands <sup>58</sup>

Gēsū Darāz's moral support and sympathy considerably enhanced the prestige and position of Ahmad who succeeded, through the saint's help, in foiling some of the attempts of the partisans of Hasan Khān to assassinate him When Ahmad ascended the throne he felt deeply beholden to Gēsū Darāz, established cordial relations with him and enjoyed his full moral support The ruler offered a number of villages which, according to Āzād Bilgrāmī, were in the possession of the descendants of the saint till the 18th century and even afterwards

Gēsū Darāz occupies a unique place in the history of the Chishtī *silsilah* on account of his prolific contribution to the elucidation and exposition of Muslim religious thought No Chishtī saint before or even after him wrote on so many branches of Muslim learning A profound scholar, with a keen and penetrating insight into the religious sciences, he gave a new fillip to religious studies in the Deccan Eminent contemporary saints like Maulānā Mas'ūd Bakk, and Syed Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī corresponded with him He is reported to have written a commentary on the Qur'ān<sup>59</sup> and another on the *Mashāriqul-Anwār*, a famous collection of the Traditions of the Prophet

55 *Maktūbat*, ed Syed 'Atā Husain 1362 H, 86

56 *Rauza-i Auliyā*, 22

57 *Jawāmi'ul-Kalim*, 181

58 *Fer*, I, 316, *Rauza-i Auliyā*, 22-3, *Bahmanīs*, 164-66

59 MSS with the Sajjādah Nashīn of the dargāh of Hazrat Gēsū Darāz at Gulbarga



His commentary on Imām Abū Hanīfā's *al-Fiqh al-Akbar*<sup>60</sup> which he prepared on his arrival at Gulbarga, shows his predilection towards the juristic approach in many religious matters. It was, however, on mysticism that he produced the bulk of his works. Besides two commentaries—one in Arabic and the other in Persian—on the famous '*Awārifu'l Ma'ārif*' of Shaikh Shihābū'd-dīn Suhrawardī, he wrote commentaries on the *Ta'āruf* of Shaikh Abū Bakr Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm Bukhārī, the *Ādābu'l Murīdīn* of Shaikh Najībū'd-dīn 'Abd al-Qāhir Suhrawardī, the *Tamhīdāt* of 'Amū'l Quzāt Hamadānī, the *Risālā* of Qushairī and a *Risālā* of Shaikh Abdu'l-Qādir Gilānī. The Saint's chief object in writing commentaries on these mystic classics was to acquaint the people of the Deccan with the higher mystic thought and to prepare ground for its widespread dissemination amongst the people. He was particularly fond of '*Awārifu'l Ma'ārif*' because of its value as a manual of guidance for those organizing *khānqāh*-life in areas without any well-established tradition of mystic discipline. His other mystical works included the *Hazāru'l Quds* or the '*Ishq Nāmā*',<sup>61</sup> the *Asmāru'l Asrār*<sup>62</sup> and the *Khātīmā*.<sup>63</sup> It is, in fact, in this latter category of works that his views find a full and uninhibited expression. A collection of his stray writings, *Majmū'ah Yāzdah Rasā'il*,<sup>64</sup> a collection of his poems, *Anīsū'l 'Ushshāq*<sup>65</sup> and a collection of his letters, *Maktūbāt*<sup>66</sup> gives us an idea of his views on many religious and spiritual problems. Though in most of his works he seems treading the traditional line of thought, still sometimes he deviates from it and puts forward his views boldly and clearly. Shaikh 'Abdu'l Haqq, Muhaddith of Delhi, has therefore remarked that he had a peculiar *mashrab* (pattern of thought and behaviour) of his own.<sup>67</sup> He was critical of Ibn 'Arabī's pantheistic philosophy and at one time had even thought of writing a critical commentary on his works, but Syed Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī dissuaded him from attempting that.<sup>68</sup> In fact he stood for a balance between *sharī'at* and *taṭīqat* (the esoteric aspects of religion) and looked askance at all those trends which tilted the balance, so dear to him, in favour of this or that trend. He sometimes criticised the orthodox and uncompromising theologians for the rigidity of their thought and at others he took to task those mystics who sought to break all

60 Edited by Syed 'Aṭā Husain, Hyderabad 1367 H

61 Edited by S. 'Aṭā Husain, Hyderabad

62 Edited by S. 'Aṭā Husain, Hyderabad, 1350 H

63 Edited by S. 'Aṭā Husain, Hyderabad, 1356 H

64 Edited by S. 'Aṭā Husain, Hyderabad, 1360 H. It may be pointed out that *Risālā V* in this collection has been wrongly ascribed to Gēsū Darāz, it was really written by Imām Muẓaffar Balkhī

65 Edited by S. 'Aṭā Husain, Hyderabad, 1362 H

66 Edited by S. 'Aṭā Husain, Hyderabad, 1362 H

67 *Akhhārū'l Akhyār*, 129

68 *Maktūbāt-i Shāh Muhibbū'l lah Ilahabadī*, (MS, Aligarh Muslim University Library)

bonds. He had studied Hindu mythology and was conversant with the Sanskrit<sup>69</sup> language also, but he did not approve of the uncritical acceptance of the views of the *jōgīs*.

Hazrat Gēsū Darāz made a tremendous impact on the religious life of the people of the Deccan. His works were voraciously read in the higher mystic circles while the common people thronged to his *khānqāh* in large numbers. Amongst his disciples were saints like Shāh Yādū'l-lāh, Shaikh 'Alāu'd-dīn Gwāliyārī, Shaikh Sadru'd-dīn Awadhī, Mīrzā Bēg Badakhshānī and others who increased the sphere of influence of the *silsilah*. His son Syed Akbar Husainī wrote two important books—*Kitābu'l-'Aqā'id*<sup>70</sup> and *Tabsirat-al-Istilāhāt al-Sūfiyah*<sup>71</sup>. The former deals with the fundamentals of faith, the latter attempts an elucidation of mystic concepts and terms.

Like other Sūfīs Gēsū Darāz must have communicated with the vast mass of non-Muslim population amongst whom he was living, in some language intelligible to them. We have, however, very little authentic details about his efforts in that direction. The authorship of two early Dakhnī works—*Mī'rāju'l-'Ashiqīn* and *Shikār Nāmā*—has not been convincingly established on the basis of external or even internal evidence.

It was in fact Gēsū Darāz through whom the Muslim mystic movement became articulate in the Deccan. His disciples who spread in towns and villages applied themselves to brisk spiritual activity and propagated his name and teachings far and wide in the South. Poets, scholars, saints and sages of the Deccan in the succeeding centuries have paid eloquent tributes to Hazrat Gēsū Darāz and have prided in their association with his spiritual order.<sup>72</sup>

#### *The Qādirī and the Shattārī Silsilahs in the Deccan*

During the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries the Chishtī *silsilah* was the principal spiritual order in the Deccan. In the 15th century the Qādirī order and in the 16th the Shattārī *silsilah* came to be organized in the Deccan and their centres rose up in many cities and towns of the South. The earliest Qādirī *khānqāhs* were established in Bīdar, Khāndēsh and Ahmadnagar. The descendants of Shāh Nī'matū'l-lāh Qādirī (ob. 834/1430), who settled in the Deccan, were probably the first important Qādirī saints to enter India. Syed Shāh Ismā'il (ob. 861/1466) worked for many years to propagate the teachings of the Qādirī *silsilah* in Bīdar. His work was later continued and developed by Shaikh Ibrāhīm (ob. 960/1552) Shāh Mūsā Qādirī (ob. 873/1468)

69 *Jawāmi'u'l-Kalīm*, 118-119

70 Edited by S. 'Aṭā Husain, Hyderabad, 1366

71 Edited by S. 'Aṭā Husain, Hyderabad, 1365 H

72 See for instance, Mullā Nuṣratī's verses in praise of Gēsū Darāz and his family, 'Abdu'l Haqq, *Nuṣratī*, Delhi, 38

selected Sultānpūr (Dhulia district) for his mystic activity and soon attracted a large number of people to his mystic fold. Syed Shāh Abū Muhammad Husain Qādirī (ob 892/1482) built a *khānqāh*, a mosque and a *madrasah* at Pāthri (Ahmadnagar district). Subsequently a disciple of Shaikh Bahāu'd dīn Ansārī of Māndū, Shaikh Jalāl Muhammad Qādirī<sup>73</sup> (ob 928/1521) reached the Deccan and set up a Qādirī centre at Burhānpūr which had already a large number of Chishtī *khānqāhs*. Another important Qādirī saint to arrive in the Deccan during this period was Syed Shāh Jamāl (ob 999/1590). He came from Baghdād and settled at Warangal. These were some of the early saints of the Qādirī order to arrive in the Deccan. In the centuries that followed many new centres sprang up.<sup>74</sup>

It was sometime in the sixteenth century that the Shattārī *silsilah* reached the Deccan and its saints influenced very deeply the religious life of the people. Shāh 'Abdu'l-lāh (ob 1485), who introduced this order in India, was a saint of great qualities. Soon after his arrival in India he undertook a hurricane tour of the country and ultimately decided to settle at Māndū from where he could look to the expansion of his order both in the North and in the South. His technique of work had some unique features. He moved from place to place with an army of disciples clad in military uniform. At every halting station an announcement was made with the beat of drums asking people to come to him if they desired to be shown the way to God. The military outfit of his disciples created suspicion in the minds of many rulers like the Sharqīs of Jaunpūr, with the result that Shāh 'Abdu'l-lāh had to move with caution. He however succeeded in attracting some very energetic mystics to his fold who extended the influence of the order and in a few decades it came to be established in the Deccan also.

One of the most important figures of the order was Syed Muhammad Ghauth of Gwalior (d 1563). He was well versed in both the Muslim and the Hindu traditions of mysticism and had spent years in the hilly region of Chunār in the company of Hindu saints and *jōgīs*. He translated into Persian a Sanskrit work on Hindu mystical practices, the *Amrit Kund*, and had popularized its ideas among the Muslim mystics. He was a man of wide sympathies, broad and tolerant outlook, and used to exhort his disciples to follow a path of widest possible spiritual co-operation with other systems of thought and belief. Under his influence the Shattārī *silsilah* became known for its catholic and cosmopolitan outlook and succeeding generations of Shattārī mystics closely

73 *Gulzar-i Abrār*, MSS Johns Rylands Library, rotograph in the Aligarh Muslim University Library. It gives the name of the ruler as Alī 'Ādil Shāh which is obviously wrong. [This ruler must be 'Ādil Khān III, 1509-20. Ed.]

74 Amongst the later saints of the Qādirī *silsilah* the names of Shāh Abū'l Hasan Qādirī (d 1045/1635) and Shaikh Alāu'l Haq Qādirī (d 1021/1612), both of whom worked in Bijapur may be particularly mentioned.

adhered to his traditions. It was through the disciples of Syed Muhammad **Ghauth** that the Shattārī order reached the Deccan. His eldest son, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-lāh was sent to the Deccan with **Khān-i A'zam**,<sup>75</sup> but it was not through his efforts that the *silsilah* was established there. It was in fact Shaikh 'Arif, a *khālifah* of Shaikh Muhammad **Ghauth**, who introduced the *silsilah* in that region. "None", observes Sādiq **Khān**, "more venerable than Shaikh 'Arif appeared in the order of Shaikh Muhammad **Ghauth**."<sup>76</sup> Later on some other disciples of Shaikh Muhammad **Ghauth** like Shaikh Shamsu'd-dīn<sup>77</sup> (ob 990/1582), Shaikh Nakkhū<sup>78</sup> (ob 1010/1601), Shaikh Wadūd<sup>79</sup> (ob 993/1585) and Shaikh Walī Muhammad<sup>80</sup> (ob 987/1579) settled in different towns of the Deccan and propagated the Shattārī mystic teachings.

### *Burhānpūr as a Centre of Shattārī Saints*

Burhānpūr became one of the strongest and most influential of Shattārī centres in India during this period. Three very distinguished saints—Shaikh 'Arif, Shaikh Muhammad Tāhīr and Shaikh 'Isā—planted it there. Their teachings gave new orientations to the personalities of those who flocked to them in search of spiritual solace. Later on Shaikh Burhān started strenuous mystic propaganda in Burhānpūr. He holds the same position in the history of the Shattārī order as Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz holds in the history of the Chishtī order.

Shaikh 'Arif lived in Ahmadabad for 30 years in compliance with the orders of his spiritual mentor, and in 982/1574 he migrated to Burhānpūr at the request of one of his disciples, Shaikh 'Isā. He lived at Burhānpūr till his death in 993/1585. The people of Burhānpūr established a colony and named it as Rāstipūrā after his daughter, Bibī Rāstī.<sup>81</sup>

Shaikh 'Arif was a staunch believer in *Wahdatu'l-Wujūd* (Unity of the phenomenal and the noumenal world). His eloquent exposition of Ibn-i 'Arabī's mystical views earned for him the approbation of scholars and saints alike, but Shaikh 'Alī Muttaqī, a leading scholar and theologian of Ahmadābād,<sup>82</sup> criticised him for his pantheistic views. Shaikh 'Arif disdained theological controversies and so he quietly ignored the opposition of Shaikh

75 *Tab*, II, 383-384

76 *Tabaqāt i Shāh Jahānī*, (MS) 297

77 Brief biographical account may be read in *Gulzār i Abrār* (MS) and *Tabaqāt i Shāh jahānī*, (MS) 295-6

78 *Gulzār i Abrār*, 199. He was held in high esteem by Rājā 'Alī **Khān** of **Khāndesh** who appointed him *Khātib* of a mosque in Zainābād.

79 *Gulzār i Abrār* 248-9

80 *Gulzār i Abrār*, 222-3. He had keen insight in the philosophy of *Wahdatu'l Wujūd* and had written a commentary on Amīr Husainī's *Nuzhatu'l Arwāh*.

81 *Ma'āryu'l Walāyat*, (MS) II 584

82 *Thamrātu'l Hayāt*, (MS) II, 36

‘Alī Muttaqī, Shaikh ‘Ārif was, however, very cautious in discussing pantheistic ideas publicly<sup>83</sup> Though Burhānpūr was a Chishtī centre, Shaikh ‘Ārif succeeded in planting the Shattārī order there One of his eminent disciples, Shaikh Ibrāhīm Qārī (ob 991/1583), was invited by Muhammad Shāh Fārūqī, of Khāndēsh (1566-1576) to teach the Qur’ān to the ladies of his *harem*, but he declined

Another important *khaliḥ* of Syed Muhammad Ghauth who worked at Burhānpūr was Shaikh Muhammad Tāhīr Originally a native of Sindh, he migrated to Ahmadābād where he met Syed Muhammad Ghauth and joined his spiritual discipline Subsequently he moved to Elichpur and started giving instructions to people in Hadīth In 982/1574 he reached Burhānpūr where he was received by Muhammad Shāh Fārūqī His reputation as a teacher attracted many people to his seminary

One of the most significant features of the Shattārī *silsilah* in India was that, side by side with moral and spiritual instruction, its saints imparted education in religious sciences They believed that there could be no integrated religious personality if it ignored the discipline of the mind through a study of ‘*ulūm-i zāhir*’ It was on this account that most of the Shattārī *khānqāhs* of the period had big *madrasahs* attached to them Shaikh Muhammad Tāhīr followed the tradition and set up a seminary along with a hospice He was particularly interested in the teaching of *Hadīth* The author of *Gulzār-i Abrār* refers to his lectures on *Ṣahīh Bukhārī*—a fact which shows that in the Deccan classical collections of *ahādīth* were included in the syllabus very early, perhaps earlier than in the North Shaikh Muhammad Tāhīr wrote a number of books on various branches of religious learning Amongst them one finds such works as *Tafsīr Majma‘u’l-Bihār*, *Mukhtasar Qūṭu l-Qulūb*, *Muntakhab Mawāhib-i ladunriyah*, *Tafsīr-i Madārik*, *Asmā-i Rijāl Sahīh Bukhārī* and *Riyāzu’s Swālihīn* Shaikh Tāhīr breathed his last in 1004/1594 ‘Abdu’r Rahīm Khān-i Khānān constructed a *barāhdārī* over his grave

Shaikh ‘Isā (ob 1031/1622) at whose request Shaikh ‘Ārif had settled at Burhānpūr, was known for his erudition and learning and was respected for deep piety According to Sadīq Khān his scholarship infused new life in the sciences that he taught to his pupils<sup>84</sup> He wrote a number of treatises and booklets like *Risālā-i ‘Aqūd*, *Sharh Rubā‘iyāt-i Asrār-i Wahī*, *Majma‘u’l Bahrain*, *Hāshiyah bar Ishārāt-i Ghaibiyah*, *‘Ainu’l Ma‘āni*, *Fath-i Muhammadī*, *Hāshiyah bar Sharh-i Ziyāiyah* etc They deal with traditional subjects and do not reveal any extraordinary scholarship He adhered to the tradition of Syed Wajīhu’d dīn ‘Alavī of Ahmadābād in confining his literary activity

83 *Gulzār i Abrār*, MS, 235a 236a

84 *Rubaqāt-i Shāh Jahānī*, MS, II, 438

to writing *hāshiyahs* and *sharhs* (commentaries and annotations) of well-known works. When Akbar invaded Āsirgarh in 1008/1599, Shaikh 'Isā gave moral support to Bihādur Shāh Fārūqī. This brought misfortune on him. When Akbar conquered the fort, he threw him into prison. On his return to Agra, Akbar placed him in the custody of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-lāh, son of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth. Later on Shaikh 'Abdu'l-lāh interceded on his behalf and secured the Emperor's pardon. Shaikh 'Isā breathed his last in 1031/1622 at the age of seventy<sup>85</sup>. His son Shaikh 'Abdu's-Sattār remained attached to the Shattārī order for some time, but later on he transferred his allegiance to the Naqshbandī *silsilah*. Amongst the disciples of Shaikh 'Isā, Syed Pīr Sayyidī<sup>86</sup> (ob. 1001/1592) of Āsirgarh, Shaikh Ni'matu'l-lāh Shāhnūrī<sup>87</sup> and Shukh Burhān deserve particular mention.

### *Shaikh Burhān*

Shaikh Burhān was perhaps the most outstanding Shattārī saint who worked in the Deccan. When Shaikh 'Isā died, all the Shattārī saints of the south turned to him for guidance in spiritual matters. He did not approve of the participation of saints in politics and was critical of those contemporary saints who consorted with kings and accumulated money. When his popularity increased, Amīr Bēg, governor of Burhānpūr, offered to build a *khānqāh* for him, but he did not accept the offer. He warned Amīr Bēg that if he built a *khānqāh* for him, he would immediately migrate to Surat<sup>88</sup>. The Shaikh's reputation reached the ears of Aurangzēb and he visited his *jamā'at khānah* incognito. As there was no mosque attached to the *jamā'at khānah*, he granted a piece of land for that purpose<sup>89</sup>. Just before the War of Succession, Aurangzēb visited him and sought his blessings<sup>90</sup>. As he knew that the Shaikh did not like the company of rulers and princes, he changed his dress and joined the audience like ordinary people. When Shaikh Burhān saw a stranger sitting in his assembly, he enquired about his name but did not utter a single word of blessing. Aurangzēb visited him again the following day. The Shaikh felt annoyed and angrily remarked: "You tell me if you like this house. I shall vacate it and will find some other shelter for the sufis." Aurangzēb then sought the help of a favourite attendant of the saint, Shaikh Nizām, who later played a prominent role in the compilation of *Fatāwā-i 'Ālamgiri*. He suggested that the best way to receive his blessings was to meet him

85 *Zubdatu'l Maqāmāt*, 84-85

86 For a brief biographical notice see *Gulzār-i Abrār*, 281-282

87 *Tabaqāt i Shāhjahānī*, (MS)

88 *Malfuzāt i Shaikh Burhān* (MS)

89 *Ibid*

90 *ML*, II, 553. Abu'l Faẓl Māmūrī, *Tārīkh-i Shāhjahānī wa 'Ālamgiri*, photograph of MS in British Museum, 97 a

when he came out of his *Jamā'at Khānah* and proceeded to the mosque to offer prayers Aurangzēb took Shaikh Nizām with him and stood at the door <sup>91</sup> When the Shaikh came out of his *Jamā'at Khānah* and found Aurangzēb standing at the door, he asked "How are you?" This provided Aurangzēb with an opportunity to speak out his heart "Dārā Shukōh" he submitted, "has turned away from the Islāmic faith and has stepped in the wilderness of heresy He is following the heretics who have given up the obligations assigned to them by God and have brought a slur on the name of *Tasawwuf* He considers *Kufr* and *Islām* as twins and has brought out the essence of his thesis in a *risālah* called *Majma'u'l-Bahrain* He has deposed our revered father and is bent upon his wicked idea to support wrong and kill the Musalmāns I hope you will bless me so that I may eradicate the evil" <sup>92</sup> To this Shaikh Burhān replied "What value the prayers of we poor people have (in such matters)? You, who are Kings, should pray (for the realization of this object) so that you may do justice to people and look after their well-being We too, raise our hands to bless you" <sup>93</sup> Aurangzēb took it as a very happy omen and left

Since Aurangzēb had faith in Shaikh Burhān, many Mughal nobles and dignitaries started visiting him Shāista Khān also developed faith in him <sup>94</sup> Shaikh Burhān, however, did not like the company of kings and amīrs He maintained all through an atmosphere of contentment and other-worldliness in his *khānqāh* He did not like even discussions about material and mundane affairs and very rarely accepted any gift from the nobles No *futūh* (unasked for charity) could be accumulated in his *khānqāh* Barring those physically unfit, every inmate of his *Jamā'at Khānah* had to work in order to earn his livelihood Parasitism and spiritual work do not go together, he used to say He spent most of his time in exhorting people to lead a moral life One should hate the sin and not the sinner, <sup>95</sup> was his advice to his disciples He criticised the habit of backbiting, indolence, begging and selfishness among the people and advised his visitors to develop such virtues as courtesy, honesty and punctuality A man's greatness lay not in his noble birth, he used to say, but in his noble character and moral achievements <sup>96</sup>

Shaikh Burhān was very strict in matters of discipline and he never approved of any erratic behaviour under the cover of *sukr* (spiritual intoxication) He strongly discouraged any unrestrained display of emotional states One of his disciples Shāh Nūr Ramz-i Ilāhī used to shout aloud the slogan

91 ML, II, 554

92 *Tārīkh-i Shāh Jahān wa 'Ālamgīrī*, f 97 a

93 ML, II, 554

94 *Malfuzāt i Shaikh Burhān*, MS in Personal Collection

95 *Ibid*

96 *Ibid*

*Burhān Allāh-u Akbar* Some other disciples of the saint also joined him. The Shaikh was disturbed and distressed at this slogan. He warned them in the beginning but when they persisted in it, he handed them over to the Qāzī with the request to apply *shari'at* law on them. According to *Khāfi Khān* these disciples were executed under orders from the Qāzī.<sup>97</sup>

Eminent as a mystic teacher, Shaikh Burhān was known for his erudition and learning also. He maintained a *madrasah* where students came from different parts of the country. He died in 1083/1672 at the age of eighty-five. He had warned his disciples against building a tomb over his grave, they, nevertheless, constructed a big mausoleum.

### *Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn Aurangabādī*<sup>98</sup>

In the first quarter of the 18th century efforts were made in the Deccan to revitalize the Chishtī *silsilah* which had virtually become defunct. It was Shāh Nizāmu'd-dīn (ob. 1142/1728), a distinguished *khālifah* of Shāh Kalīmu'l-lāh of Delhi (ob. 1142/1729), who played a prominent part in the reorganisation of the Chishtī order during this period. He was sent to the South by Shāh Kalīmu'l-lāh with instructions to revive the traditions of the elder saints.<sup>99</sup> Shāh Nizāmu'd-dīn lived at various places including Bijapur, Burhānpūr, Sholapur, etc. Ultimately he reached Aurangābād and settled there. He built a big *khānqāh* which had ten gates and hundreds of people visited him every day. His spiritual mentor had definitely warned him against the company of rulers and nobles<sup>100</sup> and he abstained from them throughout his life. Once A'zam Shāh, third son of Aurangzeb, sent some food to him, but he refused to accept it.<sup>101</sup> On another occasion the Emperor (probably Aurangzeb) invited him to the court but he apologized.<sup>102</sup> Nawāb Ghāziu'd-dīn Khān also invited him but he declined to meet him.<sup>103</sup> One of the Nawāb's descendants, however, wrote a book, *Rashk-i Gulistan-i Iram*, dealing with the life and teachings of the saint.<sup>104</sup>

Shāh Nizāmu'd-dīn's activities in the Deccan were carefully watched and controlled by his *pīr* from Delhi. In the latter's collection of letters—

97 *ML*, II, 554

98 For an account of his life and activities see Nizāmi, *Tārīkh-i Mashā'ikh-i Chishtī*, 427-59. See also *Maqālīs i Kalīmī* (MS Sālār Jung Museum, No 156/694)

99 *Maktūbat i Kalīmī*, Letter XXI, 26

100 Imāmu'd-dīn, *Nafa'u's-Salīkīn*, malfūz of Shāh Muhammad Sulaimān of Taunsa, Lahore, 1285 H, 107

101 *Maktūbat i Kalīmī*, Letter VI, 10

102 *Ibid*, Letter XXIV, 28

103 *Ibid*, Letters 35, 36

104. Raḥīm Baksh Fakhrī *Shajratu'l Anwār* (MS, personal collection)



*Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*—most of the letters are addressed to him. Shāh Kalīmū'l-lāh wanted his disciple to devote every ounce of his energy to the moral and spiritual uplift of the people as he considered this work to be the *summum bonum* of a mystic's life. Some of the basic principles on which Nizāmu'd-dīn was directed to revitalize the Chishtī *silsilah* were as follows: (1) An attitude of *sulh ı kul* (Peace with All) towards all cults and creeds. (2) Social harmony with the Hindus. (3) Acceptance of Hindus in the mystic fold and directing their spiritual life even if they did not formally embrace Islām. (4) Instruction to the people in their own language.<sup>105</sup> Shāh Nizāmu'd-dīn achieved great success in his work and most of the Chishtī *khānqāhs* in the Deccan that were organized in subsequent years were directly or indirectly the result of his efforts. His son Shāh Fakhrū'd-dīn, however, came to Delhi and initiated a new era of mystic activity in the north. His spiritual descendants established new Chishtī centres in various parts of the country, particularly Punjab, U P and the South.

### *Significance of the Sūfī movement in the cultural history of the Deccan*

The story of the development of Muslim mystic ideology and institutions in the Deccan forms a chapter of absorbing interest in the history of religious movements in medieval India. Long before the *Khaljī* armies marched into the Deccan, Sūfī saints had settled in various parts of the South and their pious ways and concern for the welfare of people had made them a welcome group in the large society of the Deccan.<sup>106</sup> Their efforts, however, could not crystallize in the form of some movement. It was with the exodus demanded by Muhammad bin Tughluq that organized mystic *silsilahs* reached the South and with the settlement of small Muslim culture groups in various towns, the Sūfī movement assumed a new dimension. The Deccan could then start from the point where the north had left. All the traditions of Muslim mysticism as they had developed in north India were transplanted in the South. Soon the *mudhakkirs* (preachers) of Delhi<sup>107</sup> could be seen delivering sermons in various towns, and *qawwāls* (musicians) could be found reciting the verses of Amīr Khusrō and Amīr Hasan in the courts<sup>108</sup> and in the streets. The exiled Sūfis anxiously tried to recreate the atmosphere of Delhi *khānqāhs* in their newly set-up hospices. No doubt the woof and warp of the Sūfī movement

105 See Nizāmī, *Tārīkh ı Mashā'ıkh-i Chisht*, 406 etc.

106 'Abdu'l Jabbār has mentioned a number of earlier saints in his *Tadhkirah-i Auliya ı Dakan* (Hyderabad, 1328 H), but all his sources for reconstructing their lives are secondary and of little historical value. Since these early saints had to work largely in non-Muslim environment at a time when the tradition of compiling *tadhkirahs* and *malfūzāt* had not gained ground, the non-availability of the records of their activities is understandable.

107 *Jawāmi u'l Kalīm*, 12-13.

108 *Fer* I, 288.

in the Deccan had come from Delhi, but in no time the movement developed its indigenous characteristics. The Deccan was very quick to assimilate Muslim mystic literature and to Indianize it by translating its ideas into the Dakhnī language. One is taken by surprise to find that in the 14th century a mystic author of Daulatābād had access to almost all the classical works on *tasawwuf*<sup>109</sup>. The works of Shaikh Abū Tālib Makkī, Imām Ghazzālī, Imām Qushairī, Ibn-ī ‘Arabī, Shaikh Farīdu’d-dīn ‘Attār and Shaikh Shihābu’d-dīn Suhrawardī were popular studies in the mystic circles of the south. Even the nearly contemporary Maulānā Jalālu’d-dīn Rūmī was not unknown<sup>110</sup>. The discussions that took place in the *Jamā‘at khānā* of Shaikh Burhānu’d-dīn Gharīb in 730/1329 and in the *khānqāh* of Hazrat Gēsū Darāz in 803/1399 reveal a fairly advanced stage of religious knowledge and assimilation of the entire available mystic literature. However, many of the mystic classics were beyond the comprehension of the general mystic community and Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz decided to produce commentaries on them. This gave a fillip to mystic literature and in the centuries that followed enormous literature was produced on various mystic themes<sup>111</sup>. Perhaps the seventeenth century was most prolific in the production of religious, particularly mystical, literature in the Deccan. Apart from Persian and Arabic, books were written and translated into the Dakhnī language. Works like the *Tuhfatu’n Nasā’ih* (of Yūsuf Gadā, translated in 1635), the *Shamā’ilu’l Atqiyā* (of Maulānā ‘Imād, translated in 1667), the *Mi‘rājū’l ‘Ashiqīn* and the *Shikār Nāmā* (attributed to Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz) went a long way in popularizing mystic ideas in the Deccan.

During the Bahmanī period the Deccan had direct contact with the great centres of Muslim learning, and the contributions of eminent Muslim mystics and scholars were available. Maulānā Jāmī, the greatest exponent of pantheistic ideas of Ibn-ī ‘Arabī, sent a complimentary copy of his commentary on *Fususū’l Hikam* to Mahmūd Gāwān<sup>112</sup> and Maulānā Jalālu’d-dīn Dawwānī dedicated his *Shawākilu’l-Hūr* (commentary on Shihābu’d-dīn Suhrawardī’s *Hayākilu’n-Nūr*) to the Bahmanī wazīr<sup>113</sup>. The influx of Persians during the Bahmanī period introduced many Iranian concepts and ideas into

109 See for instance, the list of books consulted by Maulānā Ruknu’d dīn ‘Imād in preparing his *Shamā’ilu’l-Atqiyā*.

110 *Shamā’ilu’l Atqiyā* MS in Personal Collection.

111 An effective method of propagating mystic ideas was to prepare selections of classics e.g. ‘Alī b Taifūr Bustāmī, a distinguished scholar of the Quṭb Shāhī period, wrote two books, *Tuhfatu’l-Gharā’ib* and *Anwārul Tahqīq* which effectively served the purpose of popularizing mystic ideas. The *Tuhfah* contains, besides other things, a selection of mystic aphorisms and sayings, the *Anwār* gives extracts from the compositions of Khwājā ‘Abdu’l-lāh Anṣārī (MSS in Sālār Jung Museum).

112 *Riyāzu’l-Inshā*, 156.

113 MS in Aṣafiyah, Falsafa ‘Arabī 66. See Sherwānī, *Bahmanīs*, 346, n 19.

the mystic circles of the Deccan. It is very significant that long before the Naqshbandī *silsilah* was established in the North, the Deccan had established its contact with the Naqshbandī centres

Mahmūd Gāwān sought guidance from Khwājā ‘Ubaidu’l-lāh Ahrār, the famous Naqshbandī saint, and corresponded with him<sup>114</sup>. He invited Maulānā Jāmī to India, and when he apologized, he repeated his invitation again and again. It was not merely traditional respect for the *sūfis* which drew him to Jāmī. He was really keen on the clarification of some abstruse mystic ideas and concepts from him. In one of his letters he frankly admits that the Maulānā’s commentary on the *Fusūsu’l Hikam* removed many doubts from his mind<sup>115</sup>.

The *elan* of the Muslim mystical movement in the Deccan came from the realization that the well-being of a society in its ultimate analysis depends upon the moral and spiritual culture of the people who constitute it. Even a cursory glance at the *malfuz* and *maktūbāt* literature of the saints of the Deccan would reveal that a frequent burthen of their discussions was respect for moral values and creation of a healthy moral atmosphere conducive to the happiness of mankind. “Sacrifice all your leisure and comfort for the sake of the happiness of mankind”,<sup>116</sup> Shāh Kalīmu’l-lāh used to exhort his disciple Shāh Nizāmu’d-dīn again and again. These discourses were not based on abstract concepts, but were illustrated by their own examples as well as the precedents of elder saints. Shaikh Burhānu’d-dīn Gharīb’s favourite method was that whenever he stated a moral principle he gave a *burhān* (argument) for it and cited the practice (*rawish*) of the saints of his *silsilah*. The ninth discourse in *Ahsanu’l-Aqwāl* deals with “Honest Dealings”<sup>117</sup> and one is surprised to find the felicity with which he brings home to his audience—by citing examples of cultivators, traders etc.—the value of honest dealings between partners and co-sharers.

With the establishment of the Bahmanī kingdom in the Deccan, urban life had received a new fillip and some new cities also had come into existence. A necessary concomitant of urbanization programmes and culture-growth was an increase in convivial tendencies expressing themselves in indulgence in wine and venery. Ibn-i Batūta found *ṭarabābāds* in Daulatābād<sup>118</sup> as early as the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq. They must have multiplied considerably in the decades that followed. The efforts of saints like Shaikh Zānu’d-dīn

114 *Riyāzu’l-Inshā*, 23-27. See Sherwānī, *Mahmūd Gāwān*, 185, 220.

115 *Riyāzu’l-Inshā*, 156.

116 *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, Delhi, 1315 H p. 60.

117 *Ahsanu’l-Aqwāl* (MS).

118 *Ajā’ibu Asfār*, I, 268. In these *ṭarabābāds* (resorts of pleasure) dancing girls entertained the visitors.

Dāwūd<sup>119</sup> went a long way in checking laxity in the morals of both the people and the governing classes. In fact the *khānqāhs* acted as a counterweight in maintaining the moral equilibrium of the medieval society in the Deccan.

One of the ideals of the Sūfī saints of medieval India was to strive for the abolition of all discriminations and inequalities from contemporary society. They believed in the equality of all human beings and disdained all artificial distinctions. They received all men—rich and poor, Hindus<sup>120</sup> and Muslims, freeborn and slaves—in the same way. Manumission of slaves was considered a noble act and sympathy with the downtrodden was deemed to be the main ideal of the sūfī movement.

Since men belonging to different religions and speaking different languages assembled in the *khānqāhs*, it was only natural that a common *lingua franca* was evolved there. We find a number of Hindi and Dakhnī words and *duhras* in the conversation of Shaikh Burhānu'd-dīn Gharīb, Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz, Shah Bahāu'd-dīn Bājan<sup>121</sup> (ob. 912/1506), Shamsu'l 'Ushshāq Shāh Mirānji<sup>122</sup> (ob. 902/1496) and Shāh Burhān Shattārī. They not only laid the nucleus but paved the way also for the development of vernaculars. Initiated by the Sūfīs and developed by the traders, the process of cultural and linguistic rapprochement was perfected by the poets, the artists and the musicians, all of whom, directly or indirectly, came into contact in the *khānqāhs*.

The Muslim mystic movement in the Deccan, as elsewhere, operated at two levels—at the higher level it gave a *weltanschauung*, at the lower, a set of superstitious and credulous practices. Even certain symbolic attitudes of the early saints assumed the sanctity and inflexibility of principles. Sometimes devotion to the mystics and the mystical cult ran in channels which could not but provoke bitter reactions in Muslim society and which reveal also the untutored and credulous instincts of the people who failed to understand the real

119 For his bitter criticism of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī, see *Fer*, I, 294.

120 *Jawāmi'ul Kalīm*, 118-119, 107. For a reference to Baydar people who used to cut stone in Daulatābād, see p. 15.

121 Shāh Bahāu'd-dīn Bājan of Bijapur was a disciple of Shaikh 'Azīzu'l-lāh al-Mutawakkil ilā'l-lāh (for a brief notice see *Gulzār-i Abrār* MS), and he had performed spiritual practices under the supervision of Shaikh Manjhlē, a disciple of Mas'ūd Bakk, in Bidar. When he reached Burhānpur the governor built a house, a *khānqāh* and a mosque for him (see *Gulzār-i Abrār*). For some of his Dakhnī verses, see 'Abdu'l-Haqq, *The Sūfīs' work in the early development of Urdu*, Aurangābād 1933, pp. 33-35.

122 Shāh Mirānji originally belonged to Mecca. On his arrival in India he became a disciple of Shāh Kamālu'd-dīn Biyābānī who was a spiritual descendant of Hazrat Gēsū Darāz. For his Dakhnī compositions, see 'Abdu'l-Haqq, *op cit*, 48 *et seq*.

significance of the mystical movement <sup>123</sup> The reply of a Dakhnī Muslim to a query about the relative position of the Prophet and Syed Gēsū Darāz reveals the extent of popular credulity "Hazrat Muhammad Rasūl Allāh," replied the person, "is the messenger of God, but praise be to God, Makhdūm Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz is a different thing altogether" <sup>124</sup> The way in which the disciples of Shaikh Burhān Shattārī started raising slogans has been mentioned above There were few saints who had the courage to deal with the erratic behaviour of their disciples and associates in the way in which Shaikh Burhān had done, in most cases such tendencies were connived at, if not actually encouraged <sup>125</sup>

Taken as a whole, the Sūfī movement, apart from providing moral strength to the Bahmanī Kingdom and its succession states, worked for the moral and spiritual uplift of the people, checked levities and social vices and created a favourable atmosphere for cultural rapprochement between various culture-groups in the Deccan Daulatābād, Buihānpur, Gulbarga and Aurangābād were not merely mystic centres of eminence, but were radiating points of culture in medieval Deccan

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123 An interesting instance of how the words and teachings of the saints were misunderstood and provided a basis for superstition relates to a tank near Gulbarga Syed Gēsū Darāz once said that whoever bathed in the tank became *sa'id* (happy or fortunate) The ignorant people inadvertently changed the word *sa'id* into *Sayyid* and a superstition developed that whoever bathed in the tank became a Sayyid! Many people started assembling there for acquiring the nobility of birth through a bath! *Rauza i Auliya*, 24

124 *Fer*, I, 320, *Rauza i Auliya*, 23

125 For Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz's condemnation of *tafa'ul* and *ta'fayyur* (taking good and bad omens), see *Jawāmi'u'l Kalim*, 121



## CHAPTER III

### PAINTING

by MR. JAGDISH MITTAL

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Manuscript Illustration under Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh

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## *Introduction*

The vast area south of the Vindhya mountain was given the name 'the Deccan'. Soon after the Khalji invasions, beginning in 1296, had caused disorder and paralysed life in the Deccan, two kingdoms emerged in this area. The first was the Vijayanagar empire, founded in 1336, on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra river and the other was the kingdom of the Bahmanī Sultāns established in 1347 at Gulbarga.

The Bahmanī kingdom, after about a century and a half of disturbed rule, was divided, between 1490 and 1512, among five States. Bidar (Barīd Shāhī), Berār ('Imād Shāhī) in the north, Ahmadnagar (Nizām Shāhī) in the north-west, Bijāpūr ('Ādil Shāhī) in the south-west, and Golkonda (Qutb Shāhī) about a hundred miles to the south-east. All the five independent Sultānates were constantly at war with each other, but ultimately they managed to combine in a confederacy against Vijayanagar and broke it up in January 1565. After their temporary cohesion, the Sultānates fell out again and Ahmadnagar and Bijapur swallowed up Berār and Bidar respectively. The three resulting kingdoms, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda, survived in a state of turmoil and restlessness.

We shall discuss in the lines to follow the Painting under the Bahmanī Sultāns and the later Sultānates of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda.

Painting really started in the Deccan simultaneously with the Mughal school, that is, about 1560, under the patronage of Akbar. As we shall see, the early painting in the Deccan had incorporated in varying degrees, various influences like the pre-Mughal Sultānate painting, besides Persian, Turkish, Vijayanagar and European painting. But all these influences were thoroughly digested and Dakhnī features prevailed. The style that resulted had an altogether different and individual flavour when compared to contemporary Mughal painting. Although all the Deccanī schools maintained this distinctive quality they differed among themselves in certain features.

The rulers of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda were temperamentally different to the purposeful Mughals. The Deccanī Sultāns were easy-going and emotional and were lovers of fine arts. While the Mughals preferred to see their memoirs or epics illustrated, the Deccanī Sultāns preferred illustrations of love poems, love scenes and paintings of themselves or their charming companions. In a number of paintings, especially of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II he is shown as a musician. With all these traits and themes, and the freedom enjoyed by them, the Deccanī painters produced paintings which sometimes excel the best works of the Mughal artists.

In spite of all this it must be conceded that the number of Deccanī paintings is smaller when compared to the vast output of the Mughal ateliers. It is probably because the number of artists at the Deccanī courts was not large and possibly quite a number of works were destroyed during the incessant wars in this area. Another reason is that until very recently only the miniatures produced at the Mughal court were studied in detail. It is only in recent years that some of the Deccanī miniatures in the Bikaner Palace have been published. These were taken to Bikaner after the pillage of the 'Ādil Shāhī fortress of Adōnī by the Mughal army. Other Deccanī miniatures carried to Delhi after the Mughal conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda, and some ultimately to Persia, have not yet been published or classified. Similarly those in the Tōp Kāpu Serāyī Museum, Istanbul, are little known. The Nizām's personal collection has also remained inaccessible to scholars, and lastly several Deccanī paintings have been wrongly ascribed to the Mughal artists due to their Muslim atmosphere and themes and resemblance to Mughal painting in technique and finish. Moreover, the early Deccan paintings in the Persian style, executed by Persian artists in India or by the Indian artists with strong Persian influence, are labelled mostly as Persian. Only recent researches by Barrett, Welch, Khandalawala, Skelton, Kramrisch, Ettinghausen and the author have helped in changing the 'labels' of a fragment of such works.

#### 1 *Bahmanī School 1347-1527*

The Bahmanī Sultāns ruled first from Gulbarga and then from Bidar. Although they were in close contact with the metropolitan centres of Persian art, and their kingdom was bordered on north-west, east and south by powerful and flourishing Hindu States which preserved the ancient tradition of painting, the art of painting was not patronised by them. These Sultāns had a taste for poetry and architecture but they were perhaps strict in observance of the religious injunctions of Islām which opposed painting from life. Almost all the Bahmanī Sultāns paid great deference to Muslim divines and holy men and it is no wonder that painting had not received patronage at their hands.

However, there was no restriction for decorative embellishment of buildings with geometrical and floral decorations without human figures. At all any paintings were made here they should have been commissioned only by some nobles and that too not before the fifteenth century. Since miniature painting on paper started in Gujarāt towards the end of the 14th century, such work would have been in the Persian style of the Mongol period and would always be taken as Persian, unless any indication proves its origin in the Bahmanī period and their provenance as Bidar or Gulbarga.

*Painting under the Barīd Shāhīs (1492-1609) and the 'Imād Shāhīs (1484-1572)*

No painting of the fifteenth or the sixteenth century have so far come to light either from Bidar or Elichpūr (Berār). We know of some paintings

and illustrated manuscripts from both these centres but all, except one manuscript, belong to the second half of the eighteenth century. The Bidar or Gulbarga paintings of the eighteenth century have a folkish style, with saints or portraits of their disciples. A manuscript of *Gulshan-i 'Ishq* painted about 1760 is a typical specimen of this phase. It has a peculiar naïve charm with cold colouring stemming out of older traditions. Although the manuscript does not have a colophon, in all likelihood was made for a *jāmā'ahdār*.

A peculiarity of some Bidar and Gulbarga paintings is the use of "Kulāh type" conical cap by saints or their devotees worn either alone or with a small turban.

The only inscribed Bidar manuscript known to us is "Bhōgphal", a treatise on erotics, in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad (IXb)\*. It is not precisely dated but it is mentioned in the main body of its Dakhni text that it was written by the poet Qurēshī during the reign of Amīr Barīd II (1602-1609). Its style is degenerate Persian, with echoes of the well-known Bijapur MS, *Nujūmū'l-'Ulūm* (c. 1570) and the Ahmadnagar portraits. It seems that the Persian style, which was favoured in the Deccan by the kings, remained in popular use even as early as the seventeenth century. The costumes, headgear and postures of the king in the "Bhōgphal" (there are only two such court scenes) are reminiscent of the *Ta'rif-i Husain Nizām Shāh Bādshāh-i Dakan* manuscript of Ahmadnagar (at present in the Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona). Its cold colouring, with emphasis on various tones of purple, brick red, white and tonality of gold, is also nearer the Ahmadnagar work of the late sixteenth century.

The work of Ellichpur from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries is unknown. Two manuscripts, illustrating the *Bhāgwat Dasamśkandha*, with texts in Dakhni, have come to light. One of these is dated 1200/1786 and is dispersed and the other dated 1214/1799-1800 is in the State Museum, Hyderabad. The style of both is identical and is in a folk idiom of not much merit. But it seems to have links with the earlier tradition of painting in this area. We need not go in any detail about the work of this phase as it lies outside the scope of the period under review.

Before discussing the achievements of the artists and the characteristics of the work of the three main centres of Deccani painting, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda, it must be confessed that specialists differ greatly about the provenance of the paintings of these Sultānates. In some cases we are left to mere guess-work since a majority of the pictures and manuscripts bear no evidence of provenance or date. Their patrons probably did not favour or lacked the temperament for documentation discerned among the Mughals. In spite of these difficulties we can, with some measure of confidence, ascribe the portrait studies of the Sultāns to the capital cities or areas they ruled. It

\* References are to the Plates at the end of the volume.

would also be necessary to add that it is possible that much of the early work at Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golkonda and Bidar, had stylistic similarities, thus causing the problems for any definite assignment of a work to a school in particular

With all these problems and hazards we shall now try to describe the various stages, achievements and peculiarities of each of these three important Dakhnī School till the early 18th Century

#### *Ahmadnagar School (1490 1633)*

The Nizām Shāhī dynasty was founded in 1490 by the provincial Bahmanī Governor of the region, Ahmad Nizāmu'l-Mulk Bahrī and the foundation of the city of Ahmadnagar was laid in 1495

No paintings of the period of the first three rulers of the dynasty are known and the earliest works of this school are assigned to the reign of Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh I (1565-1588)

The entire group of paintings assigned to Ahmadnagar is very small in number as compared to Bijapur and Golkonda, and whatever we shall discuss later is based on these specimens only. But their stylistic peculiarities are so distinct that it would be reasonable to presume that other works were also close in style

The most significant work of this school is the manuscript *Ta'rif-i Husain Nizām Shāh Bādshāh-i Dakan* found in Burhānpūr, now in the Bhārata Itihāsa Samshōdhaka Mandala, Poona (II). It is an adulatory poem in eleven cantos celebrating the reign of Husain Nizām Shāh I (1553-65) of Ahmadnagar, fulsome praise for Husain's chief queen and regent of Murtaẓā I, Khunzā Humāyun, and description of the war between the four Deccanī Sultāns on one side and the Vijayanagar regent Rāmarāj on the other side in January 1565. According to a note on the first page there were originally fourteen paintings of which now twelve remain

Although this manuscript, being incomplete, has no colophon or date, we can infer, on the circumstantial evidence from the description of the text and also on stylistic basis, that it was almost certainly painted any time between 1565 and 1569

The facial type and the treatment of certain trees remind us of the *Ni'mat Nāmā*<sup>1</sup> of c. 1505 in the India Office Library, London. The flowering shrubs, the trees, the gold sky and the landscape in general, although inspired by Persian painting, have a freedom and gay abandon not discerned in the latter. The bright gay colours add charm, and herald a typically new Dakhnī

1 Robert Skelton, *The Ni'mat Nāmā* A landmark in Malwa Painting *Marg*, Bombay, XII, No. 3, 1959

tradition. The tall, slender female figures, wear looped *sāris* which have striped or floral designs, probably in the Hindu manner of Vijayanagar. It may be noted that striped *sāris* worn in different ways were a favourite also in Bundelkhand in Central India. The outline of the female figures preserves also the sinuosity of the Vijayanagar tradition. The postures as well as the stances of the King seated on the throne are also reminiscent of the Vijayanagar painting tradition, and they inspired the future painting at the neighbouring courts of Bijapur and Golkonda.

The compact war scenes are charged with vital energy and movement befitting the subject, but their cold colouring, with mauves, pinks, blues, and reds, apart from whites and blacks, expresses a melancholy mood.

The next group comprises of *Rāginī* paintings, twelve in the collection of the Maharaja of Bikaner (they are from two different sets<sup>2</sup> and two of them are now in the National Museum, New Delhi, III a), one in the Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda, a splendid fragment in the Gopi Krishna Kanoria Collection, Calcutta, some paintings in the Roerich collection, one 'Śrī Ranga'<sup>3</sup> (formerly in the Motichand Khazanchi Collection) in the Bhārat Kālā Bhavan, Varanasi, and two other *rāgas*, of fine quality but unpublished, in the Jodhpur Palace collection. While from a different 'Rāgmālā' set painted later, several paintings (formerly in the collection of Āghā Haidar Hasan, Hyderabad) are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London<sup>4</sup> and one 'Tirbanī Rāginī'<sup>5</sup> is in the collection of Bhārat Kālā Bhavan, Varanasi.

These paintings have been attributed by scholars to both Ahmadnagar and Bijapur with dates varying from 1580 to 1600, but in all probability they were executed at Ahmadnagar or Burhānpūr about this time with the exception of the *Rāginīs* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the 'Tirbanī Rāginī' of Bhārat Kālā Bhavan. This last set was executed sometime in the second half of the seventeenth century and is positively based on the *Rāginīs* of one of the sets in the Bīkānēr collection. The composition, except the facial type of 'Rāginī Kambōdī' (III b) of Āghā Haidar Hasan's set and the Bīkānēr set is identical and the former has apparently been taken from the same drawing or muster. The faces in the Āghā set have a blackish shading and slight rigidity in finish.

The earlier sets of 'Rāginīs' (painted between 1580 and 1600) are the most important and charming examples of the Ahmadnagar school. The

2 Hermann Goetz, *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State* Oxford, 1950, plates 2 and 4, and Douglas Barrett, *Painting of the Deccan, XVI - XVII Century*, London, 1958 plates 3 and 4.

3 Basil Gray and Douglas Barrett, *Paintings of India*, Geneva, 1963, 119.

4 W G Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, London, 1960, pl 13.

5 Moti Chandra, *Kālā Nidhi*, Varanasi, Vol 1, pl 2.

costumes of ladies and their hair-style have striking similarity with the Lepākshī murals. It seems that this sort of costume, with heavy chignons and long sārīs and hair rolled up in a bun shape, was commonly used all over the Deccan in those days and may occasionally be seen even now in south Indian villages. Since the Bijapur Court and its early paintings had more Persian influences and since the Rāginīs are more Hindu in feeling and there is a Sanskrit verse on all Rāginī paintings which could more likely be prevalent at Ahmadnagar or Burhānpūr due to the presence of Gujarātī merchants, it seems these 'Rāginīs' were the products of either of these places. We should also bear in mind that most of these Rāginīs were probably acquired by Rājā Rāi Singh of Bikānēr during his governorship of Burhānpūr <sup>6</sup> from 1604-1611.

The compositions of these Rāginī paintings are simple and figures are set against a patterned background with cluster of domes in northern style above a garden pavilion. The 'Jāmā' with pointed tails and small *pagri* close to the form used by men in some of these paintings are also in the northern style of the Akbar period. This costume also supports the belief that these forms are from Burhānpūr or Ahmadnagar because contacts with the Mughal North were possible through the stay of Burhān II in Mālwa and at the Mughal court <sup>7</sup>. The landscape of these paintings as also the trees are in the conventional Persian style.

A few portraits of the Ahmadnagar King Burhān II and of the Habashī generals Abhang Khān and Malik 'Ambar are among the achievements of Ahmadnagar artists. Three portraits of Burhān Nizām Shāh II are known. Of these the one (I a) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,<sup>8</sup> and the other in Rīzā Library, Rāmpūr,<sup>9</sup> both datable to 1591-95, are perhaps the most distinguished of the Deccan portraits. Although their naturalism was derived from Mughal painting, their quality and subtle refinement is far superior to any portrait study from Akbar's atelier. The swelling shapes, exquisite finish and characterisation, and gorgeous yet restrained colouring with gold backgrounds and jasmine-like white transparent robes are unique in whole range of Dakhnī portraiture. The third portrait, (I b) probably also of Burhān II, is in the National Museum, New Delhi. It is, however, not a mature work like the two portraits discussed above.

The portraits of the Abyssinian General Abhang Khān, from the Louvre (now in Musée Guimet), Paris, Boston Museum and Bhārat Kālā Bhavan, Varanasi, all of late 16th or early 17th century, and two portraits of

6 Hermann Goetz, *op cit*, 101

7 Douglas Barrett *Painting of the Deccan* London 1958, p 14

8 *Ibid*, pl 5

9 This is being included by the author in his book *Deccan Painting* to be published by the Sālār Jung Museum, Hyderabad

Malik 'Ambar, both datable to 1600-1605, in the Boston Museum, and the National Museum, New Delhi, are other important works of the Ahmadnagar School<sup>10</sup> They may not reach the excellence and poetry of the two portraits of Burhān II, but they are in any case very competent works Their light carmine background and emphasis on white *jāmās* with orange turbans and *pāijāmās* are in characteristic Ahmadnagar colouring

A few stray leaves, probably from the manuscript of *Fan-e-Bānk* in the National Museum, New Delhi (formerly in the Ashraf Collection, Hyderabad) seem to be the work of c 1600 They are not great works of art but provide us an insight into contemporary Ahmadnagar costumes and support our idea of the colour scheme of the work of this area

We can add to the small group of Ahmadnagar paintings a tinted drawing of a 'Running Elephant'<sup>11</sup> of 1595 from a private collection in America In treatment and effect it comes very near the portraits of Burhān II, but it could very well be a work of the Bijapur school

#### 4 *The Bijapur School* (1489-1686)

Of all the schools of Deccani painting that of Bijapur has excited the greatest interest and is justly treated as the best Quite a number of paintings have been attributed to the school of Bijapur by different writers, while several more have been occasionally reproduced as belonging to the Persian or the Mughal schools

Several writers have drawn attention to certain remarks about painting under the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty, basing them on Briggs' translation of the *Tārīkh-i Ferīshṭa* For example, Briggs states that Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān (1489-1510), the first ruler of the dynasty, "invited to his court many learned men and valiant officers from Persia, Toorkistan, and Room, also several eminent artists, who lived happily under the shadow of his bounty"<sup>12</sup> But the original Persian describes and means "accomplished and learned men and brave and skilful youths" Nothing is said about artists in the sense that modern writers have taken this to mean Similarly at the end of his chapter on Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh (1510-1534) Briggs mentions that "Ismā'il was an adept in the arts of painting, varnishing, making arrows, and embroidering saddle cloths" But this does not appear in that place in the original text (pp 25-26) Hence, it would be better to see the original text before placing too much reliance upon this piece of evidence<sup>13</sup> In spite of these fallacies there is no doubt that the Bijapur

10 For these portraits see editorial note, 'Identification of the Portraits of Malik 'Ambar', *Lalit Kala*, Nos 1-2, New Delhi, 1955-56

11 See *Marg* Vol XVI, No 2, 1963, 11

12 Briggs, III, 31

13 Robert Skelton "Documents for the study of Paintings at Bijapur in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries" *Ars Asiaticus* Vol V, No 2, Paris, 1958, 113 114

court patronised painters. We know from the *Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk* of Rafī'ū'd-dīn Shīrāzī that 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was a very keen bibliophile who maintained a staff of painters and book illustrators at his court <sup>14</sup>

The earliest work attributed with some justification to the Bijapur school is the richly illustrated manuscript *Nujūmu'l-'Ulūm* ("Stars of the Sciences") in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (IV a). It has 876 miniatures and the book is dated 1570 in three places. A note, on the first page, by a former owner states that the book was once the property of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijapur. Although this note itself is not a sufficient proof that this manuscript was painted in Bijapur, still on the basis of circumstantial and stylistic grounds, we can say that it was most likely executed at Bijapur. The illustrations of the spiritual rulers of certain aspects of the earth are depicted as ladies in South Indian dress and ethnic type of that area. The drawing of 'hamsās' and lions are also in the south Indian manner. The tall and slender female figures are very close to the 'Rāgmālā' paintings discussed above and attributed to Ahmadnagar. This manuscript, as well as the ones to be discussed below, give us an idea of the prevailing pictorial style and their subject matter during the reign of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I (1558-1580).

Recently the present writer came across a Ms. of '*Ajā'ibu'l-Makhlūqāt*' by the Muslim cosmographer, al-Qazwīnī (1203-1283). This manuscript deals with heavenly bodies and angels, with minerals, flora, fauna, and man. We can say that the manuscript was very likely produced at Bijapur because the facial types and colour schemes are nearer to Dakhnī work and unlike any known Turkish or Persian work. The calligraphy is also very close in style to that used in the manuscripts produced at Bijapur in the second half of the sixteenth century. There is no colophon but on stylistic grounds we can say that it was produced around 1560 at Bijapur (IV b). It is noteworthy that this manuscript does not have, like the *Nujūmu'l-'Ulūm*, any south Indian influence, but it is apparently inspired by Turkish painting. This would be evident from its comparison with the manuscript of '*Ajā'ibu'l-Makhlūqāt*' from 'Irāq of about 1370-80 in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington <sup>15</sup>. The illustrations in this manuscript may well be based on an Ottoman Turkish manuscript. It is noteworthy that Bijapur had a close connection with Turkey, and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's leaning for astronomy and cosmography might well be the result of his contact with Turkey.

#### *Painting under Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II*

The great name earned by the Bijapur paintings is mainly due to the patronage and personality of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II (1580-1627). This was

14 The passage in question has been translated by P. M. Joshi, "Alī 'Ādil Shāh I of Bijapur (1558-1580) and his royal librarian two ruqas', Asiatic Society, *Śardhasatābdi Commemoration Volume*, Bombay, 1955, 97.

15 See Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, Geneva, 1962, 178.



the period when the best Dakṣiṇī works were produced at all the three Sultānates, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda. Literary evidence clearly shows that Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh was a person of extremely cultured and artistic tastes, a musician and a poet and probably a painter, and that he always took interest to secure the best possible talents to his court.

A number of portraits of Ibrāhīm and his contemporaries are attributed to his painters, but unfortunately none of them is either dated or bears any inscription that they were executed at Bijapur.

The finest of the Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's portraits is the one in the Lālgaṛh Palace at Bīkānēr (VI a). A note on the reverse says that it came from the treasury of Ādōnī. It is clear from this note that this was a part of the loot by Rājā Karan Singh of Bīkānēr shortly after the fall of Bijapur to the Mughal arms. This shows him as a young prince with retinue. It contains all the richness and mellowed grandeur that are found in the small group of paintings associated with the Deccan at the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. This is incidentally the period when Indo-Muslim painting was at its highest peak. This picture achieves a grandeur by the beautiful placing of the figure of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh in the composition. The sensitive portraiture and superb proportion of Ibrahim and the seven courtiers who follow him, are executed with the utmost care and devotion. The luxurious costume of Ibrāhīm and the very gorgeous colouring of this painting have hardly ever been repeated or excelled in the whole range of Indian miniature painting. The feeling of diagonal thrust of the central figure in this picture is accentuated by the banked up figures behind him. The figure of Ibrāhīm is pushed forward by the imaginative placing of the figures in such a way that the ruler almost lurches forwards into the empty space lying in his front. We are aware that Ibrāhīm was eleven in 1582, and since in this painting he is shown about twenty five years of age it would be reasonable to say that this painting was executed around 1586.<sup>16</sup>

Another portrait of Ibrāhīm is in the British Museum.<sup>17</sup> This shows him holding castanets. The figure has been set in the midst of a mysterious dark green landscape with billowing, cloud-like leaves and light colour fringes, against which some light and springy plants are silhouetted. This is a Deccanī feature of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, more particularly of the Bijapur School. Exotic foliage and water lilies at the feet of Ibrāhīm are perhaps in the southern tradition. Ibrāhīm wears a transparent long *jāmā* on knee length breeches. A gorgeous gold-woven scarf is worn across the shoulders and held in by the arms. In the background there is a palace with lot of modelling. This feature is probably due to western models acquired

16 Reproduced in colour by H. Goetz, *The Art and Architecture of Bīkānēr State*, pl. VIII.

17 Reproduced in colour by Douglas Barrett and Basil Gray in *Painting of India*, 127.

directly from Goa which adjoined Bijapur territory. It may be noted that Goa was then under Portuguese possession. Although some scholars believe that this European influence came to Bijapur *via* the Mughal school, there is hardly any basis for this, and the influence of European technique or vision which appealed to the Bijapur artist, might have come in all likelihood direct from Goa rather than at second-hand from the Mughals. The breezy quality of the whole atmosphere in this painting, especially the flowing transparent *jāmā* and scarf, the exquisite finish and the suggestion of movement, coupled with a highly balanced composition, secure this portrait a high position in the whole range of Indian portrait painting.

Some other portraits of Ibrāhīm are also worthy of mention. Of these one in the Naprstek Museum, Prague, a folio from Jahāngīr's album, depicts him playing a musical instrument, probably a guitar, while three courtiers are keeping time by clapping. An inscription on the inner margin says, "Allāhu Akbar. Portrait of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān Dakhnī Subēdār of Bijapur, who considers himself superior to masters of that art of the Dakhnī music. The work of Farrukh Bēg in the regnal years 5 corresponding to 1019. This humble servant Muhammad Husain Jahāngīr Shāhī transcribed it" <sup>18</sup>. Apparently the date 1019/1610-11 is the date when the inscription was written, or possibly this painting itself was copied in 1610-11 from an earlier version. In this case since Ibrāhīm's age in this painting is about the same or little less than in the portrait in the Lālgarh Palace Bikanēr collection, this painting of Naprstek Museum should be a work of about 1595. It is a charming painting with all the best traits of the early Bijapur school.

Another portrait of Ibrāhīm is in the Goenka collection, Calcutta. In this painting also he is shown as a musician, this time playing an *Ēktārā*. He is seated on a brocade carpet against a gold background with two flowering trees. He wears a long transparent white *jāmā* on pink *churidār pāijāmā* while a plain brocade scarf covers his shoulders. He holds the '*Ēktārā*' in his left hand while in the right he holds a book. There is an inscription contained in two rectangles cutting across the trees. In its style this painting is very close to the paintings in the Hans Shāh's "*Ratan Kahān*" manuscript in the British Museum. Or 16880 (V a). Douglas Barrett informed the present writer that it is dated 1592 and was composed for Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh. As in this portrait Ibrāhīm's age would be about 19 years, it should have been painted about 1590, since Ibrāhīm was 9 years of age when he ascended the throne.

18 Reproduced in colour by Lubor Hajek, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal School*, London 1960, pl. 10. The inscription here has been wrongly translated as follows: "Portrait of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān of Deccan, Prince of Bijapur, who through his knowledge of music brought fame to Deccan and enlightenment to his people. He condescended to show favour to Farrukh Bēg's work by sitting for him in the year 1019/1610-1611. Written by Muhammad Husain Zarrin Qalam, the slave of Jahāngīr."

in 1580 In the Goenka collection there is another portrait of Ibrāhīm showing him as a musician These portraits, apart from their aesthetic importance, sufficiently prove Ibrāhīm's love for music and the fact that he was a musician himself One peculiarity of Ibrāhīm's dress is noticeable from these and his other portraits is that he used long white *jāmā* with outside coat-ties at each side of the armpit, besides the conical turban with two wide encircling bands This costume was not used by contemporary rulers either of Ahmadnagar or Golkonda

Like the contemporary Mughal portrait, there is a lot of naturalistic modelling in Bijapur portraits produced from about 1615 to 1627 Although both these schools imbibed this naturalism due to European influence, yet there was a difference Mughal portraiture is more dazzling in technique while in Bijapur naturalism remains subservient due to imaginative composition and poetic content

There are several other individual paintings in different collections which could be ascribed to Ibrāhīm's reign (V b) Of these some are portraits of courtiers (VI b) which show a more intense life than the reporting of the average Mughal court portraiture There is so much similarity and unity of style that we can safely say that Bijapur had a distinctly individual style of portrait painting in the early 17th century

The number of great paintings, of different themes, known from Ibrāhīm's time, is not very large But their style is so distinctive and their quality so fine that we can certainly say that there were very competent painters working under this enlightened patron Here only some of the most important of these would be named We have the study of an Elephant in the Sitārām Sāhū collection, Varanasi<sup>19</sup> This charming study may well be of Ibrāhīm's much-prized elephant named Chanchal which was presented to Akbar in 1604 through Akbar's envoy Asad Bēg<sup>20</sup> Then there is the portrait of saints in a landscape, c 1601-04, in the Hermitage, Leningrad<sup>21</sup>, 'A Yōginī' c 1605 Chester Beatty collection, Dublin,<sup>22</sup> 'A Yōginī seated beside a river', c 1605, in the present author's collection (unpublished), 'A Yōginī seated in a jungle' c 1620, 'Elephant Fight' c 1610 in the Bhārat Itihāsa Sanshōdaka Mandala Poona (both unpublished) and 'Lovers', c 1600 in the Tōp Kāpu Serayı Muzesi Istanbul (unpublished) All the above mentioned paintings have a distinct quality of their own in the very unconventional composition, rich landscape, mysterious atmosphere, gem-like colouring, lavish use of gold, exquisite finish,

19 Reproduced in N C Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, Bombay, 1926, pl 47

20 See Moti Chandra, 'Portraits of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II'', *Marg*, Vol V, No 1, Bombay 1951, 27 See also P M Joshi, 'Asad Bēg's Mission to Bijapur, 1603-04,' *Prof D V Potdar Sixty first Birthday Commemoration Volume*, Poona, 1950, 192

21 Reproduced in Robert Skelton, "The Mughal Artist Farrukh Bēg", *Ars Orientalis*, II, 1957, fig 15

22 See Douglas Barrett, *Paintings of the Deccan*, London, 1958, pl 7

profusion of large plants, flowering shrubs and typical Dakhnī castles in the background, and above all, the sweeping baroque rhythm that their Bijapur origin and their being from Ibrāhīm's period is immediately clear

There are two bird studies in the Musée Guimet, Paris, which should also be cited as important examples of the early seventeenth century Bijapur painting. One of these depicts 'Two Cranes at a water edge'<sup>23</sup> and the other shows a 'Falcon on a tree' (c 1650). In addition there is a fragment in the State Museum, Hyderabad showing 'Two Sparrows perched on the branch of a flowering mango tree' (c 1625). These paintings prove that, like the contemporary ruler Jāhāngīr, Ibrāhīm was fond of bird studies. But the agitated rhythms, the luminous colours, the flamboyant postures and the mysterious romanticism achieved by the Bijapurī painters is more exciting than the Mughal work of the same subject. The Mughal birds are but dignified creatures and make only excellent naturalistic and penetrating studies, while if we study the paintings of Ibrāhīm's period we notice that one of their secondary motifs is birds which, with their symbolic presence, add a romantic and mysterious agitatedness in the composition.

There are several later copies of early seventeenth century Bijapur paintings. Their importance lies in the fact that the number of the early Bijapur paintings being small these copies help us in the study of the Bijapur style. We would name here three paintings which are of great importance in this regard and which have very often been discussed by writers of Indian painting. Most important of these is 'The Siesta' in the State Museum, East Berlin,<sup>24</sup> "Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II in a garden with courtiers", attributed to the mid-eighteenth century Lucknow artist Mīr Kallān Khān, Earl of Harrowby collection,<sup>25</sup> the third is "Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh in later years",<sup>26</sup> copied by the Mughal artist Hāshim<sup>27</sup> around 1620, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

#### *Manuscript Illustrations of Ibrāhīm's period*

Only two illustrated Bijapur manuscripts, of Ibrāhīm's time are known. Of these the *Ratan Kalān* in the British Museum, Or 16880, is the finest examples

23 Robert Skelton, *op cit*, 13, Fig 6

24 Douglas Barrett, *op cit*, pl 6, treats it as an Ahmadnagar work of 1605. Robert Skelton in his *Documents for the study of painting at Bijapur*, rightly suggests that this is a Lucknow copy of the Mihr Chand's School (of the 18th century) from a Bijapur original.

25 Skelton *op cit*, 13, Fig 4 and W G Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, London, 1960, pl 16

26 Reproduced by Skelton, *op cit*, 13, Fig 3

27 Hāshim copied a number of Dakhnī portraits including those of Abhang Khān and Muhammad Quṭb Shāh, who are similarly robed in white and placed against pale green backgrounds with long straight *Firangi* or European bladed swords that were popular in the Deccan. Probably he worked under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān.

among the illustrated manuscripts from the Deccan. It has 36 exquisite miniatures of 1592. This manuscript has such a great variety of the subject matter that when published it would provide a very useful key for the study of the style of painting and the social life of Bijapur.

The other illustrated manuscript attributed to the Bijapur school of the period of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II is the cookery book entitled *Ni'mat Nāmā*, in the State Museum, Hyderabad (now in the National Museum, New Delhi). Of its two illustrations one is incomplete and has not been published, while the other has been reproduced in colour by Ghulām Yazdānī<sup>28</sup>. Although it does not bear any colophon connecting it with Bijapur, this seems to be most likely a work of the Bijapur School. There are some indications in one of its miniatures to suggest that the person shown is young Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II. The treatment of the landscape in the background, the presence of the musical instruments (drums) in front of the ruler and the similarity of the costumes with those used by Ibrāhīm and his courtiers support this belief. As Ibrāhīm is shown in this painting as being about sixteen years of age and since he was only nine years in 1580 it would be reasonable to say that the *Ni'mat Nāmā* manuscript was illustrated round about 1587.

The name of only one artist Farrukh Husain is mentioned by the court poet of Ibrāhīm in his *Sih Nathr*. Robert Skelton has tried to prove<sup>29</sup> that this artist was no other than Akbar's important painter Farrukh Bēg who worked from 1601 to 1609 at Bijapur and returned in 1609 to work under Jahāngīr.

### *Bijapur Wall-Paintings*

There are some buildings in Bijapur which were originally decorated with wall paintings. Thus we have a few fragments in the water-pavilion at Kumatgī and Sat Manzil Palace built during the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II. Besides these Āthār Mahal and Mubārak Khān's Pavilion, built during the reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shāh (1627-1656) also have fragments of mural.

The fragment on the north wall of the first floor in the Sat-Manzil Palace depicts two figures. Kumatgī was perhaps once decorated profusely with murals. The existing murals show a vivid scene of polo-players, a hunting scene, portraits of some Europeans, a musician playing upon a guitar while a queen and her maid sit listening, a wrestling match, two seated figures clad in tiger skin garments, and a king, perhaps Ibrāhīm II, talking to a saint<sup>30</sup>.

28 Ghulam Yazdani, "Two Miniatures from Bijapur", *IC*, 1935

29 Robert Skelton, *op cit*, 21

30 Stella Kramrich, *A Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, Hyderabad, 1937, pls XIV and XV

The Kumatgī paintings have a strange mixture of the Safawī Persian, European and Deccanī elements. Here the figures are set sometimes in the midst of Safawī flowering trees or other decoration and large human and animal figures, and have a considerable amount of modelling. The human figures are shown with faces in three-quarter profile and the animals are drawn with attempts at foreshortening. Both these features were apparently the result of western influence *via* Goa.

In Āthār Mahal two rooms to the south have traces of paintings. Although very few photographs are available, and much has already decayed, Henry Cousens says "from what can be seen, they savour very strongly of western handicraft, and, indeed, in one instance regular European wine glasses are represented. These paintings may have been executed by European artists"<sup>31</sup>

#### *Painting under Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh*

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh died in 1627 and under his successor, Muhammad 'Ādil Shah (1627-56), architecture and decorative arts continued to develop. But now a step towards decadence is discerned. Although occasionally some good works were also produced, they cannot compare with the work produced during Ibrāhīm's reign. It is difficult to say how the vision was lost in spite of the fact that Bijapur was never so settled and prosperous as during Muhammad's reign.

#### *Manuscript Illustrations of the reign of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh*

There are two illustrated manuscripts traceable to his reign. The first is *Khāwar Nāmā* manuscript dated 1649 in the India Office Library, London. In this manuscript contemporary Persian motifs are blended with mid-seventeenth century Dakhnī devices. The background of paintings is middle-blue or mauve. Although the figures are agile and full of movement, the line is powerless and the colouring pallid. The other manuscript is a small size *Diwān-i 'Urfi* dated 1046/1636 in an American private collection.<sup>32</sup> It has six miniatures of which three are double paged.

31 Henry Cousens *Bijapur, a Guide to its ruins with historical outline*, Poona, 1933, 38. Āthār Mahal wall paintings are reproduced by Cousens in *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains*, pl. c, XI.

[Unfortunately the roof of the great gilded hall of the Āthār Mahal, 81' by 24', collapsed in April, 1956, but the frescoes on the walls and alcoves still remain, though now exposed to the vagaries of the weather. Āthār Mahal was constructed by Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh about 1646. Ed.]

32 See Stuart C. Welch, "Early Mughal Miniature paintings from two private collections shown at the Fogg Art Museum", *Arts Orientalis*, III, 1959, Figs. 22-29.

There are several portraits of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh<sup>33</sup> and paintings with saints or philosophers, which indicate the type of work produced during his reign. But on the whole their quality is dull. It is likely that our impression is due to the accident of unimportant surviving paintings.

It may be noted that cultural relations between Bijapur and the Mughal court were increasing and the latter moulded, to some extent, the character of the former after 1640. But the Bijapur painters maintained their individuality, used warmer colours and retained to some extent the crispness and gorgeousness so typical of their predecessors.

### *Painting under 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II*

We have a few excellent examples from the reign of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II (1656-1672). Of special significance are the *Portrait of young 'Alī* by Murtaẓā Khān Naqqāsh of c. 1660 in the Cowasji Jahangir Collection, Bombay,<sup>34</sup> '*Alī 'Ādil Shāh in private audience*, of c. 1660 in Moti Chandra collection, Bombay,<sup>35</sup> an unpublished portrait of '*Alī as a Boy* by 'Abdu'l-Qādir and *Ibrāhīm Khān* of c. 1650 in the collection of Charles Ewart, London (formerly in the Kevorkian collection), and a *Bust of 'Alī* of c. 1660 in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (formerly in the late Sir Akbar Hydarī collection, Hyderabad), and another *Bust of 'Alī* (VIII a) in the George P. Pickford Collection, Cleveland (U.S.A.).

Although they do not repeat the great portrait style of Ibrāhīm's reign, the largeness of design, sensitive drawing and the wonderful colour go to prove that in the reign of 'Alī there were painters of great talent at Bijapur who definitely produced better works (VII a, b, VIII b) than the contemporary Mughal artists during Aurangzēb's reign.

Among the known manuscripts of this period is a *Mathnawī* of Nuṣratī in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, formerly in the collection of Sir Akbar Hydarī.<sup>36</sup> Another manuscript of the same theme and period is in the Osmania University Library, Hyderabad. A general slackening of the style is discerned in these illustrations which show lesser movement and poorer taste for colour.

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- 33 Douglas Barrett, *Painting of the Deccan*, pl. 9. There are three paintings of this period in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Two of these were reproduced in *Kalanidhi*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Varanasi, 1950, pl. 4 a, and b. It may be noted that pl. c is a portrait of Alī 'Ādil Shāh II and not of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh. An unpublished portrait of Muhammad riding a royal elephant attended by an Abyssinian courtier by Haidar Alī and Ibrāhīm Khān, is in the Howard Hodgkin collection, London.
- 34 Karl Khandalawala, 'Five Miniatures in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jahangir', *Marg*, V, No. 2, Bombay, 1952, pl. A.
- 35 Douglas Barrett, "Some unpublished Deccan Miniatures", *Lalit Kala*, No. 7, 1960, 08.
- 36 Yazdani, 'Two Miniatures from Bijapur', *IC* 1935, pl. facing page 216.

No painting executed during the reign of Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh (1672-1686) is known, probably because the very existence of the state was being threatened by the Mughals, and its peace disturbed by the ever restless Shivaji. In 1686 Sikandar surrendered his capital to Aurangzēb. The young Sikandar was allowed to remain in Bijapur, and was assigned a sum of rupees one lac annually for his maintenance.

### 5 *Golkonda School*

We have discussed above the problems regarding the study of early painting at Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. We have seen that our conclusions for the early work are based mostly on circumstantial evidence or are the result of the small available material. But we are on slightly surer ground with Golkonda painting.

Golkonda had gained the most out of the defeat of Vijayanagar in 1565. Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh was able to extend his territory both to the south and east, regaining the sea-coast and thereby the lucrative textile trade with the middle east and south-east Asia. When his son Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh succeeded him in 1580, the Quṭb Shāhī Kingdom was the wealthiest of the Deccan Sultānates and at the height of its prosperity. The painted cottons or 'Qalamkāris' produced at Palcōl and Petapolī in the kingdom, were a great favourite in Persia and were there exported from Masulipatam. These painted cottons afterwards gained a high reputation in western Europe to which they were taken by the Dutch and English East India Companies. The rich crops and the discovery of diamonds in the kingdom in the early seventeenth century further added to the revenue. This abundance of wealth is visible in the contemporary paintings in the lavish use of gold jewellery and brocades worn by both women and men, as also in the utensils. Muhammad-Qulī devoted himself more to art and poetry than to war and was a poet of some repute.

He embellished his new capital with fine and inspiring buildings like the Chārmīnār, the centre of the newly founded capital, Hyderabad. Cultural, political as well as economic ties with Persia were very close, the ruling family being of Perso Turkish origin. The religious toleration between the Muslims and the Hindus was great and this was reflected in paintings, architecture and contemporary costumes.

### *Earliest Golkonda Painting*

The earliest known documents of painting at Golkonda are the four manuscripts to be discussed below. Of these two are securely dated and two are attributed to the late sixteenth century on the stylistic and circumstantial evidence. All the four manuscripts show that Persian artists were working in the Deccan. These paintings are strongly Persian orientated and only variants of the Bukhārā, Khurāsān or other Persian styles. A medical Ency-



clopaedia (IX a) was written at Golkonda by Faqīr Bābā Mirak of Hirāt in 980/1572. It contains a fine illuminated double frontispiece with figures of animals and angels in metropolitan Persian style. A 'Shīrīn-wa-Khusrō' of Hātifi in the Oriental Public Library at Bankīpūr was written for 'Shāh Ibrāhīm 'Ādil' in 976/1569. The word "Ādil" is here presumably merely honorific, and the ruler is Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh of Golkonda (1550-1580). The fine 'unwān and seven full page miniatures of this manuscript are in Bukhārā style of about 1560-1580. The palette of pale and dark blue, orange and light green is that of Bukhārā. The lavish use of gold for foreground and sky, tall narrow format ( $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$ ) and the tendency to divide up the picture horizontally may have left an impression on the Golkonda artists.<sup>37</sup> The other miniatures identified as Golkonda are found bound up in a *Dīwān-i Hafiz*, dated 1643, in the British Museum (Add 16762).<sup>38</sup> It contains twelve miniatures of which five, inserted in the body of the book, are Deccanī miniatures of Golkonda (XI). None of them has any text on the back, nor have they anything to do with the subject of the poems. They represent scenes of palace life at the court of a young ruler who is seated enthroned. In one of these paintings he is holding his typically long straight Deccanī sword. The young ruler wears the white muslin coat with embroidered vertical bands, which was perhaps the court costume of Golkonda. We find such costumes also in the later copies of Golkonda paintings. The pages are lavishly enriched with gold in the canopies, costumes, utensils, sky and architecture. 'Dancing girls, for whom Golkonda was famous, are entertaining the king'. The illustrations have no Mughal influence at all, but the colouring is clearly related to Safawī miniatures of the early 'Abbāsī period (1587-1629). All these miniatures are more ambitious and elaborate in design than the straight forward throne scenes in the *Ta'rif-i Husain Nizām Shāh Bādshāh-i Dakan* manuscript of 1565-1569, and the Bijapur illustrations of the *Nujūm-i-'Ulūm* of 1570. Although these paintings are not highly finished and seem to be a bit crude, yet they have a peculiar charm in their colours and their rhythmic quality. Barrett feels that the king shown in these paintings is Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. Since he came to the throne at the age of fourteen in 1580 and he is shown of about twenty to twenty four years of age, the miniatures might be dated about 1586 to 1590.

However, the finest Golkonda work of the late sixteenth century is a *Dakhnī Dīwān* of Muhammad - Qulī Quṭb Shāh bound along with *Dīwān* of 'Abdu'l lāh Quṭb Shāh in one volume, in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad. Muhammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh's *Dīwān* has seven superb and sumptuous illustrations (X) which are highly finished and of greater pictorial quality than the three Golkonda manuscripts discussed above. Of its seven miniatures

37 Barrett, *op cit*, 35 10

38 *Ibid*, figs 1 5

five are damaged but the *'unwān* and two illustrations are in good condition. In style the illustrations are indebted to a series of manuscripts painted at Bākhār in Khurāsān. Probably the *Diwān* of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh was added to it later since the paintings and the *'unwān* were undoubtedly done during the reign of Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. There is no colophon giving the date but the name of the scribe is given as Zaynu'd-dīn 'Alī Shīrāzī, court calligrapher of the King Muhammad-Qulī, while the name of the gilder, or possibly that of the painter is Qāsim 'Alī al-Mudhahhib. There are indications that Muhammad-Qulī was alive when the manuscript was written, and it is possible that the king on the throne is Muhammad-Qulī himself. The Persian elements are prominent in the paintings although the beginning of the Dakhnī characteristics also are discernible. If we accept the king in the paintings as Muhammad-Qulī, who is shown about twenty four years of age, the miniatures might be dated about 1590. Even if the king in the illustrations is Muhammad-Qulī, there should be no difference in the date suggested.

No individual paintings bearing definite inscriptions of the reign of Muhammad-Qulī and Muhammad Quṭb Shāh are known. But several late sixteenth and early seventeenth century paintings had once been ascribed to Golkonda. Most of these are now treated as works of Bijapur. Although there exist portraits of the above two Golkonda rulers, practically all are copies executed in the mid-seventeenth century by Mughal painters like Hāshim for Mughal emperors, or by Golkonda painters of the late seventeenth century for European visitors to the court.

#### *Painting under Muhammad Quṭb Shāh (1612-26)*

There are only two paintings which can definitely be assigned to Golkonda school of Muhammad Quṭb Shāh (XIII a). One is "*Prince on Horseback hawking*" (XII a) in the India Office Library, London<sup>39</sup>. It employs archaic idioms taken from Bukhārā. However, there also are some features reminiscent of Bijapur painting of early seventeenth century. This painting seems to be a work of 1610-20. The other painting is a fine contemporary portrait of Muhammad Quṭb Shāh in gorgeous black brocade coat, executed about 1620, in the collection of the present writer.

Another painting in the Musée Guimet, Paris showing '*An Angel holding a big fish*' and is suggested by some as '*Tobias Angel*'. One feels that it is a Golkonda work of about 1615. Its romantic character, rich colour, the skirt covered with fine arabesque on a gold ground, and background of flowering trees, indicate its being from Golkonda rather than by a Mughal artist as has been suggested. The brilliantly coloured wings of the angel have parallels in the Quṭb Shāhī *Dīwān* of the Sālār Jung Museum referred to above. There

is another painting of the same period as the *angel* discussed here, showing 'A man handing over a big fish to an Angel'. It is brilliantly coloured and has an exquisite gold decoration in the background. Although the two seem to be companion paintings but the realistic cloaks worn both by the angel and the man, indicate a different hand. However, the skirt of the angel in the later painting is also covered with fine arabesques. This painting also is probably a Golkonda work of c. 1615.

Following the death of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II in 1627, Bijapur ceased to dominate Deccan painting and in its place the kingdom of Golkonda gradually assumed priority under 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh.

#### *Painting under 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh*

The reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh (1626-72) is significant for several reasons including painting. Under him Golkonda-Hyderabad rose to be the most luxurious and fashionable city in India and the paintings of his reign represent the best phase of the Golkonda style. His dominion extended considerably, but in power it was gradually weakening and the state became a virtual vassal of the Mughal Empire after the treaty of 1656. In 1655-56 Golkonda was attacked by Aurangzēb, then Viceroy of the Deccan, on an excuse of giving protection to Muhammad Sa'id Mir Jumla, and 'Abdu'l-lāh was obliged to pay a heavy indemnity and had to give the hand of his daughter to Aurangzeb's son Sulṭān Muhammad, besides being forced to mint money in Shāh Jahān's name. 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign was fairly quiet after this incident.

Several paintings (XII b, XIII b, XIV b) and manuscripts executed during his reign exist. The early work of his time has still the Persian traits, but after 1650 Mughal influence gradually becomes apparent. However, the portraits and other paintings have an individuality which easily distinguish them from the other schools of the Deccan and from the contemporary Mughal work. The width and monumental quality in spacing the picture, a general sweep in postures, bold workmanship, lavish use of gold, gorgeous costumes, local atmosphere and the colour scheme are some of the peculiarities of most of the paintings of his time.

The earliest and the finest portrait of 'Abdu'l-lāh is in the British Museum, London. This shows the young king seated on his throne in a pavilion while three ambassadors present him their credentials and below four richly caparisoned horses are led by pages. The young king of this painting was previously identified as Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II while Barrett identified him<sup>40</sup> as Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh. But now Skelton, who previously agreed with Barrett, agrees with the present writer in identifying the young king as 'Abdu'l-lāh. The king wears a tight-fitting turban, a transparent white *jāmā* with broad brocade

40 Barrett, *Painting of the Deccan*, pl. 8 identifies the king as Muhammad Quṭb Shāh.

cross-bands on the chest and a scarf on his shoulders. It may be noted that this costume is typical of Golkonda fashion and is not found at Bijapur or Ahmadnagar. Possibly the way in which the scarf has been used by the king in this painting was adopted from the Vijayanagar court. The three pages wear the typical Golkonda girdle (patka). All the figures affect long, wide straps on each side of the coat in a contrasting colour. This fashion was favoured both at Golkonda and Bijapur. This charming composition is somewhat symmetrical, but it has an excellent colour scheme. The white of the costume as well as the other colours have been very cleverly and judiciously brought into relief against the dark brown background. The monotony of the background has been broken by the use of a diaper pattern and the glinting red and ochre flower plants. This device has added considerable decorative charm to the painting. Similarly the blue spiral motif on a lighter blue adds to this decorative effect. The king is shown as being eighteen years old and since we know that 'Abdu'l-lāh was twelve years old in 1626 when he came to the throne, the painting should have been executed in about 1632.

There is a painting showing the 'Holy Family,'<sup>41</sup> of about 1630-35 in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington. The portrait of 'Abdu'l-lāh and this picture are very close in style, effect and their facial type. One feels that most likely they are the works of the same painter whose name unfortunately remains unknown. Another charming bust portrait of 'Abdu'l-lāh of about 1650, is in the Bhārat Kālā Bhavan, Varanasi. 'Abdu'l-lāh sits in this painting in a gorgeous costume against flowers.

Among the manuscripts of 'Abdu'l-lāh's period (XIV b) mention must be made of the Prince of Wales Museum, *Khāwar Nāmā* of 1645 (XIV a). The illustrations show a mixture of the Persian and Golkonda style of painting. Pictorially, however, these illustrations are not exciting and remain at the popular level.

The most remarkable feature of this school during 'Abdu'l-lāh's period was the production of large size paintings on cotton cloth. Though painting on cloth was popular even with the Mughals, these Golkonda paintings are larger in size and of a different pictorial purpose. At least three such paintings depicting processions are known, and it seems procession pictures were especially in vogue during this phase at Golkonda. It may be so because 'Abdu'l-lāh was fond of picnics and pleasure parties and his processions used to be full of pomp and grandeur. It seems that the influence of western paintings by way of Goa was the reason for the vogue of such large paintings on cloth. But in style and organisation of the picture space they are typically Dakhni. In them the figures are shown in irregular and superimposed rows. These procession paintings are different in conception also from the Mughal paintings of

<sup>41</sup> Barrett, *op cit*, 35, Fig 6

this theme But it is possible that the Golkonda artists mastered the complexities of the crowd scenes with the help of the Mughal artists who had been deprived of employment when Aurangzeb closed the imperial ateliers It is well-known that these Mughal artists migrated to different parts of the country and enriched the pictorial art of the places where they got employment However, the Mughal influence was comparatively less dominant at Golkonda than at the other two kingdoms of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar It is also notable that the Dakhni artists used the traditional gouache medium and not the European oil medium even for these large paintings The procession paintings remained a favourite of the later Golkonda and Āsafjāhī rulers The early and mid-seventeenth century '*qalamkāri*' textiles of Palakōl and Petapōlī may be the other source of inspiration to the Golkonda painters to work on cloth

Several outstanding paintings on cloth exist The notable examples are the above-mentioned three procession paintings of 'Abdu'l-lāh now in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, in Vienna Museum and in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay Of these the painting in Leningrad is superior in execution and is earlier of the other two This could be a work of 1660, while the other two were executed around 1670 The Prince of Wales Museum also has two other paintings on cloth, one showing 'Abdu'l-lāh seated on a throne, and the other showing Ā'zam Shāh returning from bird shooting while some ladies are on picnic in the garden There are about six paintings on cloth in the National Museum, New Delhi, (XVII a) and two life-size portraits of 'Abdu'l-lāh and Abu'l-Hasan Tānā Shāh, recently discovered by the present writer in the State Museum, Hyderabad The standard of the work is usually competent in all these, the brush work is broad, but the colour scheme is not very rich Some of them were executed during the reign of Abu'l-Hasan Tānā Shāh

The seventeenth century *qalamkāri*s, better known as Masulipatam or Golkonda work (though actually produced at Palakōl and Petapolī), also provide a good deal of material for the study of painting at Golkonda Although the *qalamkāri* work varied in design according to the taste of the country where ultimately they were to be exported, the ones produced for consumption in the Deccan itself have figures or groups which were inspired in some cases by the Golkonda paintings while in some the inspiration comes from Bijapur

The manuscript illustrations, portraits, group scenes, and zenana scenes were painted in an idiom and atmosphere of the contemporary Deccan The landscape in them has the typical Deccan scenery mango trees laden with fruits and flowering 'champa' trees with squirrels and parrots moving about The costumes also are typical of Golkonda The Quṭb Shāhī male dress consisted of long flowing robes, the width at the bottom being more than the contemporary Mughal dress The most significant, however, was the half-

sleeved fur-collared coat known as *farzi*. This is also noticed in some paintings of the Aurangzēb period, but at Golkonda they were particularly favourite of the kings and nobles. Another distinguishing feature is the long sword called 'Firangi' or 'Dhōp' which was either imported from Europe or made in imitation of them. A comparison between the contemporary Golkonda and Mughal paintings will help in identifying and understanding the difference of costumes and jewellery of men and women.

### *Painting under Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shāh*

During the reign of Abu'l-Hasan Tānā Shāh (1672-1687) Golkonda got the reputation of being a pleasure spot. Khāfi Khān remarks that Abu'l-Hasan exceeded all his predecessors in his devotion to pleasure. Hindu elements permeated the court when Mādanna became Prime Minister. This was also one of the reasons which was taken as an excuse by Aurangzeb for attacking Golkonda. During Tānā Shāh's reign portrait studies (XV, XVI a, b, XVIII a, b) of the king, nobles, saints, women and others were the favourite themes, besides love and procession scenes. These paintings are stern with strong colours but lack the vibrant line and animatedness found in the preceding era. But in some of them they retain the typical Golkonda freshness of touch and lighthearted atmosphere which is absent even in the contemporary Mughal work.

There were several painters perhaps making portrait copies for Europeans, based on earlier models. The Venetian traveller Manucci obtained a set sometime between 1676 and 1686 with the assistance of Shāh 'Ālam's foster brother, Mir Muhammad, who was not an artist as is generally supposed, but a court official attached to the camp of Shāh 'Ālam. It is evident from the rough quality of the series and the existence of similar sets that they were often made for the European visitors.<sup>42</sup>

When Aurangzēb conquered Golkonda in 1687 Tānā Shāh was imprisoned in the Daulatābād fort. Possibly some of the painters went out in search of new patrons. It was to such painters to whom we can assign two manuscripts of 'Udyōga Pārva' (a chapter from the Mahābhārata), one in the National Museum, New Delhi, (formerly in the Prajna Pāthasāla Mandala, Wāi, Maharashtra) the other in the Reddy Hostel, Hyderabad. 'Udyōga Pārva' of the National Museum is dated 1691 and is profusely illustrated. The illustrations have a mixture of the South Indian style with the style of Golkonda. Such painted manuscripts were popular with the Hindu nobles of Golkonda.

42 Niccolao Manucci, *Storia de Mogor*, tr. by W. Irvine, London, 1907. Similar paintings exist in the Musée Guimet, Paris, in Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

The tradition of later Golkonda painting of Tānā Shāh's time persisted long after his defeat. We find this influence even in some of the Hyderabad paintings (XIX a) of the early eighteenth century.

## 6 *Paintings at Aurangābād*

It is possible that some of these Golkonda painters settled down in Aurangābād, the headquarter of the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan, while some stayed on at Hyderabad and painted for the Mughal 'sūbēdār' and Deccan nobles. The quality of painting was declining and the decline in the moral life is reflected in the romantic themes then much in vogue.

We have not studied here in any detail the contribution of Aurangābād as a centre of painting (XX b). Its location and political importance was such that it was a meeting place of several cultures and art trends. We know it is surrounded in the north by the Central Indian belt, famous for the so-called Malwa paintings, Gujarat from the west and Golkonda from the south must naturally have influenced the painters here. Moreover, since it was a place where Mughal Viceroy were stationed and as some of them had commanders and deputies from Rājasthān, the Mughal and Rājasthānī influences also reached here in the seventeenth century.

We have come across some 'Rāginī' and 'Bārāhmāsā' illustrating the paintings of the late 17th century in a mixed Malwa and Dakhnī idiom and one feels they were painted in or around Aurangābād. The so-called Mughal-Dakhnī paintings also were produced here. In these paintings, mostly done in the second half of the seventeenth century, the lyrical flavour of the Deccan art mingles with the more prosaic manner of the Mughals. Although extensively involved in bitter warfare, the Mughal and Deccan nobles seem to have finally met here in pleasant company. Some of the Deccan painters at Aurangābād might have worked also for the Rajput rulers stationed here under the Mughal Viceroy for campaigns in the Deccan. The long stay of these Rājasthānī rulers at Aurangābād probably accounts for the Deccan influence in the late seventeenth century Rājasthānī paintings, especially of Bīkānēr and Būndī. Similarly the Rājasthānī painting influenced the Deccan painters of this place since it is most likely that the painters from Rājasthān accompanied their masters.

That Aurangābād continued to be a centre of painting in the early eighteenth century under the Mughal Viceroy is proved by two manuscripts. One of them is '*Bahār Dānish*' by 'Ināyatu'l-lāh, painted in 1124/1713 during the Sūbēdārī of Dāwūd Khān Pannī, (XX b), while the other is a Jain manuscript of '*Upadēsamālā*' of 1725.<sup>43</sup>

43 Hirananda Sastri, *Indian Pictorial Art as developed in Book illustrations*, Gaekwar Archaeological Series Baroda 1936 No 1 pl XII

When the Mughal power was weakened and the Empire gradually began to disintegrate, Nizāmu'l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, the Mughal Ṣubedār became autonomous in 1724 and founded the Āṣaf Jāhī dynasty. Aurangābād and Hyderabad now became the new and important centres of painting. Several new Deccanī schools emerged soon after this under Āṣaf Jāh's subordinate Nawabs at Kurnool, Arcot and Cuddapah and at the Hindu samasthāns of Shōrāpūr, Gadwāl and Wanapartī. The style of the work produced at these centres indicates that the artists here were influenced in the beginning both by the Golkonda style and the traditional local styles. In course of time, however, these influences were well assimilated and the work of these centres developed individualities of their own.

The Deccanī painting of the eighteenth century carries on the earlier tradition and there was considerable activity, but the noteworthy works were fewer in number. The vitality and strength in them was lost similar to the decline of the political power of its rulers.



## CHAPTER IV

### ARCHITECTURE

#### [(i) THE BAHMANĪS

by DR. Z. A. DESAI

#### *Synopsis*

A distinct Indo-Persian architectural style of Deccan came into vogue after the establishment of the Bahmanī dynasty in 1347. This was largely based in its early stage, on the imperial Tughluq style then in vogue in north India; but later it was influenced by the building art of Iran with which the later Bahmanī kings had developed close contacts. In its earlier phase, the style, unlike such provincial styles as that of Gujarat, remained unaffected by the rich traditions of the local building art, and though at a later date, Hindu influence asserts itself in building methods as well as in the decorative field, it never rose to occupy a predominant position. The first phase of this style, marking continuous stages of its development, is represented by the buildings at Gulbarga, which are markedly in the contemporary Tughluqian style, while the second phase, coinciding with the shifting of the capital to Bidar, is characterised by an increasing use of Persian forms and decoration schemes; even a few buildings like the Madrasah of Maḥmūd Gāwān at Bidar and the Chānd Mīnār in the Daulatābād Fort are topically Persian in style.



The Deccan was invaded first by 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī in 1296 and subsequently by his son Qutbu'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh, and effectively occupied by the Delhi Sultāns only in the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq. During this period, construction of buildings of Muslim character must have started in some parts of the region. As a matter of fact, epigraphical evidence does report quite a few such constructions from the time of 'Alāu'd-dīn onwards<sup>1</sup> but a majority of them has disappeared. The few that have survived include the great Mosque in the Daulatābād Fort, the Mosque of Karīmu'd-dīn at Bijapur and the Dēval Mosque at Bodhan. However, as elsewhere in other parts of the country like Gujarat and Malwa, these early structures do not represent any distinct architectural style, being improvised and erected to conform to the orthodox mosque-plan out of the indigenous material that was readily available—not necessarily of the existing temples pulled down for the purpose, as is generally believed.

The Daulatābād mosque, reported to have been built in 1318, is possibly the earliest surviving one in Deccan. It has considerable dimensions, being about 260 feet square externally. It is built in the orthodox manner and has an enclosed square open court measuring about 206 feet a side, having the customary prayer hall on the west and bound on the three remaining sides by an enclosure wall with an entrance in the middle of each side. The prayer-hall is of the pillared variety and is divided through 106 pillars into twenty five aisles each five bays deep, and roofed in the centre by a large flattish corbelled dome of an extremely pleasing contour recalling to mind the fine shape of the dome of the 'Alā'ī Darwāzā of Delhi. Two of every alternate three openings in the facade have been built up leaving an arched opening in the middle, but this may be a later work. Apart from this, the mosque shows little originality in the composition or other feature in the traditions of the Muslim building art, the entire construction being trabeate or in the pillar-and-beam-and-lintel style. But the mosque does present a purely Muslim design. An exceptional and interesting feature, however, may be seen in the corner buttresses of the enclosure wall—fluted in section and having a slight taper upwards, a feature evidently inspired by the Qutb Mīnār of Delhi.

Karīmu'd-dīn's mosque at Bijapur, built according to its inscription in 1320, conforms to the general mosque plan of an open courtyard, enclosed by cloisters. Except for the surrounding wall it is wholly made up of pillars, beams and slabs taken or left over from temples. Except for the plan, there is little evidence, here too, of a purely Muslim building traditions. As a matter of fact, the porch, serving as the entrance to its courtyard, is, with its pilasters

1 *EIM*, 1927-28, 17, 41, 1923-24, 14, 1933-34, *Supplement*, 47, 1935-36, 2, 3-4, *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, 39

and niches, almost an untouched part of a Hindu building. In other parts too, it is wholly built according to trabeate principles. The prayer-chamber, measuring 85' 6" by 51', comprises a pillared hall of sixty six bays, its most interesting part being the clerestory in the centre, formed by raising that part above the rest through an additional row of pillars, as in the case of some of the Gujarat mosques. However, like its Daulatābād counterpart, it is also purely Muslim in form. But the Dēval mosque at Bodhan, in Nizāmābād district, ascribed to the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq, shows no regard for this external form. It betrays no attempt at alternation or adjustment as in the previous cases beyond the removal of the shrine-chamber, closing the western side with a rubble wall, erecting a pulpit and covering the roof with small brick-domes.

That these structures have no real bearing on the history of the local Muslim architecture, is obvious. It is only after the establishment of independent Bahmanī Kingdom in 1347, which was first ruled from Gulbarga and later on from 1424 onwards from Bidar, that a distinct style, essentially Muslim in character came into vogue. The new style, which was for the most part of a definitely regional character, lasted for more than three centuries during which it passed through a number of distinguishable phases, at varying times in varying localities or regions. In its early stage it was largely based on the contemporary Tughluq forms and ideas, which owing to their forceful character and purposeful nature, had influenced the growing provincial styles, as for example, of Jaunpūr and Malwa. In the Deccan, the influence was greater in its impact, and more marked, which seems not less due to the immigration to the Deccan of the Delhi artisans, craftsmen, masons, architects etc consequent upon the transfer of population in the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq in the early years of the second quarter of the fourteenth century. As time passed, with the growing contacts and accelerated intercourse with the outside Muslim world, resulting not only in the exchange of ideas and views but in the immigration of people, the style came to be directly influenced by some of the building traditions as were current in the countries like Egypt, Persia, Asia Minor and Spain. It is rather difficult to determine the immediate source or sources of this influence except in the case of such few monuments of a particular phase as the Chānd Minār at Daulatābād and the Madrasah of Mahmūd Gāwān at Bidar which point to Persia, — without an exhaustive study and detailed analysis of the architectural styles of these countries.

In its more mature form, the Deccan style assumed a definite regional character developing an individuality of its own, marked, broadly speaking, by grandeur of conception and soundness of structural principles on the one hand and by some prominent architectural forms and lavish decoration schemes on

the other This character of the Deccan style had already taken shape in the Bidar phase of the Bahmanī architecture, though it blossomed forth into full glory under the successors of the Bahmanīs more particularly the ‘Ādil Shāhīs of Bijapur and the Quṭb Shāhīs of Golkonda

It is surprising that in the earlier phase, the style, unlike other ‘provincial’ styles, as for example of Gujarat, remained unaffected by the rich traditions of the highly developed indigenous style in the region In no provincial style such disregard of inherent architectural tradition was shown or a slow assimilation of the indigenous art took place as here At a later date, no doubt, local influence started asserting itself, but this was again confined mostly to minor aspects of the building art, except in the Bijapur phase when this influence was somewhat greater

It is no wonder therefore that the Bahmanī architecture of the Deccan is essentially arcuate Another point that may be emphasised is that usually there is no large scale variation in the general plan or design of structures In other words, there is no basic change in the plans of the mosques, tombs and similar buildings Then, while it may be generally true that the religious architecture outweighed secular construction, it cannot be denied that the latter was produced, on a greater scale here in this period in the form of palaces and forts than in other parts of the country This brings us to an important aspect of Bahmanī architecture, namely its military side Due to political circumstances, there was an imperative need for the reconstruction of the forts and defences which had existed from earlier times A series of strong forts were built at strategic points of the kingdom, which provide fine specimens of military architecture some individual outstanding architectural feature in the form of gateways, bastions, etc Some of these were of the Yādava and Kākatīya origin and were later modified or reconstructed by the Muslims, mostly under the direction of foreign engineers, to suit to new defence requirements, which had undergone a change consequent upon the introduction of artillery in military warfare This accounts for certain features in these structures which are derived from the medieval European forts particularly in the disposition of barbicans, ‘covered passages’ and bastions

The first original constructions of the Bahmanīs seems to have been at Gulbarga, where the fort has thick double walls with solidly built semi-circular towers and bastions, but the fort as it stands today was greatly modified during the ‘Ādil Shāhī period, as testified by inscriptions The Bidār fort represents the first major architectural specimen of this type which has almost survived intact Later on a large number of forts came into existence at strategic places all over the Deccan, for example, at Daulatābād, Gāwīlgaṛh, Narnāla, Parēnda, Rāichūr, etc The pattern of these forts served as a model for the construction or renovation of later fortifications during the Maratha period

The earlier phase of the Bahmanī style is generally represented by the buildings comprising both tombs and mosques constructed at Gulbarga and elsewhere, which represent continuous stages in the development of the architectural style. The first buildings to be constructed were the group of the three royal tombs situated at a distance of about a couple of furlongs from the southern gate of the Gulbarga Fort. The general features that characterise the architecture of these tombs are a square structure on a plinth with sloping or battered walls, giving an impression of solidity and mass, low flat domes, tall and narrow arched doorways, parapet or arch shaped battlements and fluted turrets at corners. All these features, except perhaps the turrets, are typical of the Tughluqian style, as to the fluted turret, it does not occur in this form in the prominent Tughluq tombs, though it does occur, with a taper, in different forms in some late Tughluqian mosques, where too they are not confined to corners nor do they start only from the roof. Another feature that calls for attention is the mouldings of the frieze beneath the parapet comprising a course of bricks, laid alternately straight and diagonal, which feature, confined to brick structures is found in the buildings of Armenia, Asia Minor and Turkey.<sup>2</sup> This feature is present throughout the early Bahmanī tombs at Gulbarga as well as in the pendentives of oversailing courses of the arched aisles of the Fort mosque. Here again, in the central mihrāb as well as the squinch, there occurs a peculiar form of trefoil arch of the stilted variety, which is also found in a slightly more elaborated form, with two more foils, but with the same outline, in the tomb of Firōz Shāh Bahmanī in the Haft-Gumbad group also at Gulbarga. It is also seen in the Langar kī Masjid at the same place. These two features, it may be pointed out, are also present in the 15th century Jāmī Masjid of Sittī Khānum at Buisa in Turkey, and may have occurred there earlier.<sup>3</sup>

The sides of these structures were plain except for arched openings, and there seems to have been little decoration there. However, in the interior there was a limited amount of stucco ornament, and one of the tombs also has traces of a band of enamel tiles. At a later stage, represented by the Anonymous Tomb near these tombs, the tomb of the saint Shaikh Sirāju'd-dīn Junaidī (d. 1380), popularly known as Rauza-ī Shaikh and Firōz's tomb in the Haft-Gumbad complex, the sharp batter was largely reduced or almost abandoned, and the structures were given a more ornate treatment. The vertical strain presented by the plainness of the elevational aspect was sought to be relieved by

2 G. T. Rivoira, *Moslem Architecture, its origin and development* (Edinburgh, 1918), Fig. 200, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fatih Devri Mimarısı* (Istanbul, 1953), p. 107 (Resim 22) p. 112 (Resim 29), p. 214 (Resim 161), p. 225 (Resim 75), etc.

3 Ayverdi, *op cit*, Resim 188-89. The trefoil arch of a slightly different outline is also used in the Anonymous Tomb near the three royal tombs, *RHAD*, 1335 F/1925-26, Calcutta, 1928, pl. V b.

introducing arched recesses in the walls, first in one tier as in the case of the Anonymous Tomb and the Rauzā-i Shaikh, and subsequently in two or more horizontal tiers, giving an appearance of storeys, as in the case of Fīrōz's tomb. The parapet at the top was also made more artistic, their plain arch-heads having been given foliated outline.

The arches in this very early phase are stilted with a slight ogee-flourish at the apex and have a pleasing and graceful contour above the stilts, which tend to have a slight, almost imperceptible bend inwards, imparting to them a pointed horse-shoe like appearance. In the later stage, the shape of the arch in the Gulbarga monuments undergoes a change at least twice. The stilt takes more than a perceptible bend inwards, and above the haunch the outline becomes almost straight. This shape of the arch is a striking feature both in the Rauzā-i Shaikh and Fīrōz's tomb, but in the Anonymous Tomb the stilt remains vertical, though the curve of the arch has straightened. It is not unlikely that the Anonymous Tomb may have formed a link between the early and the later stages of the architectural style of Gulbarga monuments.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, there is little change in the shape of the domes. They have no prominent drums and remain hemispherical in shape in the early Tughluqian fashion and strike a fine balance with the square structure. The fluted finials with domical tops rising above the parapet are of modest dimensions and remain almost unchanged in their general design throughout the Gulbarga phase, and even in the Bidar monuments they have undergone little change in their shape and design. Cornice is absent throughout, though in the tomb of Fīrōz, there are drip-stones supported on struts and brackets, but they are provided only above the central openings and not around the whole building. As to the parapet cresting, it was of the shape of an archhead in the early monuments, but it assumes a more artistic shape and is better executed in the tomb of Fīrōz. Even in the Fort Mosque its execution is advanced.

Coming to the ornamental aspect of the style, it has been noted that in the early examples the decoration seems to have been very limited and confined mainly to cut-plaster work. There is little stone-carving, but occasionally enamelled tile work seems to have been used as in the case of the tomb generally ascribed to 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan, the founder of the line. It is difficult to say now if the perforated screens (*Jālīs*), which fill the western arched opening of Anonymous Tomb and the arches of the entrances in the early tombs of the Haft-Gumbad complex, also filled similar spaces in the early group of the three royal tombs, at present there is no trace of them. This type of decoration was employed on a greater scale in the tomb of Fīrōz, where the arches

4 A tomb at Sarhind in Panjab, believed to have been a structure of late Tughluq period has also similar arches. See *Jour Bom Uni* Vol VIII, No. 1.

of the entrances and the arched openings in the upper row of the walls are filled with traceries of beautiful geometrical patterns. The cut-plaster decoration which is an important feature of the Fāṭimid buildings of Egypt, seems to have been applied to the surface borders of the arch, spandrels, base of the interior face of the dome etc., and an early example of this type of ornament is afforded by the above-mentioned Anonymous Tomb. It is seen in a more refined and extensive form in the interior of the tomb of Fīrōz. Another medium of ornament employed in the tomb of Fīrōz is painting, the ceiling of the dome is painted in vermilion and blue colours with decorative patterns worked out in relief and gilded over.

It may be worthwhile to draw attention to what has been considered to be an exception to the general style of the early part of this phase, as represented by the Great Mosque in the Gulbarga Fort. Apart from its unusual general plan and execution, of which mention will be made later, there are certain features of its building style which appear at first sight to be different from those seen in other monuments of this phase. The various forms of its arches, particularly the wide-spanned one, the treatment of the upper portion of the Mosque above the roof, the disposal of the domes of varying sizes some assuming a stilt, gables, a pyramid-shaped upward projection of the middle of the west wall behind the central *mīhrāb*, apparently constitute features different to those in any of the early three tombs and supposed to be different from any of the later tombs at Gulbarga which has suggested the style of the Fort Mosque to be an exception. These have been taken to belong to a different architectural style, essentially Persian in character, which has been attributed to a Persian architect by competent scholars. This calls for a careful re-examination. The basis of this attribution as well as that of its date, 1367, is an inscription, but there is no absolute evidence of its being *in situ*. And then, it is also a matter of opinion if the above features can be directly traced to Persia, of which the architect is believed to have been a resident, again a hypothesis arrived at by his *nisbah*.<sup>5</sup> Some of these features including the gable-roof (which had been a prominent feature of the architectural style of the buildings at Fīrōz's capital, Fīrōzābād)<sup>6</sup> and the like, are present in some of the buildings at Gulbarga as will be seen later. At least for this reason, the generally accepted theory that the architecture of the Fort Mosque represents an interruption in the Tughluq style does not appear to be true.

The earliest buildings of Gulbarga as they stand in a group today at a distance of a few furlongs from the southern gate of the Fort, are characterised by simplicity bordering on austerity. Three of these tombs are popularly

<sup>5</sup> As students of Islamic history are aware, the *nisbah* cannot be necessarily taken to indicate the last domicile of the man himself.

<sup>6</sup> The presence of the rooms with a pyramidal roof near the vicinity of the Mosque is also suggestive.



attributed to the Bahmanī kings 'Alāu'd dīn Hasan, Muhammad I and Muhammad II. The tomb of 'Alāu'd-dīn is believed to be the one at the extreme end towards the west,<sup>7</sup> with that of Muhammad I situated close to it, and that of Muhammad II, a little to the north of these two. These three tombs, architecturally almost alike, are in the typical Tughluqian style exemplified in their battered walls,<sup>8</sup> thick at the base and reducing in thickness as they go up, flat domes and squinch-system supporting them and the parapet of arch-head cresting, with small fluted finials at each corner. Very limited surface decoration seems to be in evidence, only one of them, believed to be of Hasan, having a band of deep blue enamel tiles arranged in the form of orbs and diamonds occurring alternately, a feature also reminiscent of the Tughluqian buildings. The said tomb stands on a plinth about 4' high and is square on plan, measuring about 40' 6" a side externally and 26' 6" internally. It has three arched entrances in its sides except in the west which is closed. Its main feature is the stilt of the arches of its entrances, having a somewhat pointed horse-shoe outline. The reputed tomb of Muhammad I has no plinth or platform, and is more or less a replica of his father's tomb. It has extremely thick walls which are about 8' near the base. There is some force in Professor Sherwani's attribution of this tomb to 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh as of the two specimens it is less refined, having thicker walls and a plainer interior. In the third tomb of the group, the most interesting feature is that there is a slight change in the contour of the dome which assumes stilt, but which is, however, not as pronounced as that in the case of the Fort Mosque. On the whole, the tombs seem to lack in height, for the domes are rather low for the structure below, and consequently, due to lack of perfect balance between the two parts, they look a little squat or pressed down.

The other important monument in the early style is the Shāh Bāzār mosque, one of the oldest and largest mosques of Gulbarga, which is assigned to the time of Muhammad I. It is constructed in the usual mosque plan of an enclosed open court bound on the west by a prayer-hall, and is entered through a porch in the form of a domed square chamber with sloping walls. The spacious prayer-hall, measuring 150' from north to south and 60' east to west, is entered through fifteen arched openings of pleasing proportions, which extend to a depth of six bays formed by square or rather cruciform-shaped masonry columns, converting the hall into ninety cubicles, each roofed by a small dome resting on the arches springing from the columns below, the face between the arches being filled by oversailing courses of brick masonry. The front has at the top

7 According to Professor H K. Sherwani, Muhammad I is buried in this tomb. For his arguments, see Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan* Hyderabad, 1953, 67-69.

8 The batter of walls is also seen in thirteenth century brick buildings in Persia. See Donald Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran, The Ilkhanid Period* Princeton, 1955, fig. 89-90, 201-202.

a parapet wall faced with recessed arch head battlements and a fluted finial at each corner. There is no batter to the walls, and the arches too are perpendicular. As compared to those of the royal tombs just mentioned, the arches have a less pronounced stilt, and they rest on tall piers, which imparts the facade a dignified appearance.<sup>9</sup> A feature of sufficient interest in the mosque is its main entrance porch on the east which is almost a replica of the tomb attributed to Muhammad I. While having an elaborate entrance porch in one of three sides is a common feature in the Tughluqian mosques and later ones at Māndū, this feature here recalls to mind in particular, the Jāmi' Masjid at the Fīrōz Shāh Kotlā built by Fīrōz Tughluq, the main entrance porch of which is a replica of his tomb. The other aspects indicating Tughluqian influence are the tall stilted archways and arches of the prayer-hall, multiplicity of domes and plainness.

Very much similar in style of the early tombs is a mausoleum situated at Kapnūr about 2 miles from Gulbarga along the Homnābād road. Locally stated to contain the remains of **Khunzā Mān Sāhibā**, a daughter of the celebrated saint Hazrat Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz (d. 1422), this imposing tomb, architecturally speaking, cannot be so late in its construction. This tomb has all the features of the above mentioned three royal tombs of Gulbarga, batter of the walls, stilted archways in the sides, plain arch-head cresting, four corner fluted finials forming the parapet, and a hemispherical dome but it is architecturally superior. Here a happy balance has been achieved between the square hall and the dome by raising the height of the latter. This has made it far more impressive than the three tombs under reference, and therefore it is a pity that no detailed note or even mention of this important early monument seems to have been made.

Most of these features of the Tughluqian building traditions are also found in the Tomb of Hazrat Zainu'd-dīn at **Khuldābād**, which was built (according to an inscription) in 1370. It is difficult now to say how much original character the present tomb structure has retained, but its general plan and design and the typical features of battered walls with slightly projecting central parts, the merlons, and the shape of the hemispherical dome (which is incidentally, of the same shape as that of Tughluq Shāh's tomb at Tughluqābād near Delhi) entitled it to this early phase of Tughluqian influence. The only feature that is different and which looks a little out of place, is the four domed turrets in the Indo Persian style which at first sight appears to be a late feature, but is also to be seen in a tomb at Timurnī near Nirmal. In any case, the importance of this dated building in the history of the evolution of the architectural style should not be overlooked.

<sup>9</sup> It is rather difficult to agree with the late Dr G. Yazdani that the internal appearance of the mosque is somewhat squat and that its arches bear resemblance to those of the 'Ala'i buildings at Delhi, *RHAD*, 1335 F, 1925-26, p. 3, pl. VI.

There are some other buildings which were constructed in this style with slight improvements or additional features. One of them is the tomb of Shāh Luṭfu'l-lāh at Timurnī, the chief interest of which lies in the treatment of its upper portion. Its large dome has a pronounced stilt and slightly constricted neck, and is placed on a high drum, the line of springing being marked by the brick-moulding of the usual design. Around and adjoining it at four corners stand four miniature tomb-like structures each capped with a fluted dome of the Persian variety. The dargāh of Syed Muhammad at Nizāmābād has also a different treatment of its dome which is provided at its base with a band of battlements resembling petals, a feature which occurs in the form of foliated arch heads in the tomb of Fīrōz. The same feature is also found in the tomb of Shāh Shamsu'd-dīn at Osmanābād (d. 1329-30), which is a square structure with slightly sloping walls. Its hemispherical dome of large volume and graceful contours rests on a low drum and is decorated with a band of lotus petals and finished at the top with a ribbed lantern, while its interior is decorated with cut-plaster work.

There is at Gulbarga another group of buildings associated with the name of Shāh Kamāl Mujarrad, situated at a little distance to the north-east of the dargāh of Hazrat Bandā Nawāz, which is architecturally quite interesting. It comprises his tomb and mosque, a *sarāi* and an unidentified structure. From the slight batter and plain exterior of its walls, and the contours of the entrance arch which resemble that of the three royal tombs and Shāh Bāzār mosque, the monument may be safely assigned to the close of the fourteenth century. To the south-east of the tomb is a rectangular three-domed building in the same style which has also the arch-head shaped parapet and fluted finials at its corners. The *sarāi*, situated due east of the tomb, comprises a row of ten arched cells each measuring about 8' by 8' roofed by small domes placed on arches. But it is by far the mosque which is architecturally a more interesting structure. In plan, it consists of a single prayer-hall of five aisles and three bays formed by tall square pillars of polished blackstone, from which spring stilted arches supporting the roof covered by five small hemispherical domes, the space between the arches as also that at the base of the domes being filled by alternate courses of diagonal and straight slabs. The arches in the walls, five of the prayer-niches in the west wall and three each in the north and south walls (of which the middle ones form windows), are of the pointed variety with a slight horse-shoe curve, while the remaining ones are stilted with a slight ogree shape, and these very closely resemble the arches of some mosques in Egypt.<sup>10</sup> Its parapet is of blind merlons with a series of the commonly found brick mouldings below and fluted finials at the corners. The most prominent

10 For example, the arches in the court of the Azhar mosque and mosque of Tala'ū's-Sālih at Cairo. M S Briggs, *Muhammadian Architecture in Egypt and Palestine* Oxford 1924, Figs 27-40, Rivoira, *op cit* Fig 132.

feature of its facade is a novel type of ornamental eave-cornice in stucco and its bracket and entablature, which once adorned the facade. The cornice-slabs are almost completely gone, but the brackets and the entablature have partially survived over three of the five arches. These are of a unusual but very pleasing design and exquisite workmanship. The elaborate shape of the brackets is somewhat similar to those supporting the dripstones in the tomb of Fīrōz, but more interesting is the design and treatment of the horizontal torana-like entablature which is in the shape of a curvilinear foliated or cusped arch. It appears that the mosque was decorated profusely with stucco ornamentation with patterns of designs and religious inscriptions in the arches of its facade as well as in the prayer-niches, sufficient traces of which have survived to give an idea of exquisite workmanship.

Almost in the same simple but chaste architectural style as that of this mosque and greatly resembling it in general appearance is the mosque situated to the west of the tomb of Qalandar **Khān** at Gulbarga<sup>11</sup>. It is a small but fine building measuring about 37' 6" by 23' 4" divided into a triple hall by square masonry pillars of a plain but becoming design. The stilted arches of its five-aisled facade, springing from tall and slender columns and remarkable for their fine proportions like those of its prototype just referred to, closely resemble the arcaded facade of the court the Jāmi' Aẓhar of Cairo. The mosque is plain, there being little of ornament and decoration, but this is perhaps due to the fact that the structure has been extensively repaired. An old mosque at Malkhēr in Gulbarga district also seems to have been constructed about this time. It has a prayer-hall consisting of three aisles and two bays, roofed by a single full dome of perfect contour. The shape of the stilted arches of its facade and the pillars on which they rest are of the same design as in the last mentioned two mosques. Its dome is decorated at the base with the same motif of arch head shape as is employed in the parapet which has fluted finials at corners, and this fact also testifies to its date.

It is generally taken for granted that the group called the Haft-Gumbad or the Seven Domes, which includes the tombs of Mujāhid (d. 779/1378) Dāwūd I (d. 780/1378), Ghīyāthu'd-dīn Tahamtan (d. 799/1397) and Fīrōz (d. 825/1422) illustrates how the Tughluqian style survived even after the building of the Fort Mosque<sup>12</sup>. As suggested above, the Fort Mosque is very probably contemporary with the tomb of Fīrōz or at the most a little earlier and not as radically different from the general style except of course the covered roof. All the tombs in the Haft-Gumbad complex, except the tomb of Fīrōz, are so

11 Dr. G. Yazdani in his work *Bidar, its History and Monuments* (Oxford, 1947), ascribes the construction of the mosque to Qalandar **Khān**, the Mughal governor of Bidar under Aurangzeb.

12 *RHAD*, 1925-26, p. 5. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Vol. II, *Islamic Period* (Bombay, 2nd edition).

much like enlarged and refined copies of the early model exemplified by the presumed tombs of 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan and others, that they must represent an uninterrupted architectural tradition without any conspicuous break. Architecturally, these structures which are remarkable for their large size are alike in general form as well as in dimensions and in their characteristic architectural features consisting of the plain sloping walls, flat domes, parapet of arch-heads and small corner finials, as also in the shape of the arches of the entrances, which more or less conform to the form of those of the early tombs. This is not to suggest that there was no advancement in style, but that the style in the later part of this phase was more or less a continuous development of the initial style.

The most striking change in this group is in the form of a new structural arrangement, not found elsewhere in the Deccan or for that matter in the whole of India. Six of these tombs have been built in three pairs of double-tombs, that is to say two domed mortuary chambers are constructed adjacent to each other, with a small corridor between them.

There also seems to have been a rapid advancement in the matter of decoration. In the tomb of Mujāhid, the decoration in the mihrāb of the west wall of the interior, seems to have been confined to the circular medallions adjoining each other, appearing on the arch-border. In the tomb of Dāwūd, the outer arches become slightly wider, while in the arches of the tomb of Ghiyāthu'd-dīn, in which the stilt is inclined inwards, we have perhaps a precursor of the shape of the peculiar recessed arches on the Rauza-i Shaikh and Fīrōz's tomb on one hand and in the arcade of the court in the Fort Mosque on the other. The receding arch of the entrance is decorated with a cusp fringe-like pattern and the spandrels have medallions containing the figure of two intersecting stars. This basic pattern of decoration with some modifications continues throughout the later tombs at Gulbarga, as for example, in the tombs of Ghiyāthu'd-dīn and Shamsu'd-dīn Dāwūd II (d. 1397), where the spandrels of the outer arches have stucco-decoration of medallions comprising circular discs or lotus-circles or geometrical patterns of intersecting squares or hexagons. On the other hand, in these later tombs, the treatment of the mihrāb in the west wall of the interior is extremely elaborate, varied and richer in details. These give an idea of the stucco decoration that seems to have formed the chief part of the decorative scheme. Apart from the above-mentioned and a few other similar motifs including inscribed panels and medallions, a new feature indicating Hindu influence perhaps for the first time is seen in the tombs of Dāwūd I and Ghiyāthu'd-dīn, the arches of whose mihrāb in the west wall are placed on jambs executed in Hindu fashion, the motif being something like a series of pots, with supporting posts between them.<sup>13</sup>

13 The mihrāb-decoration of the tomb of Shamsu'd dīn has entirely disappeared

It is in these tombs—we have not included Fīrōz's tomb so far—that the scheme of decoration of the early Bahmanī tombs has finally taken shape. There are a number of tombs in Gulbarga including that of Fīrōz, where this type of ornament is employed. One such tomb is the tomb of Qalandar Khān built in the same architectural tradition, which has a more elaborate treatment. The interior of the dome, in particular, is decorated at the base with bands of various parapet-motifs found in contemporary buildings, at the centre with bands of circular medallions resembling those appearing on arch faces, and at the apex with a disc-like medallion with a knob in the centre. This pattern of ornament of the dome-interior is also found in the unidentified tomb to the east of Fīrōz's tomb. Also in a similar style is the large tomb situated near the Langar kī Masjid at Gulbarga.

At this stage it is necessary to mention two tombs which can be reasonably considered to indicate a link in the overall development of the style, at least in a few respects. These are the Anonymous Tomb mentioned above and the Rauza-i Shaikh. In both these structures which have the general characteristics of the early phase, the walls are not plain and hence must be later than the tombs of the Haft-Gumbad complex excluding Fīrōz's tomb, but at the same time their elevational aspect is of one storey—a central and the side-arches which should date them earlier than that tomb. Another feature indicating this link is the design of their parapet cresting which is foliated like, but not as refined as, that of the tomb of Fīrōz. Then the arches of these two tombs seem to have served as a model for the peculiar shape of arches in that tomb. In the Anonymous Tomb, the central arch is stilted and ogee-shaped, but the stilt does not bend inwards as in the case of the tomb of Fīrōz, and the side arches are trefoil of the same variety, but of not so perfect a form as in the Fort Mosque and the Langar kī Masjid—which appears, as seen above, in an extended form of a quintifoil in Fīrōz's tomb. On the other hand, all the arches in the Rauza-i Shaikh have sharp inward bend of their stilts and are almost exactly to the shape of those of Fīrōz's tomb. This should clearly indicate that these two tombs form an important link in the chain of architectural development of the early phase of the Bahmanī style.

The Fort Mosque as it stands today may perhaps be correctly assigned to this particular phase of development. As stated earlier, there is no proof that the inscription assigning it to an early date (1367), now fixed into the right side of the northern entrance, is *in situ*, and on the other hand, if it is so, there is sufficient evidence in the form of architectural features that would suggest extensive if not complete renovation carried out to it in the time of Fīrōz. In any case, the mosque is without doubt the most impressive monument of its class in the whole of South India. Measuring on plan 216' from east to west and 176' from north to south, it is an unusual building, remarkable for the originality of the conception of its general plan. It conforms to the usual

mosque plan of a courtyard surrounded by cloisters, and at the same time differs from it in the unique treatment of the courtyard which instead of being open to the sky in the usual way, is covered in the same line with the prayer-hall and the arcaded cloisters. The Mosque thus provides a rare example in India of a mosque with its enclosed court covered from above in line with the rest of the building, the source of inspiration for this exceptional feature being undetermined. An arcaded cloister runs all along the sides except on the west, which is occupied by a spacious prayer-hall, while the covered court is divided into sixty-three square bays formed by rows of columns arranged in seven aisles and nine bays, each roofed with a small dome, while the side cloisters have gable tops. At four corners are placed larger domes, while the main dome covering the central nave of the prayer-chamber is still larger in volume, and is placed on a raised square clerestory, surrounded by six small domes. The phase of transition is overcome both through squinch-arch support as in the case of the central dome, and through triangular pendentive of oversailing courses filling the space between the arches springing from columns in the case of the side cloisters and square bays. The phase of transition of the central dome is particularly striking, forming the chief ornament of this otherwise plain mosque, it is elaborately treated in the manner of early buildings in other Muslim countries and will be found for example, to resemble, broadly speaking, the domed vestibule in the Great Mosque at Cordova <sup>14</sup>. The plain arches in this part, the central nave, are tall and narrow in the Persian style, those of the central niche and the squinch being given a trefoil form, which is more refined and pleasing than in the Anonymous Tomb. Then, in the imposts and jambs carrying the arch of the central niche may be seen almost the same indigenous motif of what has been termed as pots on-posts, both these motifs also appear in a more elaborate form in the Haft-Gumbad tombs, as will be seen later. Also to be noted here is the parapet motif appearing above the central prayer-arch and above the band of arches marking the sixteen-sided polygon, at the springing of the main dome, they are not simple arch-heads, as was the fashion in the earlier domes but are of foliated design, a feature also to be found in the Anonymous Tomb, Rauza-i Shaikh and Firōz's tomb. The gable-roof of the side cloisters is another feature which is generally associated with the architectural style of the buildings of Firōz at Firōzābād. The most striking of the other architectural features of this mosque is a certain amount of variety of its stilted arches, as for example tall and narrow or ogee and rounded, plain or foliated or wide and low—and more particularly the broad and squat arches of the side cloisters which have a wide span as compared to their extremely low piers. A similar sense of variation has been shown in the design of the domes which are of varying sizes and shapes.

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14 Rivoira, *op cit*, p 360, fig 332, p 367, fig 335

On the other hand, the treatment of the exterior plain walls is rather monotonous, and this effect is further accentuated in the absence of any surface decoration. Pierced by arched openings of the same size and similar shape, their only variation lies in the tall narrow entrance in the northern side and in the treatment of the two corner arches which are filled in with smaller arches of a different shape, turning these parts of the building which are roofed by large domes, into large halls. But these variations are not enough to dispel the feeling of strained massiveness and lack of light and shade. Nevertheless the mosque is one of the finest of its class in the whole of India, built wholly in the arcuate style, and it has exerted considerable influence and set a landmark in the development of the later styles, where some of its features like the square base of the dome, broad squat arches etc., were freely adopted.

But the style of the early tombs is represented in its advanced form in the most imposing tomb of the Haft-Gumbad group, namely the tomb of *Firōz*. This massive double-hall structure measuring externally 158' by 78' with a total height of about 72' typifies perhaps the last structure to be constructed in the first phase of the Bahmanī style and marks a considerable advance in the tomb architecture of the Deccan. It has in fact paved in more than one aspect the way for the later and more mature phase as represented in the monuments at Bidar. The general plan and outline of the tomb has not much changed, but the batter of the walls is practically gone. It shows for the first time a certain free play of imagination in the treatment of its exterior as well as interior which contain a few original features. The exterior now presents a change from the austere bare elevation and is executed in two storeys each consisting of a row of five horizontal arches of varying size and shape, the lower ones being recessed and the upper filled with perforated screens in geometrical designs of sufficient elegance. The stucco decoration above the arch-heads and the spandrels is more elaborate and refined. Also the parapet is marked by foliated merlons instead of the plain arch-head cresting, and the short fluted finials at corners show a much better workmanship. Then the drum of the dome is decorated with the same type of foliated merlons. Most of these features formed the main ingredients in the later architectural phase.

Another prominent feature of the elevational aspect is the gable-type dripstone-cornice or *chhajjā*, occurring over the lower middle arched openings, the cornice is provided with a cresting of the same type as marks the parapet, and rests on brackets of elegant design and execution. The pots-upon-posts motif of the arch-jambs of the niche which appeared in the earlier tombs of *Dāwūd* and *Ghiyāth*u'd-dīn, appear in this tomb in the outer arched doorways, and are here carved of polished black stone. A very striking feature of this tomb is the shape and contour of its arches, registering a sharp inward bend of the stilts, which is quite different from the other tombs in the group, but similar



to those occurring on the Rauza-i Sharīkh. These forms, also reminiscent of the mosque attached to the tomb known as Barā-Gumbad at Delhi — where too the plaster-cut decoration is both profuse and extremely fine — have a strong resemblance to the arches of some of the thirteenth and fourteenth century buildings of Egypt and Persia<sup>15</sup>. Perhaps the most artistic among the arch-forms is the quintifoil one in the inner niches of the side-arched recesses on the walls in the hall. It has been seen above that the outer side-arches of the Anonymous Tomb, which appears to be slightly earlier, has a similar cusped arch but of trefoil shape and less artistic, and the same trefoil form is found in a finally developed form on the central niche of the Fort Mosque as also on its squinch.

The interior of the two halls, each covered by a beautiful full dome, forming the tomb, is built on the same principle of half-domed squinch arches, but is very elaborately ornamented. The walls are profusely covered with plaster-work decoration, particularly in the borders, spandrels and apexes of the arches and arched niches which are generally built in receding order, base of the dome etc. Even more artistic is the decoration scheme of the domical ceiling of one of the halls, which has been treated with the designs of concentric tapering round mīnārs, placed together, totalling forty, whose, prominently ogee-shape arch-tops meet the thick rim of the outermost of a series of circles that enclose the knob-like medallion at the apex. A wide band of bordered calligraphic ornamentation runs along the middle of these convex flutings,<sup>16</sup> every fifth of which is further decorated with a design of leaf in the Persian style, which also occurs in the squinch-faces. The origin of this motif, which is strongly reminiscent of the similar fluting of the Qutb Mīnār at Delhi, may be traced to the great mosque at Cordova in which the fluting is simple and concave. The ceiling of Fīrōz's tomb is also painted in vermilion and blue colours with decorative motifs, worked out in relief and gilded over, most of them in Persian style, not distinguishable from those found on Persian carpets, book-covers, or in manuscript illustrations.

In short, all these structural and decorative features, some original and others in a more refined form, illustrate an elaborate development of the prevalent style. It imbibes on a larger scale, than was done until now, foreign as well as Hindu influences. The purely Indian influence is seen in the design of the stone jambs, of the cornice as well as of the brackets supporting them, while non-Indian influence is illustrated in the scheme and motifs of decoration detailed above. Some of the non-Indian features may have been directly imported, but others like plastic decoration and even the medium of colours had been employed in the tomb of Fīrōz Tughluq at Delhi (c. 1390).

15 Cf. K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (Oxford, 1959.), pls. 107, 110, Briggs, *op cit*, figs. 54, 56, 61, 72, 73, 74, Wilber, *op cit*, No. 9, 36, 65, 68, 88, 94.

16 Dr. Yazdani calls these concave (*RHAD*, 1925, 26, pl. IV b), which is not correct.

This comparison of motifs and aspects of architectural style raises an intriguing point. While there is little doubt that the very early monuments of the Deccan were largely inspired by their Tughluq prototypes, the problem rises about the source of the two-storeyed elevational aspect of the Deccan monuments consisting of storeys and their elaborate plaster decoration? Of course, the 'Alā'i-Darwāzā at Delhi can be regarded as a prototype so far as exterior is concerned, but it appears in its fully developed form only in the square-type tombs at Delhi which are assigned to the Lodī period, i.e. second half of the 15th century. In the Deccan, the tomb of Fīrōz, the first tomb in this style, is believed to have been constructed about the middle of the first half of the same century. The same is the case with the ornamental aspect. The earlier buildings at Delhi belonging to the Khaljī and Tughluq periods did not depend on stucco decoration for their artistic effect, and the late Tughluq buildings also do not seem to have had such elaborate stucco work which is found in the Bārā-Gumbad mosque which is also assigned to the Lodī period. This would suggest that in these respects the Delhi tombs were influenced by the Deccan ones, but no definite view can be pronounced as the dates of all these monuments are not definitely known, and moreover most of the Delhi monuments of the later Tughluqs have been shorn of their outer shell.

The last monument in the exuberant style of the first phase is the Langarkī-Masjīd, which is an interesting monument datable on architectural grounds to the beginning of the fifteenth century. The large tomb situated to the north-east of the mosque, to which a reference has already been made, bears an inscription recording its construction in 1434, and it is reasonable to suppose that the mosque was constructed before that date or at least not later. On plan, it consists of a single prayer-hall measuring about 49' by 32', which is divided into three compartments, each fronted by an arch under a widely projecting *chhajja* in lime and concrete which rests on brackets. Above it runs a parapet of cruciform-like design formed by a certain arrangement of brick-courses, this design, though different from the plain or foliated arch-head parapet-cresting in use hitherto, is employed in the decoration of the dome ceilings in the tombs of Fīrōz and Qalandar Khān. Fluted corner finials of the same high workmanship as those of Fīrōz's tomb also appear at the front corners. Also worth notice is the shape of its front arches as well as that of the central prayer-niche which are of the same trefoil pattern as in the case of the Fort mosque. But by far the most important feature of the mosque, architecturally, is its vaulted arch-shaped ceiling of plastered-over brick, with representations of wooden ribs and struts resembling those of the rock-hewn Buddhist *chaityas*. Externally too, the ceiling is arch-shaped, and is covered by two pairs of small screens of two and three arches surmounted by arch-head cresting, which are placed in the middle of the four sides of the parapet.

The architectural style that was established in the tomb of Fīrōz naturally served as a model for the later tombs until it was fully and finally developed

in the next few decades. Among the tombs of note constructed in the intervening period, the most important is the group of five unidentified but beautiful tombs at Holkonda, situated at a distance of about 20 miles from Gulbarga on way to Hōmnābād. These have been described as a replica of, and in no way inferior to, the Haft Gumbad complex and must have been erected for some members of the ruling dynasty. These are remarkable for their perfect symmetry and balance of different parts. In particular, the shape and treatment of its corner finial is more elaborate than that in the Haft-Gumbad prototype, being formed of two sections, a feature appearing with modifications in the Ashtūr tombs near Bidar. An exception to the prevailing style is provided by an octagonal tomb in this group which has tall, narrow and pointed recessed arches within rectangular frame on each side and a parapet above. At Gulbarga is also to be seen another tomb in the usual style. The Chōr-Gumbad as it is known, is remarkable alike for its considerable dimensions, being 74' by 66' internally and 100' high, and its picturesque setting. Its chief and only interest architecturally, lies in the four corner turrets in the form of small domed square structures with arches in the sides.

The last great monuments in the tradition of the tomb of Fīrōz are the tombs of the celebrated saint Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz and his son Syed Akbar Husainī, which are perhaps the most impressive monuments of Gulbarga. Their two-storeyed elevation has blind arches — having therefore no trellis-work — and corner finials, and the treatment of the interior too, with its different members including the side arches of the quintifoil shape, is almost of the same fashion as in Fīrōz's tomb, which they surpass in their architectural effect produced by superior workmanship as also for their simple and yet awe inspiring grandeur.

With the transfer of capital from Gulbarga to Bidar in 1424,<sup>17</sup> the architectural style enters its second phase which is marked by a greater assimilation of Persian influence, chiefly in the decorative field. By this time the traditions and craftsmanship of the Tughluqian building art had undergone gradual modification both under the impact of the local and foreign influences that had started to assert themselves from the time of Fīrōz. Consequently, though the general character of the buildings remained massive, the architecture of this period, through some relieving features like artistic devices both in structural forms and decorative fields, shed the heaviness and austerity of the Tughluq style, and yet remained imposing without being pretensions and simple without being austere. It is this imaginative vision and bold planning that led these builders, in the words of Sir John Marshall, to assay the construction of domes and arches as vast as any known to medieval or ancient world.<sup>18</sup>

17 [For a discussion regarding the date of the transfer of the capital see *Bahmans*, 180-84 Ed.]

18 *CHI*, III, 635

This lightness of effect was achieved by adopting various devices including a well-balanced arrangement of masses and a high level of workmanship. The sharp batter or slope of walls was abandoned, and the treatment of their plain surfaces which had been started in Fīrōz's tomb received further elaboration in that they were faced with tiers of recessed arches of pleasing shape and fine disposition. There was no change in the parapet which mostly remained of the foliated type, but in the concluding years of the phase, was replaced by a new design representing the intersecting or overlapping arches. In the case of corner finials too, which are more elaborate, the fluted section in most cases has given way to a double tiered one, the lower stage being bulged in some cases. The cornice has disappeared.

On the structural side, various forms of arches came into fashion. The typical later Bahmanī arch is either stilted above the haunch as seen in the tomb of Ahmad Shāh Walī or four-centered as in the case of some arches in 'Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad's tomb, in the Ashtūr group of royal tombs. The typical form of the arches of Rauza-i Shāikh and Fīrōz's tomb did not altogether disappear, as can be seen from the shape of the arches in the Minister's Room in the palace-buildings at Bidar or tomb of Mahmūd Shāh at Ashtūr. Likewise, the treatment of the dome has also undergone a change. It was now as a rule provided with a prominent drum, a polygon of eight or sixteen sides, with finials at angles and foliated parapet at the line of the springing of the dome, which was in the later phases of the Deccan style, to assume the form of conventional petals. The dome retained its massive volume, but its shape registered an improvement in profile and outline from full or hemispherical to a stilt in some cases, and in others to bulb. In some of the Ashtūr tombs, the domes have, apart from bulbous shape, indications of another significant change: their lower outline registers a slight inward curve resulting in a construction in the lower contour, a feature which not only found a universal application in the next phases of the architectural style of Deccan but also proved to be a first step in the development of the Mughal dome.

But it is perhaps the scheme of decoration which has contributed most as a single factor, to the overall impressiveness and grandeur of the buildings of this phase. Love of colour, the most conspicuous part of this scheme, has been employed in different ways, in the form of encaustic tiles, surface painting, and cut plaster work. There has been an ever-increasing use of these media, and the quality and workmanship in all the cases including the stucco decoration work are of a very high order. Evidently the inspiration for this colour-based decoration came from Persia, which also was the exclusive source of the architectural style of quite a few buildings erected in this phase.

The impact of the indigenous features on the building art was more in this phase than in the last, but it was not in any of the major structural or archi-

tectural fields. On the contrary, the most common indigenous architectural feature of bracket and cornice, which in the later 'Ādil Shāhī buildings provided some of the much-needed scope for light and shade, is totally absent here. The Hindu influence is generally confined to the treatment of some parts such as the construction of niches, door-frames, corbels, friezes, pillars etc.

The noteworthy monuments of this phase include the Fort and its palaces, the Solhā Khambā Masjid and the Madrasah of Mahmūd Gāwān, all at Bidar, the group of twelve royal tombs at Ashtūr near Bidar and the Chānd Minār at Daulatābād. The Fort, which is in a fair state of preservation, is constructed on much the same system and general principles as in the case of the Fort at Gulbarga. The palaces have, on the contrary, succumbed to the ravages of time and are greatly ruined, but their remains, which pronounce them to have been strongly Persian in character, are sufficient to indicate their magnificence and grandeur on the one hand and increased use of Persian forms and ideas as employed in their tall and wide stilted arches, surface decoration in glazed tiles of various hues, paintings, stucco decoration, etc., on the other. The Hindu influence is mainly restricted to the carvings in the buildings as well in the door-frames.

The first significant Bahmanī structure is the Gumbad Darwāzā of the Fort, so-called on account of its domed roof. It is a simple structure, with sloping walls and flat dome in the Tughluqian tradition of early Gulbarga buildings, but it is in particular remarkable for the free use of the stilted arch, the outer one being its most prominent feature.

Judged from its shattered remains the beautiful palace buildings, now cleared of the debris into which they had fallen, must have been remarkable for their substantive architectural style which was definitely Persian in character, remarkable for their mass and outline and modified and adapted to local requirements. There is a liberal use of colour over surfaces, and the brilliant schemes of coloured tiles and mural paintings, sufficient remains of which have survived to give an idea of the stupendous effect it must have then produced.

These buildings were chiefly composed of a series of halls each known by a different name depending upon its purpose or the use to which it was put, such as Takht Mahal, Diwān-i 'Ām, Rangīn Mahal, Gagan Mahal, Tarkash Mahal and the like. The grandest of these was the Takht Mahal which had two side pavilions with lofty arches enclosing a spacious hall, at the back of which was the King's Room. From what has remained, the building seems to have been remarkable for the stately dimensions and fine proportions of its tall pointed arches and also for its exquisite surface decoration, relieved by bands of carved black stone, of encaustic tiles in different designs, one being that of the royal emblem of the Tiger-and-Rising Sun, of surface embellishments in gold, and of elegant stone carving in both Hindu and Persian styles,

Architecturally, the entire building must have been majestic. The other palace buildings are more or less in the same massive and elegant style.

The Solhā Khambā mosque inside the Fort is one of the most extensive Muslim buildings at Bīdar.<sup>19</sup> On plan it consists of a prayer-hall, measuring 294' 9" by 80', which is divided into nineteen aisles and five bays, by a row of massive circular columns except those in the central nave towards the west, comprising nine squares, which is occupied by a hall carrying the main dome through squinches of half-dome pattern. This hall has some interesting features. The stately arch of its pentagonal central niche in the west wall is stilted, tall and narrow, and in the centre of its recess, marked by vertical ribs, is carved a small multifoil arch of pleasing proportions. The arches flanking this niche are also cusped and have the same ribbed pattern in their vaults, and cutplaster decoration in their spandrels and above the apex of the arch. An interesting feature of the mosque is the design of the extremely pleasing struts supporting the squinches, these take the form of raised elephant-trunk, a feature which was freely employed in the buildings of the later phases of the Deccan style.<sup>20</sup> The huge dome is hemispherical with a slight stilt at its lower outline and construction at the apex. The roof of the remaining part of the prayer-hall is supported on massive stilted arches springing from the columns, and covered by smaller domes.

The arched openings of the façade rest on square columns and are of uniform size, producing a monotonous effect which is partially relieved by cresting it with a parapet of pleasing design and workmanship and raising the high sixteen-sided base of the dome in the form of a clerestory whose sides are filled with arched windows of perforated screens. This is capped by a parapet of foliated arch heads relieved at corners by small finials. Nevertheless, the overall effect produced by the low height of the extensive prayer-hall which is 28' 6", is of flatness in the general appearance of the building, though its features, taken individually, show a fine sense of proportion.

Incidentally, some of the architectural and decorative features of the domed hall of the Solhā Khambā Masjid are found in a tomb which stood only a few years ago to the east of the Chaukhandī of Shāh Khalīlu'l-lāh but has since disappeared. For example, the shape of the two arches of the sides and the ribbed design in the recess of one of them, the struts of raised elephant-trunk motif and the parapet motif of overlapping arches were found together

19 It is generally believed to have been constructed in A H 827 on the basis of the wrong reading of the date of the inscription which was recovered in the course of clearance of debris and earth from the decayed part of the mosque. The correct reading of the date is A H 727 and the Sulṭān Muhammad, the Vicegerent of God, is Muḥammad bin Tughluq and not Prince Muhammad Bahmanī, see *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, 40.

20 This motif also occurs in the interior of the tomb of Hazrat Gēsū Darāz.

n the interior of this tomb Dr Ghulām Yazdānī, in his description of his tomb in his monumental work on Bīdar has not noticed this similarity<sup>21</sup>

The next important monument, which set the fashion in tomb-architecture for the next seventyfive years is the tomb of Ahmad Shāh Walī, which is quite expressive of the vigorous and stately architectural style of this phase. It is the most prominent in the group of the royal tombs, numbering twelve, at Ashtūr, which are alike in general appearance and design, and have yet individual characteristics of their own. Their comparative dimensions and architectural style vividly synchronise with the gradual deterioration in political power as also in aesthetic sense and architectural taste.

These tombs on the whole are a further improvement upon the tomb-architecture as typified by Fīrōz's tomb at Gulbarga. They are larger in dimensions, with loftier and sometimes more bulbous domes, have no appreciable slope or batter in their walls, and none of them is double. The main feature of their style is the impression they create of massive strength combined with grandeur, achieved through imaginative approach and fine sense of proportion.

The tomb of Ahmad Shāh Walī measures 77' 1" square externally. Its exterior having a lofty and impressive arched recesses of ogeeshape, and is divided into three storeys by vertical rows of symmetrically arranged arched recesses of varying size and shape, the prominent being the central one containing a small entrance. The parapet consists of plain arch-heads but the corner-domed finials are appreciably ornate, their sections faced with tiny niches in two stages. The dome is placed on an octagonal drum lined at the top with a parapet of foliated arch-heads and, at angles, with finials similar to those at the roof corners, and it strikes a happy means between the flat dome of the earlier phase and the round conical domes of Persia.

But the most striking feature of the tomb is the decorative treatment and the rich colour scheme of its interior, the general arrangement and construction of which are similar to those of the Gulbarga prototypes. The interior is decorated with brilliantly coloured painting in bright shades on gold, vermilion, green, turquoise, fawn and jet-black backgrounds in varied floral as well as geometrical designs and patterns in the Persian style, comparable to those on carpets and book-covers. It is also decorated with bands of inscriptions gracefully designed in different artistic styles in letters of gold on a still brighter background of deep blue or vermilion.

The tomb of 'Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad II indicates a further improvement in the architectural style. Its exterior seems to have been extensively faced with a striking encaustic tile-work decoration in elegant designs and pleasing colours,

21 Yazdani, *op cit*, 144, pl LXXXVII. Unlike in the case of Solhā Khambā Masjid, he describes these struts as 'pairs of brackets of Hindu design.'

indicative of a refined taste. Further, its elevational aspect shows better sense of proportion and taste than in the tomb of his father. Instead of the three tiered row of five vertical arched recesses on the walls, which wore a look of crowdedness, in this tomb there is only a single row of five lofty arched recesses, and above them decorative tile-panels bound by black stone margins. These arches are four-centered and pointed and in general outline are in the Persian style. The interior of the tomb seems to have been originally decorated with painting of which only fragments can now be traced here and there in the ceiling. The tomb of Mahmūd Shāh, on the other hand, reverts to almost the same treatment of the façade as in the tomb of Ahmad Shāh Walī with which it resembles in general, except that its dome is more bulbous, the drum on which it is placed is sixteen-sided, and the parapet of the drum, like that of the walls is of the plain arch-head shape, which, in the absence of any lavish decoration, imparts the whole structure an austere look. However, the shapes and sizes of the arches of its recesses have a pronounced stilt bending a little inwards, recalling to mind the arches of Fīrōz's tomb.

Quite different in style is the tomb of Shāh Khalīlu'l-lāh. Approached through a large gateway which itself is of sufficient architectural interest, the main block of the monument is, on plan, not square as in the case of the other tombs at Bidar and elsewhere, but octagonal, and is also unusual in that it has no dome. Its elevation is in two storeys formed by a series of two lofty arches of very fine proportion set within wide vertical panels, their outline comprising exquisitely carved mouldings in black stone of various designs—rope, leaf, arabesque and foliage. A parapet of massive arch-heads runs all along the top, with finials at corners. The façade seems to have been originally treated with lavish decoration of glazed tiles, now non-extant. Except for the ground plan, this tomb bears striking resemblance to the tomb of 'Alāu'd-dīn in architectural features and decorative scheme.

The increasing Persian influence on the Deccan architecture is best illustrated in the two buildings, the Chānd Mīnār at Daulatābād and the Madrasah of Khwajā Mahmūd Gāwān at Bidar, which were built about this time. Both these monuments are wholly Persian in character. The influence is not partial or indirect, limited to the form and design or shape or outline of some architectural member or scheme of decoration, but it is entire in design, execution and decoration. Architecturally, therefore, these monuments are totally different to other structures. The Chānd Mīnār, built in 1435, rises up with a slight taper to a total height of about 100' in four stages or storeys into which it is divided by projecting galleries. The storeys are all circular in section except the one which is fluted. However, despite its distinct Persian character, the Mīnār does contain an indigenous feature in the brackets supporting the balconied galleries. Except perhaps for the size of its lowest gallery, the Mīnār is an architectural composition of the highest order marked by



graceful conception, slender but well-proportioned outline and fine workmanship

Even more typically Persian in style than the Chānd Mīnār is the imposing Madrasah (or College) known to this day after the name of its builder, the celebrated Bahmanī minister Mahmūd Gāwān, which has retained, notwithstanding the extensive damage and destruction caused through neglect of centuries and the hand of the vandal,\* enough of its original architectural features and decorative scheme. Built in 1472, its huge building measuring 242' from east to west and 220' from north to south rises to a height of about 56'. It consists of four three-storeyed wings enclosing an open court, which contained a mosque, a library-hall, lecture-rooms and professors' and students' lodgings. At each corner of its main façade where the main entrance lay, stood two majestic minarets in three stages, while semi-octagonal structures crowned with bulbous domes projected one each, from the middle of the remaining three sides. A wide parapet of plain arch-head runs all along the exterior elevation, which for the most part is in three storeys of arched window openings. The whole building breathes of refinement and elegance from every part and furnishes a fine example of the perfect symmetry of outline, homogeneity of form, and excellent proportion of various parts and their balanced disposal. No doubt, for an elevation of this magnitude, there is little variety and distribution of mass and void except for the semi-octagonal structures in the middle of the three sides, as a result it suffers from lack of required composition of lines and forms so essential for a play of light and shade. This shortcoming was sought to be overcome in the typical Persian fashion by lavish surface decoration consisting exclusively of lustrous colour-effect produced by the use of bright coloured encaustic tiles in the usual patterns — floral, geometrical and calligraphical devices — on every part of the façade including the minārs where the device was zigzag.

But by and large the traditions of the Persian building art, responsible for the construction of these two most outstanding architectural specimens failed to inspire the art of the builder to the same extent, though the style of the Persian minaret did persist in a couple of later buildings, to wit, the Ēk Mīnār mosque at Rāichūr and the Entrance Gate of the Rauzā-ī Shāikh at Gulbarga. Buildings were constructed and continued to be constructed in the typical Bahmanī style which was essentially Indo-Persian in character and had also

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\*[Vandalism may have had its depredatory hand, but a calamity which befell the Madrasah on 11 Ramazān 1107/4-4-1697 had its full impact. Jalālu'd-dīn Khān, Aurangzēb's *qil ahḍār* of Bīdar had used the Madrasah as a dump for the stock of gunpowder. It was blown up on that date either by mishap or by lightning (which would be rather an uncommon occurrence in the beginning of April) and this completely destroyed the south-eastern wing and one of the two minarets of the Madrasah. See Bashīru'd dīn, *Wāqī'at i Mamlukat-i Bayapur*, III, 114, n 3. Ed.]

borrowed some forms and ideas directly from Persia. Their list is a long one, the notable among them being the tomb of Shāh Abū Ṭāhā Ḥusainī at Rāichūr, Shāh Jīwan's Dargāh at Yādgir, tombs of Fakhrū'l-Mulk, Sayyidu's-Sādāt Maḥdum Qadiri, Shāh Abū'l-Faiẓ and Shāh 'Alī at and around Bidar, all of which represent the concluding phase of the Bahmanī architectural style.

An interesting aspect of the Bahmanī architecture is represented in the construction of the 'Idgāh, which on plan, according to its orthodox specifications, should conform to a large clearing with a wall facing the Ka'ba and having a *mihrāb* and a pulpit. By the very nature of its design, the single wall structure required to be strengthened at ends through buttresses and supports. In the Deccan these took the form of massive turrets, cylindrical and sharply tapering in section, reminiscent of the shapes of the tapering minarets at Delhi constructed during the time of the early Sultāns. The need to break the skyline against the plain upper horizontal stretch of the wall further emphasised by the tapering domed turrets at the ends, was sought to be overcome by providing a parapet cresting and a dome or a domed cupola in the middle above the central prayer-niche. The walls were provided with prayer-niches set within tiers of lofty arches. These are in the main the general features of the architectural style of the 'Idgāhs which were modified in one or other respect in different specimens. The most outstanding 'Idgāhs of the Bahmanī period are those at Daulatābād, Gulbarga, Bidar and Kōvilkonda.

## (ii) BAHMANĪ SUCCESSION STATES

by Dr. Z. A. DESAI

### *Synopsis*

A very important phase of the Deccan style is represented by the architectural activities carried on by the five successors to the Bahmanī kingdom, namely, the 'Imād Shāhīs of Berar, the Barīd Shāhīs of Bidar, the Nizām Shāhīs of Ahmadnagar, the 'Ādil Shāhīs of Bijapur and the Quṭb Shāhīs of Golkonda. While it continued to be influenced by the Persian style, there was a greater influence of the local traditions than previously, in building methods as well as in the field of ornament.



The mature phase of the Indo-Muslim architecture of the Deccan is characterised by extensive architectural activities that were undertaken, in varying degrees, by or under the patronage of the five Succession States to the Bahmanī kingdom, to wit, the 'Imād Shāhīs of Berar, the Nizām Shāhīs of Ahmadnagar, the Barīd Shāhīs of Bidar, the 'Adil Shāhīs of Bijapur and the Quṭb Shāhīs of Golkonda and Hyderabad. In this phase, the style assumed a wholly regional character, developing an individuality of its own, which was marked by grandeur of conception and soundness of structural principles on the one hand, and on the other, by some prominent architectural forms and lavish decoration schemes. Then, while the style continued to be influenced by Persian forms and ideas, there was a somewhat greater absorption of the indigenous building traditions, less in the structural but more in the ornamental medium. The initiation of this character of the style had already taken place in the Bidar period of the Bahmanī architecture, but its full development came only under the succession states, more notably the 'Adil Shāhīs and Quṭb Shāhīs, under whom, the style developed further regional tendencies. But it is perhaps the Barīdī rulers under whom the architectural style determined a few basic features from which the more developed architectural styles of the two last-mentioned dynasties seem to have been ultimately evolved. Incidentally, from the stylistic affinities in the architecture of the succession states, a significant truth emerges, namely that, the two states in the north and north west regions of the old Bahmanī empire, the 'Imād Shāhī and the Nizām Shāhī on the one hand and the remaining three, the Barīd Shāhī, the 'Adil Shāhī and the Quṭb Shāhī on the other, have more in common with each other.

#### A *The 'Imād Shāhīs*

Fathu'l-lāh 'Imādu'l-Mulk, the *ṭarafdar* of Berār under Muhammad Shāh and his successor, like his contemporaries, professed but nominal allegiance to his overlords, virtually governing the region as an independent kingdom, with Gāwilgarh as the fortress-capital and Elīchpūr, the seat of government. He was succeeded on his death in 1504, by his son 'Alāu'd-dīn 'Imād Shāh, but the dynasty established by him was the most short-lived among those of the succession states, as Berār was first annexed by the Nizām Shāhī kings in 1574 and finally to the Mughal empire about two decades later. It was only natural that in so short a period the 'Imād Shāhī kings could hardly find time and mood to conduct any architectural activities on a large scale. Again, it is no less significant that their rule virtually came to an end at a time when the regional architectural styles at Bijapur and Golkonda were still in the intermediate stages of evolution, and were yet to assume their typical character. This was more or less true of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom of Ahmadnagar.

which partially fell to the Mughals in 1600, but managed to survive until 1637. Nevertheless, even in their short life-spans, marked by strifes and turmoils, these dynasties did not far lag behind in architectural activities, and they are on record as having been responsible for the construction of a large number of beautiful and imposing edifices, which, unfortunately, have in most cases either disappeared or are in a dilapidated condition. However, the truth remains that due to the limited extent of time and opportunity at their disposal, none of the two kingdoms could produce such powerful and distinct styles as were evolved at Bijapur or Golkonda.

The surviving 'Imād Shāhī monuments, consisting of palaces, now in ruins, and of mosques, are at Narnāla in Ākōlā district, and Gāwilgarh and Elichpūr in Amrāoti district. There are a few more monuments, comprising mosques at Anjanī Khurd, Fathkhera, Malkāpūr and Rohankhēr in Buldana district, which were built immediately after the annexation of Berār by the Nizām Shāhīs. The distinguishing feature of the early monuments, built exclusively of ashlar stone masonry and remarkable for their fine workmanship, is their chaste simplicity, and they reflect to a large extent the vigour and robustness of the Mālwa monuments. The extant buildings chiefly comprise mosques, which are multi-domed and with more than five openings. A certain measure of their individual character is seen in the treatment of their façade. Built on a high plinth, with flights of stairs on its entire front as a stylobate, it has square pylon like buttresses at ends surmounted above the roof level by square *chhatrīs* or domed kiosks. These pylons, a distinctive feature of the Berār mosques, are marked by neatly carved string-courses, run into vertical panels, which are carved with artistic designs like shallow niches, circular discs or lotus rosette bosses. The mosques are otherwise plain, their decorative features being limited chiefly to the bands of neat stone-carving in pleasing geometrical or floral patterns, mostly above the arches of the façade between the cornice and the parapet, as well as on the pylons, and to the delicate trellis-work in elegant designs and of exquisite workmanship filling the sides of the *chhatrīs* above the latter. A projecting *chhajjā* or cornice supported on averagely-moulded brackets, shades the façade, but in the *chhatrīs* it is deeper, and their more artistic brackets are reminiscent of the serpentine brackets of Gujarat workmanship found at Chandēri in Mālwa. The parapet is usually crenellated with trefoil merlons. Architecturally, the influence of Mālwa style is clearly discernible in the design and treatment of the graceful pointed arches which have a certain stilt and of shapely hemispherical domes. The latter are remarkable for their easy contour and pleasing outline, recalling to mind the Sayyid-Lodī tombs of Delhi or of the Jahāz-Mahal at Māndu. On the whole, the style gives an impression of refinement and simple dignity.

The secular buildings in the fort of Narnāla and Gāwilgarh have disappeared or are in too dilapidated a condition to permit a proper assessment of

their original architectural character. But the extant remains, such as Rani Mahal, a plain solid structure with a three arched front and a roof of vaulted bays resting on heavy square columns, the Hammām (Bath), the Ambār Khānā etc., in the former, and like buildings in the latter, testify to their original dimensions and grandeur. The most outstanding feature of the Narnāla fort is the elegantly designed and skilfully executed Mahākālī gateway, built in 1487 by ‘Imādu’l-Mulk during the reign of his Bahmanī overlord. This gateway is wholly Indo-Persian in design and contains certain features which seem to have determined the general character of the mosque facades. It rises to a total height of about 38 feet and consists of an entrance arch of the usual pointed variety, with a plain outline which is enclosed within an outer recessed arch of similar shape but with a decorative outline of the moulded pattern. Above the arches run a few horizontal courses, corbelled out on thick stump-like brackets, the spaces between which are embossed with fine rosettes with an ornamental parapet of trefoil merlons crowning all, while flanking them are two identical vertical panels in relief, suggestive of pylons, which are cut, one each, by neat string-courses into five smaller panels. The latter are decorated with exquisitely carved designs comprising embossed medallions and rosettes or shallow arched niches. From either side of the gateway projects an identical set of galleries and rooms, the most striking feature of which are two beautifully designed balconied windows, projecting from two different angles, supported on corbelled brackets and shaded by deep cornices. The fine effect of light and shade produced by them is further accentuated by the device by which these sections are carried right to the top of the sides from which they project, while each of them ends into two decorated panels of sculptured trellis-work wrought in varied geometrical patterns, largely adding to the picturesque effect. The general design of the entrance and the fine contour of the pointed arches, contrasted with the masses and voids created by the projections, the ornamental string-courses and sculptured panels, the fine tracery of the stone-lattice work and the rich cornice and brackets of the balconied windows, have been all blended with perfect harmony to produce an architectural achievement of a fairly high order.

A very fine specimen of the architectural style of an ‘Imād Shāhī mosque is provided by the Great Mosque, now in partial ruins, in the Gāwīlgaṛh fort. It is built on a high terrace, bound on the west by the prayer-hall and enclosed on the remaining three sides by an arcaded screen wall with battlement crests of pleasing design, and with a large gateway in the east and smaller entrances in the north and south sides. The large gateway is in itself an imposing structure constructed on the model of the Mahākālī gateway without its flanking set of rooms and galleries. The interior of the mosque was divided by square pillars into seven aisles, each three bays deep, but now only two front bays remain, the third one along with the back wall having collapsed some

time ago. All the twentyone compartments thus formed were surmounted by a corresponding number of full domes of pleasing contour, of which only fourteen now remain. The central dome in the front row is large and is also placed on a lofty circular drum moulded at its rim in the pattern of diagonally laid bricks, and is decorated by a parapet of trefoil merlons alternating with small domed finials jammed between two split halves of merlons, a feature copied perhaps from the earlier Sōlhā Khambā Masjid of Bīdar. The larger prayer hall has a facade of seven arched openings resting on square pillars and is flanked by two square pylons of the same type as described above, each of which, instead of being surmounted by a minār, was originally capped by a highly ornamental little square kiosk of great elegance. These kiosks were decorated with a deep cornice supported on rich serpentine brackets of attractive design, artistically arranged, and each of their four sides was originally filled with perforated screen work. The facade is also adorned by a cornice supported on closely set thick and heavy brackets and above it the parapet wall is decorated all along with a row of blind arched panels. These, along with the rosette bosses carved in between the brackets and on arch spandrels, and the string-courses of the pylon, constitute the main decorative features of the mosque. Traces of a certain amount of encaustic tile work have been noticed. Some of its architectural features, like the treatment of its stately stilted flattish arches of the pointed variety, the design of the brackets, the graceful curves of its fine Sayyid-Lodī type of domes, and the decorative scheme of restrained carving and encaustic tile work, recall to mind similar features of the Jāmi' Masjid and Jahāz Mahal at Māndū and the Jāmi' Masjid and Madrasah at Chandēri. On the whole, the mosque, apart from providing a splendid specimen of the 'Imād Shāhī architecture is, even in its ruined state, a monument of great architectural appeal.

There is one monument at Elichpūr, namely the 'Īdgāh, which, despite the extensive repairs carried out to it, has a few early architectural features. Locally believed to have been constructed in 1347, it is in the usual plan of a one wall mosque, with five recessed prayer niches, crenallated at the top and buttressed at either end by sloping towers. To the north of the central prayer niche is a raised pulpit in the form of a domed structure shaded by projecting eaves on brackets and adorned with a parapet and finials at the corners most of which have fallen down. The shape of the receding arches of the prayer-niche, conforming to the pointed horse-shoe variety, is similar to those occurring in the late fourteenth century tombs at Gulbarga.

The only other extant building which has retained the 'Imād Shāhī architectural style to a certain extent is the Jāmi' Masjid of Elichpūr, which was repaired by an official of Aurangzeb. But these repairs do not seem to have much interfered with the prayer-chamber of the mosque as such, though in more recent times it appears to have undergone some changes, particularly



above the roof. The prayer-chamber consists of a spacious hall four bays deep, having a facade of eleven arches, and is roofed by eleven small domes in the front row. At the rear it seems to have had a large central dome covering the central portion of the interior to the extent of six bays, but the original dome, along with the side ones, is no longer there. The interior is plain and simple to the point of being severe, the decorations being limited to rosette bosses in the arch spandrels under the central dome. However, some variation was provided by the use of double columns in the bays under the two arches flanking the intermediate three ones. Originally a late Tughluq feature, the use of double column is also found in Malwa monuments. Apart from this, the general design of the facade, the shape of its stilted pointed arches, the treatment of the cornice and the parapet are much in the same style as in the Gāwīlgarh mosque.

Another building which can be attributed to the 'Imād Shāhīs is a curious structure at Elichpūr called Hauz-Katōrā, which now stands divested of some of its original features through the neglect of centuries. In its present state, it consists of a three-storeyed octagonal tower, standing in the midst of a tank and it must have been intended as a pleasure pavilion. The lower two storeys are faced with stone, and the upper storey is of brick, but it must have been originally plastered over. On the sides above the arches of the lowest storey, facing the cardinal points, are four series of four brackets each, with rosette bosses in between, these were evidently meant to support balconies, now altogether missing, which must have added to the general picturesque effect of the structure. But it is the upper storey which is the most striking of all. Here, at the base and above the arches of the lower storey, runs all around the sides a gallery on brackets of two stones each, which number six on each of the four sides other than those facing the cardinal points. In the latter, the gallery is interrupted in the middle, the place of two brackets there being taken by four larger brackets of three stones each, projecting forward and upward from the line of the other brackets. On these large brackets originally rested projecting canopied windows, traces of the upper parts of which may still be seen. While the interior of the lower storeys seem to have just comprised a large octagonal hall with arched openings, that of the upper one comprised a large hall in the centre with other halls radiating from and connected to it on all sides. The ceiling of these halls is domical being supported on the pendentive system of support for the dome. A decorative band representing a battlement of large and small merlons of trefoil design with small arched niches below runs horizontally half way through the exterior wall surface. All these features, particularly the projecting balconies and windows from the sides, have been conceived and executed with a considerable amount of skill and imagination. The stilted ogee shape of the arches, the design of the brackets, the lower ones of which, it is of interest to note, are fashioned in the elephant-trunk

design, and the general treatment of the whole structure is in keeping with the architectural character of the mosques at Gāwīlgarh and Elichpūr

Two other mosques which can be ascribed to this dynasty are the Dāru'sh-Shifā mosque at Elichpūr and the Jāmī 'Masjid at Malkāpūr. Both are of much the same type, each comprising a prayer-hall two bays deep, flanked by the typical square pylons at front ends, and consisting of five arched openings under a bold cornice on close-set brackets, decorated by an additional parapet of trefoil crenellation and roofed by ten very low domes. Even the treatment of the pointed arch of the stilted type and the main decorative feature, consisting chiefly of the neatly carved string courses, the embossed rosettes etc., and their arrangement, are almost similar. Architecturally, the only departure from the style represented in the Gāwīlgarh and Elichpūr mosques is that the arches in these mosques are wider, which was perhaps due to the smaller number of arched openings, necessitated in their turn by the smaller size of the mosques. Their chief claim to importance lies in their being among the very few monuments in Berar datable to the 'Imād Shāhī period.

Even with the annexation of Berār to the Ahmadnagar kingdom, architectural activities did not immediately come to a close. This is evident from quite a few mosques, which were built within a decade of the termination of the independent 'Imād Shāhī dynasty. These are constructed in general conformity with the prevailing style, with certain changes. To what extent these changes, relating chiefly to the elevational aspect of the mosques, indicate the influence of Ahmadnagar, it is difficult to say in the absence of definite data, but there seems to be some interchange of influence between the two styles in the beginning of the last quarter of the sixteenth century. With the reduced size of the prayer-hall, the arched openings in the facade were limited invariably to three, the height of the hall was raised with corresponding rise of the square pylons at end, the piers of arches assumed the form of pillars with octagonal shafts and bases, the eave stone or cornice has a steeper downward slant and the multi-domed character of the early phase is abandoned in preference to a single dome in the centre.

These features appear for the first time in the Chhōtī Masjid of the Gāwīlgarh Fort, built, according to an inscription, in 1577-78 by a Nizām Shāhī official<sup>22</sup>. It consists of a single prayer-hall two bays deep, having two square pylons at front ends and three arched openings on the east under a deep and somewhat steep cornice. The parapet wall above is carved in low relief, with a band representing intersection of arches. The original small *chhatris* above its side pylons have disappeared. Its otherwise fine proportions are marred by the fact that the piers are a little too short for the shapely arches.

supported by them. Also, the somewhat smaller volume of the single dome detracts from the general effect of the mosque, more so in the absence of the *chhatrīs*.

The other two mosques of this style, which indicate an attempt to remove these defects, are those at Fathkhēra (1581) and Rohankhēr (1582) in Buldāna district, which were also built by a Nizām Shāhī official. Almost identical in design and general treatment, they provide fine specimens of the modified version of the style as described above, the main change being that from rear corners also rise square turrets crowned by domed *chhatris*, with arched opening in each side, shaded by projecting eaves on brackets, giving them an appearance of miniature open tombs. Both are situated at the western end of a large courtyard surrounded on all the four sides by a high and thick battlemented wall. They are reached through an entrance gate and their central domes are placed on lofty drums topped with merlon cresting interspersed with finials. The Fathkhēra mosque however, is a trifle heavier in appearance than that at Rohankhēr, from which it mainly differs in the volume of its dome which is slightly larger, and in the treatment of the *chhatrīs* which are octagonal in plan with circular *chhajjas* on brackets and attenuated squatish little domes of ribbed pattern. The drum is slightly more ornate, having a series of mouldings at the upper rim and surmounted by two rows of parapet bands. The design in the upper row of the latter, representing the motif of interlacing arches, and that of the finials, with a bulging pot-like section in the middle, are reminiscent of similar late Bahmanī features. In the Rohankhēr mosque the kiosks are square with corresponding *chhajja* on brackets and plain domes, which are more in harmony with the entire composition.

There is one other mosque which, though left unfinished, provides a fitting conclusion to the building activities of Berār in the 'Imād Shāhī style. Situated at Anjanī Khurd village near Mehkar, this three-bayed mosque with the usual triple facade is built up solidly upto the crowns of arches all round, and in general design resembles the Fathkhēra mosque, but when completed, it would have been far more impressive on account of the excellent proportions of its different parts, more particularly of its stone columns and arches and the ornate character of the shafts and bases of its pillars and the decorative treatment of its central *mihrāb*.

## B The Nizām Shāhīs

The Nizām Shāhī dynasty founded by Ahmad Nizāmu'l-Mulk in 1490 ruled over the north-western provinces of the Bahmanī kingdom for well nigh a century and a half. Though it had already suffered a major set-back with the fall of Ahmadnagar in 1600 at the hands of Akbar, it managed, under the aegis of Malik 'Ambar and his son, to defy extinction for the next four decades.

The Nizām Shāhī kings, like other contemporary kings in Deccan, took sufficient interest in the promotion of art and architecture. A large number of beautiful and interesting monuments of all types, palaces, mosques, tombs etc., were constructed by the kings as well as some of their nobles, not only at the newly founded city of Ahmadnagar, but in the outlying towns of Daulatābād, Jālānā, Junnār, Khuldābād, Paithān, etc. But unfortunately, not only no systematic attempt at the study of the Nizām Shāhī monuments has been made, but very little of their architectural activities is even known. This has led to the erroneous view that the buildings were constructed by the nobles and ministers, and as such, were devoid of that grandeur and magnificence which is associated with the architecture of Bijapur and Golkonda.<sup>23</sup> As a matter of fact, the earlier buildings at Ahmadnagar are either in ruins or were extensively added to or altered by the British in the early part of the nineteenth century. Of the royal palaces very little is left in the Ahmadnagar Fort, where most of the structures are reported to have been razed to the ground by General Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington) and to whatever little had survived, changes were carried out to make them suitable for military offices and residences. Likewise, most of the prominent edifices in the city also were converted, with additions and alterations, into office and residential buildings for the district authorities.<sup>24</sup>

The Nizām Shāhī building art material was based, as in the case of the other succession states, on the later Bahmanī style, as is evidenced by the stilted stiff angular arches of the Jāmi' Masjid in the city of Ahmadnagar and the large gateway in the fort, which have undergone large-scale repairs or alterations. But the style seems to have much sooner shed these characteristics, and developed a character of its own, which derived some of its strength both from indigenous sources and from those from Malwa and Gujarat.

This influence is first reflected in fine dressed stone and lime masonry of its building material, large and substantial monolith pillars of black stone carved in Hindu fashion, not uncommonly used in mosques, eight-sided shafts of pillars, decorative carving on stone and the like features. As to the general design of the buildings, the palaces appear to have been built in the same style as in other centres of Deccan architecture. Though, in view of their ruins or partial or total disappearance, it is difficult to determine their original character, there are sufficient vestiges in the form of excavated remains in the Ahmadnagar fort as well as ruins in and around the city, which show that in their original entirety they must have ranked among the best of their class. In the field of mosques too, not many specimens have come down to us. Their general design has evidently undergone no basic change, comprising prayer-halls divided into arcaded bays and aisles. The treatment of its

<sup>23</sup> Radhey Shyam, *The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar*, 1966, 390

<sup>24</sup> *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, XVII, *Ahmadnagar*, (Bombay, 1884), 694-703

various parts had some features somewhat different from those of their counterparts in Bijapur or Golkonda, but which had considerable affinity with those in the early Berar mosques. These mosques are built on high plinths and at either end of the facade are square pylons or buttresses divided into vertical panels by string-courses extending all around the walls and surmounted at four corners by domed kiosks on pillars or light minarets. They are roofed by one or more central domes. But what came to be associated at a later date with a Nizām Shāhī mosque was the flying arch resting on small minārs in the middle, or springing from two flanking minaret of the facade. This typical feature had perhaps its origin in the early 'Idgāh at Ahmadnagar, where on account of lack of space for it in the wall, the central dome had to be replaced by a suitable medium in the form of an arch for breaking the long stretch of the skyline. Similarly, in a mosque without a central dome the extra elevation needed over the central part of the roof, was provided by a small or large arch-ring thrown across between two central or side minārs, thus simulating the outlines of a small or large dome.

In the case of the tombs, the design represented in the late Bahmanī prototype with some changes—as for example replacement of corner finials by square domed kiosks with arched openings, and their elimination from the parapet—seems to have been common. But there is considerable variety in the treatment of the wall surfaces, as also arch-outlines, which in some later tombs of about the first quarter of the seventeenth century, have been given a cusped design. There are a few examples of the octagonal tombs, open tombs and tombs with a pyramidal elevational aspect, but the square tombs greatly outnumber them. There is also at least one tomb with a pyramidal roof, at Junnār, which except for that feature conforms to the more common variety. The most striking feature of the tombs next to the treatment of the facades is the fine and graceful curves of its hemispherical dome, a feature almost consistently present throughout the entire period of the style.

Another remarkable feature of the Nizām Shāhī monuments is their fine proportions and the almost perfect shapes of its arches and domes. A characteristic feature of their ornamentation is a greater number of carved decorative panels on structural members such as arch piers, back of arched recesses and parapets of which the most typical example is furnished by the Damrī mosque at Ahmadnagar. Traces of lavish and delicate surface decoration in stucco in varied patterns in arch spandrels and more prominently in the ceilings, have been found in the palace remains and other buildings. Some fine examples of trellis work of a high order are to be seen in the tomb of Malik 'Ambar at Khuldābād. The prominent motifs or ornaments comprise niches with different arch-shapes, chain-cum-pendants hanging from their apex or containing flagon-like vessels, and a circular boss shaped as the calyx of a lotus, projecting from the centre of a panel in the wall. On the palace gateway

inside the Ahmadnagar fort, the bracket motif of the elephant-trunk supporting a large circular disc is also found

Among the earliest monuments at Ahmadnagar, one is the Jāmi' Masjid of the city. Even though it has been extensively renovated in recent times, the fine arches of the facade and some brackets and beautifully designed struts are more or less original. The roof was externally covered by domes of medium height as well as shallow domes. The domical ceilings resting on the pendentive of intersection of arches are lined with a circular ribbed ring within the base of the dome, from which issue coverage ribs supported on struts, to meet at the apex of the dome, the whole giving the impression of a wooden inner frame for the dome.

The other early building of note is the double storeyed gateway of the Palace inside the fort, consisting of a lofty arched doorway in the centre flanked on each side by a projecting balcony supported by four richly ornamented brackets in the upper and arched rooms in the lower row. The pillars and arches of the balconies have since disappeared. The interior is remarkable for the wealth of the stucco ornamentation on the ceiling as well as on piers. This as well as the low arches and numerous little niches under each arch, some of which are intact, leaves no doubt as to the age of this building. Excavations carried out in 1913 and subsequent years have revealed remains of extensive buildings which give an idea, however vague, of the magnificence of the original buildings.<sup>25</sup> Among the other early buildings is the tomb of the first Nizām Shāhī ruler, Ahmad (1490-1510), which is one of the finest buildings in Ahmadnagar. Built of black stone it measures about 40 feet square and is roofed by a hemispherical dome. Its facade is treated with a row of large arched recesses enclosed within rectangular panels, while a row of smaller arched niches of two different designs, placed alternately, runs above it. Above the bracketed cornice, is ranged the parapet of blind merlons, interspersed with small domed finials in the late Bahmanī style.

The first typical tomb in the Nizām Shāhī style is the one locally called Rūmī Khān's Tomb, which was constructed some time in the middle of the sixteenth century. Measuring about 26 feet square and rising to a height of about 40 feet, it is crowned by an impressive large full dome of the Sayyid-Lodī type. At four corners are flat-roofed square kiosks, and in between them, a parapet of trefoil merlons. The outside walls are divided into two horizontal pointed rows of three recessed arches each, which are of the variety displaying a tendency to ogee shape at the top. The middle one of the lower arches is larger. Separating the two rows are a series of string-courses and a band of blind merlon-crests. The shapely dome placed on a lofty drum within the band

<sup>25</sup> These are fully described in *Progress Report, ASI, Western Circle, Report ending 31st March 1920*, 69-70.

of petals is in contrast with flat-roofed kiosks at corners. The treatment of the exterior and the overall fine proportions make this tomb one of the outstanding monuments of this style. The mosque of Rūmī Khān, measuring about 40 by 30 feet, is a double-storeyed mosque. The prayer-hall comprising the upper storey has a three-arched facade and is two bays deep, its flat roof being supported on round pillars of black polished stone. A tomb datable to this time, is that of Sayyidu's-Sādāt at Paithān. Its chief point of interest is in the ornamental quintifoil shape of the recessed arches on the wall, recalling to mind the similar feature in the Langar-kī Masjid at Gulbarga.<sup>26</sup> To this early phase may perhaps belong an undated tomb at Junnār, situated near the Habashī Gumbad. Square on plan, its exterior is decorated with the usual large and small arched recesses, and a cornice on close-set brackets, with an emphasis on its middle, while a parapet of the usual designs and finials adorn the top. The most striking feature of the tomb is its pyramidal roof.

The Do Botī Chīrā (lit Two finger-hold) Tomb at Ahmadnagar (c 1561), locally believed to enshrine the remains of Sharza Khān, consists of a square chamber with three aches of unequal size on two of its sides. The whole is shaded by a deep cornice supported on brackets, and above it runs a simple parapet. The roof is crowned by a full dome placed on a lofty circular drum, the phase of transition from the square chamber to the octagon being achieved through squinches. The building is remarkable for its chaste simplicity and carries with it an air of impressiveness.

One of the most typical examples of a Nizām Shāhī mosque is provided by the Damrī Masjid, a small gem-like building of very neat design and fine workmanship, particularly of the carvings on its facade and the central *mīhrāb*. It consists of a single prayer-hall of three aisles, each two bays deep, with corresponding arched openings in the north and south walls, and its flat roof is supported on arches springing from octagonal pillars placed on foliated bases. The facade has three arches of the pointed variety, shaded by a steep cornice on evenly placed brackets and flanked by a richly decorated square pylon at each end crowned by a slender and graceful minaret, which also occurs at the rear corners. From the middle of its highly ornamental parapet wall, topped by a cresting of double merlons of trefoil pattern, are placed square ornamental piers carrying two slender minārs which enclose the flying arch, marking an outline of a pointed dome. These minārs have ornamental balconies and heavy *chakra*-like moulding, domed by orbs of a fully developed type. The mosque resembles, to a certain extent, the mosques at Rohankhēr and Fatkhkhēra, except that it is much more ornate, and moreover, the highly artistic treatment of its upper part including the flying arch is quite different. This might indicate that it was an improved version of the former and as such might have been built after 1582.

<sup>26</sup> RADN, 1936-7, pl VI b

A Nizām Shāhī monument of note, which indicates a departure from the usual single chambered square type of tombs, is the magnificent tomb of Salābat Khān II, the minister of Murtazā I (1565-88), and himself a builder of note. Locally known as Chānd Bibī ka Mahal, it is perhaps the most picturesque monument at Ahmadnagar, being situated on a small hill and commanding a view of the surrounding country. Built on a lofty octagonal terrace of stone about 300 feet in width and 12 feet in height, the tomb consists of an octagonal hall about 12 feet across surrounded by a three storeyed verandah about 20 feet broad, the sides of which are faced with alternate open and closed arches, the latter being provided with a number of smaller arched openings placed symmetrically. The whole building rises to a height of about 70 feet. The octagonal tomb, rising from the centre of an octagonal terrace, and the bracketed cornice separating these storeys, impart it with a simple dignity of its own.

With the death of Salābat Khān II, architectural activities at Ahmadnagar came to an end, and the last great monument constructed there was the large water palace garden, Farh Bāgh, started in 1576 and completed in 1583. The partially ruined palace building, as it stands today, is a two-storeyed structure of large dimensions, neatly planned, and it stands on an elevated octagonal terrace in the midst of a square tank, approachable through a 220 feet long causeway. The building is in the shape of an irregular octagon formed by chamfered corners, rising to a height of about 50 feet from the terrace. It consists of a large high-domed hall in the centre, surrounded by four square chambers at corners and four oblong chambers at sides.<sup>27</sup> The latter had each a large arch as high as the vaulted ceiling of the single-storeyed central hall, but only two of these arches remain. In front of these, on the terrace, were ornamental tanks and cisterns. Under each of these large openings there were four rows of five openings, two rows pertaining to each storey. Most of the side chambers on the first floor have collapsed. The walls of the chambers as well as those of the openings under the tall arched openings were covered with niches and richly decorated with surface ornament in varied patterns. What remains of this palace is sufficient to indicate its original magnificence and glory.

The monuments of the last phase of Ahmadnagar architecture include a few tombs at Daulatābād, Khuldābād, Ambar and Wakla in Aurangābād district, and a mosque and a tomb at Khēer in Poona district. The last mentioned deserve to rank among the best specimens of the Nizām Shāhī architectural style. Both these structures are situated within a walled enclosure measuring 421 by 333 feet, and have suffered much due to neglect. The tomb (c. 1613) is the better preserved of the two. It is built in conformity

<sup>27</sup> The ground plan of this building as well as those of the Mughal buildings under reference will be found in *ARASI*, 1925 26, pl IV, c, d, e



with the general features of the square-type tombs, with a double-storeyed exterior of blank arched recesses, and a shapely hemispherical dome placed on a lofty circular dome in the centre, and the characteristic square domed kiosks at corners. It is particularly remarkable for its noble proportions.

Far more important architecturally, however, is the small mosque, measuring about 35 by 28 feet, situated to its west. Though partly dilapidated, it is a very fine and well-proportioned structure, three shapely arches of its eastern facade have been decorated with minute cusps as in the tomb, but it has some interesting and unusual features. The interior is divided into three aisles and two bays by massive pillars of an elegant design—with octagonal shafts and voluted bases and capitals, which support the roof of the shouldered variety in the middle, above which rises the superstructure carrying the central dome. Most of the heavy ornamental brackets resting on struts which supported eave-slabs have fallen. The wall spaces between them are carved with panels containing lotus calyx bosses. But the most unusual feature of the mosque is the somewhat unconventional design of its upper part. The place of the usual central dome on drum, is taken by a full-fledged square tomb, with all its features of eaves, parapet, corner kiosks and the circular drum supporting a shapely hemispherical dome. This unusual feature is merged with the whole composition to produce a graceful and composite unit. Its other unusual feature is that the outer faces of its three walls are finely decorated with a double set of bands containing small but well-proportioned square and rectangular panels, separated from one another by a decorative border. A wide strip formed by two string-courses and carved with lotus-calyx bosses in bold relief, which separates the two panelled bands themselves, runs all along through the middle of the wall as well as through the facade. These features, combined with excellent proportions and homogeneous blending of its different parts, indicative of the designing skill of the architect, have transformed this otherwise small mosque into an architectural creation of a high order.

The largest of the **Khuldābād** tombs, situated at a little distance to the west of the tomb of Malik 'Ambar is a two-storeyed square tomb of the usual type. In spite of its plainness, it is particularly remarkable for the perfect balance between its upper and lower parts. Another tomb in the said group which is remarkable for its unusual design is the tomb of Zachcha Bachcha situated close to Malik 'Ambar's tomb. In general plan and design, it resembles to a certain extent the tomb of Shāh Ashraf Bayābānī near Ambar. In the latter, the square chamber measuring about 23 feet a side has each of its corners chopped off except at the top, to form an arched alcove. Against this, from the point of the angle, is raised a slim pillar ornamented in the middle with a bunch of lotus bud decoration and mouldings of different patterns above and below, which supports a large domed octagonal lantern, the sides of which are

adorned with arches filled in with trellis screens. The eight-sided walls are further extended upwards to form a battlemented octagonal terrace, on which is placed a circular drum supporting a fluted hemispherical dome adorned with a band of petal tips almost triangular in shape. Of the heavy corner lanterns, only one remains, and the central dome, otherwise of pleasing shape, appears too light for the building, but the entire composition of the tomb must have looked impressive in its original condition. The dilapidated tomb of Zachcha Bachcha seems to have had the octagonal section only up to the roof level, and its corner pillar has a plain shaft and only a voluted capital, enclosed within long moulded brackets. On these brackets, instead of the lantern, rests an octagonal kiosk topped by a small hemispherical dome with the petals of the usual Nizām Shāhī design as in the case of the central one.

A tomb of yet another design, giving the impression of a pyramidal aspect, so common in some of the Bijapur and Golkonda monuments, is the tomb at Wakla. It consists of a square chamber measuring about 33 feet inwardly, surrounded by an arched verandah. The two-storeyed central chamber is roofed by a dome placed on an octagonal drum and four smaller ones at corners. Apart from its pyramidal elevation, there is a skilful variation in the disposition of the five arches on each side of the verandah, of which those in the centre and ends are larger than the intermediate two.

By a coincidence, the last notable specimen of the Nizām Shāhī building art enshrines the remains of a man who has gone down in the history of Deccan as the saviour of the dynasty. It is the tomb of Malīk ‘Ambar (d. 1626) at Khuldābād. More or less of the same dimensions and in the same style as the one to its west, described above, ‘Ambar’s tomb is far more ornate. It mainly differs from the former in the treatment of the exterior of its walls which is divided into two unequal horizontal parts. The lower, which is larger, has a row of three equal shapely arches while the smaller upper part contains nine small but tall and narrow arches. The lower arches are given a cusped outline, and ornamental niches are carved out on the arch piers at the impost level. This variation in the facade by itself makes a difference in the general appearance of the building. But what has invested this tomb with its typical ornate character are the perforated stone panels in cusped and plain miniature arched shape, wrought in exceedingly pleasing diverse geometrical patterns of exquisite workmanship that fill the whole of the middle arches in the four walls.

### C *The Barīd Shāhīs*

The Barīd Shāhī rulers were in a way the direct successors to the Bahmanī kings. The founder of the dynasty, Qāsim Barīd (d. 1504), had risen to be the chief minister of the tottering Bahmanī kingdom. He wielded almost unrestrained power, and whatever titular authority of the Bahmanī Sultāns wa

left, it was ultimately put to an end by his son Amīr Barīd (1504-43), who became supreme after the flight of Kalīmū'l-lāh from the capital. But the first of the line to adopt the royal insignia was his son 'Alī (1543-79). 'Alī was greatly fond of architecture and it is from his time onwards that a distinct Barīdī style of building art became current. The tomb attributed to Qāsim I is a small square building, measuring about 20 feet a side, of no architectural significance. Roofed by a plain conical dome of eight facets, both externally and internally, it resembles the tombs of Walīu'l-lāh and Kalīmū'l-lāh at Ashtūr. The incomplete tomb of his successor Amīr Barīd, on the other hand, measuring about 64 feet a side, would have been quite imposing if it were completed, but in its present state, rises to the roof-level only. Its walls are divided externally into three equal vertical parts, the middle taken up wholly by a lofty arched portal enclosing the door, and each of the side ones by a double storey of two arches. But it was only under 'Alī that a distinct change came over the general architectural character of the buildings, and Bidar and its neighbourhood witnessed much building activities, either in new construction like his own tomb and mosque, or in restoration, alteration or rebuilding, as in the case of fortifications and palace buildings, particularly the Tarkash and Rangin Mahals.

The most striking feature of this change is in the general tone of the buildings. Instead of the heavy and somewhat sombre architecture of the late Bahmanī structures, the buildings now have a lightness of form and design, brought about either by change of architectural forms or by better workmanship and ornament. Even where the general design is not changed, the overall effect is of refinement and elegance. To a certain extent this change is attributable to a greater participation of the Hindu craftsmen and consequent assimilation of their artistic devices and ideas, but this almost exclusively related to matters of workmanship and decorative aspects. It is this tendency towards ornateness and fine finish which was elaborated by the Bijapur craftsmen with great artistic skill and expertise.

The most important Barīdī monuments consist chiefly of the tombs of the rulers and a few mosques, and represent a distinct architectural phase, which seems to have played an important part in the final evolution of the far more developed and extensive 'Adil Shāhī and Quṭb Shāhī styles. A notable thing about these tombs is that, in contrast to the practice hitherto whether at Gulbarga or at Bidar, each tomb has been constructed in picturesque surroundings, in a vast court laid out with walks, flower-beds etc., with its usual adjuncts of a mosque and an assembly-hall. The building material of the Barīdī monuments, whether tombs or mosques, is of a good quality stone with an occasional use of black polished stone. The workmanship is also finer than in the later Bahmanī monuments, so much so that some buildings like Kālī Masjid, would appear to be fashioned after wood construction which,

it may be remembered, is also a prominent and more widely employed feature in the 'Ādil Shāhī style

Likewise, a definite advance is seen both in the design and treatment of various parts of the buildings. The design of the late Bahmanī tomb was not altogether discarded though even there, by effecting a little reduction in the volume of the dome and slight change in its contours, and provision of impressive terraces (as in the case of the tomb of Qāsim II, 1589-91) the architect has succeeded to infuse a certain amount of lightness and refinement about them. Another feature is the better proportion between their upper and lower parts, and slightly more prominent finials and parapet. However, the most notable tomb type is the one represented by the tombs of 'Alī and Ibrāhīm (1579-87) which have large arched openings in their four sides. In this type, there is a parapet at the top, but the corner finials are replaced by oval-shaped pilaster tops, the engaged shafts of which run down to the base. Here too the dome is lighter, and the circular drum on which it is placed is more artistically treated than before. An interesting variation in this type is afforded by a tomb in Habashī-Kōt, in which a substantial battlemented square terrace with finials is introduced between the drum supporting the dome and the lower chamber, a feature which may have inspired the pyramidal two storeyed tombs in the 'Ādil Shāhī and Quṭb Shāhī styles. The treatment of its dome and the drum and the parapet of the terrace is similar to that of the Bahmanī tombs at Ashtūr, which indicates that the Habashī Kōt specimen could have formed a link between that tomb type and the Barīdī one on one hand and the Bijapur and Golkonda tombs on the other.

The plan and design of the mosque has also undergone some significant change. The mosques generally consisted of prayer-halls only, of three or more aisles, each two or more bays deep. Now the corner finials on the facade were transformed into slender minarets, rising from the floor in the form of buttresses, the portion of the back wall containing the central *mīhrāb* was prominently projected upwards as well as sideways, both internally and externally, and the *mīhrāb*, usually of seven sides, was topped with a dome placed on high square base. A certain emphasis was given to the central arch of the facade either by increasing its size or giving some conspicuous treatment to its outline or both. Incidentally, these features were also adopted and further perfected in the 'Ādil Shāhī mosques.

The progress of the style is also illustrated in the treatment of the dome and its drum. The massive dome covering the whole roof in the late Bahmanī tombs, loses volume and attains more shapely contour, becoming pointed and registering a slight curve both at the top and the bottom, a form which ultimately took the bulbous shape of the Bijapur and Golkonda domes. Also, instead of being octagonal as in the previous phase, the drum supporting the dome is circular and of suitable proportions. The parapet and

finials adorning its top and corners have now been dispensed with. It is now decorated with mouldings, and in most cases, half way from its surface projects an ornamental cornice supported on brackets, shading the recessed arched panels between them. The dome itself is decorated at its springing with a band of ornamental design comprising mostly of petals. In most cases, particularly in the tomb of Chānd Sulṭānā or the domes of the Kālī Masjid and the mosque of 'Alī Barīd's tomb, can be easily recognised as the precursor of the more prominent band of conventional petals from which bud shaped domes of the 'Ādil Shāhī and Quṭb Shāhī monuments rise. The corner finials of the Bahmani type comprising square pillars faced with miniature niches occur only at corners, and that too in the tombs of the closed variety.

Another feature of the Barīdī architecture is that the bracketed cornice though used elsewhere, appears for the first time now in Bidar monuments. The tombs have, as a rule, no cornice, except in the case of the Barber's Tomb and the tomb in Habāshī Kōt. But an interesting variation may be seen in the overhanging bracketed cornice adorning a miniature copy of a triple arched embattled facade representing three arched windows, in the upper middle arch of the southern gateway of 'Alī's tomb. On the other hand, the mosques have prominent cornices and brackets but these are comparatively simple and plain.

There was no distinct change in the design of the parapet: trefoil merlons simple as well as more foliated or ornamental, continued to be commonly used. Even the more artistic motif representing the interlacing or overlapping of arches, seen on some late Bahmani monuments, was also occasionally used as in the case of the mosque attached to 'Alī's tomb. In the mosque particularly, the long line of the parapet of uniform design was now relieved by intermittent small finials. This feature with a much greater elaboration of the finial became a typical feature in the 'Ādil Shāhī and Quṭb Shāhī mosques.

The decorative scheme of the Barīdī style was largely based on that of its predecessor. While encaustic tile decoration in bright colours continued to be one of its main features, there was much greater emphasis on surface decoration in cut plaster, particularly in the spandrels and apex of arches and the margins. Henceforth stucco decoration, which was of a very high order, came to be considered an essential part of the ornamental scheme of architectural buildings not only at Bidar but at Bijapur and Golkonda. Among the latter, more prominent are the chain-and-pendant motif,<sup>28</sup> leaf-and-lob motif particularly in the mouldings of pedestals or plinths, pot-motif, floral motif in various shapes and designs, and last but not the least the raised

28 This motif, which has been stated to be a special feature of the Barīdī monuments of Hindu origin (Yazdānī, *Bidar, its History and Monuments*, 57, n 2) is found in the fourteenth century Sulṭānate buildings as well as the sarcophagi in Gujarat. In the Deccan the early fifteenth century Jāmi Masjid of Sulṭān-Qulī too, it occurs in the central *mihra*

elephant-trunk-like bracket motif supporting a disc in the arch-spandrel, the last mentioned, it may be remembered, commonly occurs on 'Ādil Shāhī and Quṭb Shāhī buildings and has been found in the Nizām Shāhī palace gateway. Another medium of decoration which seems to have been popular in the Barīdī time was that of extensive wood carving of pillars and capitals, excellent specimens of which have survived in the Rangīn Mahal. The inlay of mother-o'pearl work was also resorted to.

On the structural side, there is no fundamental change except for the occasional use, along with the squinch arch or independent of it, of the pendentive of intersection of arches to support vaulted ceilings. The buildings have as a rule lofty and massive arches of good proportions, which generally conform to the late Bahmanī arch types. These are of the pointed variety with a persistent tendency to ogee flourish at the apex, and are wide-spanned when placed on low-piers, looking squat and stilted when imposed on piers of proportionate height, this feature, too, is noticeable in the 'Ādil Shāhī style. Another feature of the arches in Barīdī monuments is the prominence given to them by heavy mouldings in the form of receding outlines, and treating one of them with a string-course of cable pattern or *rudraksha* beads. The mouldings which are continued down to the columns or piers below, are projected at the impost level, giving it the impression of capital. This feature, somewhat rare in the Bijapur style, has an universal application in the Quṭb Shāhī monuments.

As stated above, it is only in the buildings of 'Alī that the Barīdī architectural style takes shape. 'Alī carried out large scale improvements to the fort and city walls, rebuilt the Rangīn Mahal and extensively altered the Tarkash Mahal. These buildings, however, are architecturally in the late Bahmanī style, from which they are only distinguishable by their decorative scheme. In the Rangīn-Mahal, the only structural innovation is the use of wooden columns, minutely carved all over in intricate patterns in the Hindu style which support the main hall. Its walls were originally faced with enamel tile decoration in floral and calligraphic designs and matching colours, but this has almost disappeared. However, a greater distinguishing feature is the fine glistening mother-o'pearl inlay work occurring on some of its archways, set in jet black stone or dark-coloured basalt.<sup>29</sup> The Tarkash Mahal, like most of the palace buildings in the old Bahmanī citadel of Bidar, has undergone such extensive alterations that it is impossible to determine its exact original plan or design.

Another monument, which is believed, perhaps without full justification, to have been constructed in the Bahmanī period and repaired and restored during the time of the Barīdī kings, is the Jāmi' Masjid of the town. This view is based on the shape of its main dome and style of the arches, "though its

<sup>29</sup> Traces of the mother-o'pearl work are also found on the dado bands of the upper storey of the palace in the Golkonda fort.

general appearance shows it to be of a much later date than the Bahmanī mosque in the fort <sup>30</sup> The mosque consists of a prayer-hall measuring about 144' by 65' standing at the west end of an extensive court of the same width as its length The imposing façade has seven arched entrances leading into three bays deep aisles, the middle arch is slightly larger in dimensions with an ornamental moulding marking the outer arch-ring The arches are of the pointed variety and have a pronounced stilt, while the columns on which they rest are somewhat low The roof, supported on arches springing from columns, is externally flat except over the middle bay at the rear near the *mīhrāb*, which has been covered with a large but somewhat flattish hemispherical dome, placed on an octagonal base The façade is decorated with a parapet of trefoil merlons, interspersed with a finial above each arch-pier, the somewhat clumsy way in which these finials are jammed in between two halves of a *kangūra*, a feature first seen in the Sōlhā Khambā Masjid, recalls to mind a similar device in the almost contemporary 'Ainu'l-Mulk's mosque at Bijapur The building has an additional architectural member in its bracketed cornice which, being an early feature in Bidar, is somewhat simple and plain There are no minarets, but only finials at corners, which also points to its earlier phase in the Barīdī style The mosque is plain, there being not much of surface decoration But the building has, in spite of its plain style, a certain elegance of its own on account of its façade of fine proportions, and would have been much more impressive if it were provided with a still larger dome in the middle and substantial minarets at corners in the absence of which the small finials in the parapet are too ineffective to break the sky-line

On the other hand, the pleasing tomb of 'Alī Barīd was architecturally such a success that it set a fashion in tomb architecture at Bidar Measuring about 58 feet square, it is built on a spacious platform in the midst of a vast garden, entered from the south through an imposing gateway The latter, a double-storeyed building of sufficient architectural merit in itself, has a façade decorated by two rows, placed one above the other, of three stilted arches having wide spans, low piers and receding outlines which are heavily moulded at the impost level The middle arches in both the rows are slightly larger, and the upper one is further emphasised by an ornamental window in the form of a miniature copy of the façade of a triple arched building shaded by projecting cornice supported on brackets and decorated by a parapet of interlacing arches between two domed finials The upper storey has a hall and rooms, whose walls are decorated with a large number of small niches, this feature, found in most of the palace-buildings throughout the Deccan and northern India, is evidently of Iranian origin <sup>31</sup>

30 Yazdani, *op cit*, 104

31 This feature which is also present in the palace of 'Alī Qapū in Iṣfahān of the early seventeenth century, goes back to the mosque of Ardabil still earlier and well into the fifteenth century (*Indian Arts and Letters*, IX, ii, 18)

Architecturally, in general design and treatment, the gateway looks somewhat heavy. But the tomb of 'Alī Barīd and the mosque attached to it have a different architectural character, marked by lightness of form and elegance of design. The former introduces a new design of an open tomb, its walls having each a lofty arch of pleasing proportions and crowned by a lofty drum supporting a shapely dome with an outline of three-quarters of an orb. The exterior of the tomb, up to the dado band, is carved with small rosettes, above which is a pair of vertically placed arches with large circular discs carved in their spandrels and a trefoil design at their apex. The remaining space above is cut into five horizontal panels. The whole building is marked by a parapet of trefoil design, and at the corners rise, instead of heavy finials, slender pinnacle-tops. The treatment of the dome as well as the drum indicates sufficient advancement in the style. The volume of the former is reduced and its shapely contour, divested of the stilt, registers a slight constriction towards the base, assuming the form which finally took a bulbous shape in the Bijapur and Golkonda styles. It is adorned at its springing place with a plaster railing of quintifoil parapet heads alternatively small and large, the latter pierced by a domed finial. The lofty drum is circular and is decorated with mouldings at the top and arched niches in the middle, and the latter are shaded by a running cornice supported on brackets. By raising the height of the drum and treating it in this fashion, the architect has succeeded in counteracting the otherwise top heavy appearance which the large, though shapely dome, would have presented. The interior of the tomb is treated in the same way as the exterior, but it is further embellished, in its different parts, with brilliant encaustic tiles of varying colours, executed with excellent taste and high sense of restraint. In short, these features have made 'Alī's tomb one of the outstanding monuments of its class.

Likewise, the mosque attached to the tomb, comprising a single prayer-hall, measuring about 42 feet by 15 feet and divided into three aisles, also introduces some new features in the hitherto prevailing architectural design. The façade of three heavily moulded shapely arches, which are placed on low piers, is flanked on either side by *mīnārs* the general design of which, particularly their form and galleried projections, is reminiscent of the *mīnārs* of the great madrasah of Mahmūd Gāwān. Above the over-hanging cornice supported on brackets, runs a pretty parapet of interlacing arches. There is no dome above the vaulted ceiling below, which is formed by the device of intersection of arches. Although the projecting central *mīhrāb* at the rear rises considerably above the parapet and supports a shapely pointed dome placed on a circular base on a square terrace decorated by a trefoil parapet and finials, there is nothing to fill the void of the front elevational aspect, and even the somewhat larger volume of the minarets as compared to the slenderness of those in mosques of this type fails to compensate for the lack of an extra elevation which a subs



stantial central feature would have convincingly done. There is considerable stucco decoration of the usual floral pattern, along the base of the vaulted ceilings and in the arch spandrels. The motif of the bracket supporting a disc, designed in the shape of the raised trunk of an elephant or the leg of a couch that was a prominent design in the stucco decoration almost in all the Deccan styles, occurs here too. Equally interesting is the treatment of the domed top of the central *mīhrāb* projection, which is in the form of a miniature tomb, whose dome, placed on a circular base, has a constricted neck and base.

The next monument of note is the incomplete tomb of Ibrāhīm (d. 1587). Measuring about 42 feet square it is almost a replica on a small scale, of 'Alī's tomb from which it only differs in some minor details. The height of the arched portion in the wall is raised almost to its two-thirds as against about half in the case of its prototype, thus producing a better-looking façade. The dome is pointed instead of being three-quarters of an orb, and has thus a more pleasing outline, and the rim of the dome is externally decorated with a band of petals. The dado corners of the tomb have octagonal pillars, with foliated capitals and vase-like bases, and it is only from above these that the corner pilasters start. On the other hand, the trefoil parapet here is less ornate than in the tomb of 'Alī. Being left incomplete, there is little stucco or encaustic tile ornament, except in the arches, which is also about the same as in his father's tomb.

Among the other tombs of this style are the Barber's Tomb, the Dog's Tomb and an incomplete tomb. The first mentioned is remarkable for the shape of its dome, which is pointed with inwardly slanting stilts and also for a cornice-on-brackets, which is a new feature for tombs. The Dog's Tomb, which is quite remarkable for its fine proportions, resembles more to 'Alī's tomb but its whole side on each face is taken up by a single arch and has a high and narrow base for its dome. The incomplete tomb is more on the line of 'Alī's tomb, but its construction seems to have stopped at the level of the duodecagonal base for its dome.

However, the earlier closed variety of the square tombs did not completely disappear and remained in vogue side by side with the open type. Its best specimen is provided by the tomb of Qāsim II. Though modest in dimensions, measuring only about 31 feet square, it strikes a very happy balance between its height and the width, and is crowned by a slightly pointed dome of somewhat bulbous outline, its constriction at the base being concealed in the band of parapet motif. The volume of the dome is also reduced and it is less bulbous than that in the two open tombs mentioned above. The exterior of the walls is more or less the same as in the late Bahmanī tombs, and so is the battlement of trefoil merlons and domed finials at corners. On the whole, it presents a much more elegant appearance than its Bahmanī prototype, owing to its fine

proportions and superior workmanship, and the high platform on which it stands lends to it a greater dignified appearance. Almost similar to it in architectural details, workmanship and general effect is the tomb standing on a platform to its west. It is somewhat smaller, being a square of about 24 feet aside, but has a very shapely dome which is pointed like a Persian dome from which it would be difficult to distinguish if its stilts which slant inwards, were vertical.

Another notable tomb of the closed type is that of *Khān-i Jahān* (c 1553). It is of small dimensions, being about 25 feet square and has, as in the case of its counterparts, a double-storeyed exterior on all sides, the rectangular panels and arch spandrels and tops being worked with finely wrought surface decoration in cut-plaster in foliage and calligraphic patterns. Also noteworthy is the shape of the dome which is of the stilted pointed variety. Though in this case the stilts are vertical unlike in the case of the tomb mentioned last, it has not achieved a true outline of a pointed Persian dome on account of its low height above the stilts.

Another tomb of the closed variety but slightly different in elevational aspect, is the one locally called that of *Chānd Sultāna*, after its crescent-shaped pinnacle. Measuring about 28 feet square, it is crowned with a very shapely hemispherical dome of almost perfect curves. The dome, at the place at which it springs from the circular base, is covered with a band of conventional petals of almost the same developed form as in the dome of the mosque adjacent to 'Alī's tomb. While the parapet and corner finials conform to the general pattern of the close-type tombs, the treatment of its exterior walls is different. It has on each side a single row of three prominently stilted arches of fine proportions set within rectangular panels, with a few bands and mouldings dividing them from the parapet. Though the tomb was very likely left incomplete its walls, built of rough tooled masonry have not been plastered over, its significance lies in that it starts for the first time a new type of a fully developed façade, which came to be generally adopted in the *Qutb Shāhī* tombs of this type. Incidentally, this feature is also noticeable in two more tombs at Bidar—one situated to the south of the tomb of *Humāyūn Shāh* and another to the east of the *Chaukhandī* of *Hazrat Khālilu'l-lāh*, on the way to *Ashtūr*<sup>32</sup>. These have certain points, in varying degrees, of similarity with the tomb under description, the most striking being the band of conventional leaf at the springing of the dome and the pointed stilted arches of the three arched facade in the latter. But the treatment of the façade in the so-called tomb of *Chānd Sultāna* has a more refined and dignified appearance, particularly in view of the prominent plinth below.

32. The exterior of only one of these two is illustrated in *Yazdāni, op cit*, pl LXXXVI, for the interior of both, see *ibid*, pls, LXXXVII, LXXXVIII.

Another interesting building generally assigned to the early Barīdī period, but which on stylistic grounds cannot be of that early date, is the Kālī Masjid<sup>33</sup> Architecturally, it broadly conforms to the general design of the mosque attached to 'Alī Barīd's Tomb, but its individual features, particularly the mīnārs are almost of a fully developed pattern. It consists of a prayer-hall, measuring about 46 feet by 35 feet internally, which is entered through three arches of considerable dimensions. The interior is divided into six compartments by means of massive columns on which rest the arches which support the casket-shaped ceiling in the middle bay at the rear and shallow domed ceiling in other bays. The square buttress-like projection of the decagonal *mīhrāb* in the rear wall is surmounted by a miniature open tomb, which is almost a replica of the Dog's Tomb described above. The façade is adorned with a bracketed cornice flanked at either end by an incomplete octagonal minaret rising from a large stone-pedestal which is in the shape of the base and feet of a casket. A parapet of trefoil design runs all along the four sides of the hall. The arches, which are of the pointed variety, are stilted and have a tendency to the ogee shape, and though somewhat widespanned, have still a pleasing appearance on account of their piers of normal height. The arch-shaped panels between the brackets of the cornice are carved with rosettes, chain-and-pendant, etc. The vaulted ceiling in the interior is elaborately decorated with cut-plaster work.

Apart from the pleasing proportions and wood-like workmanship which make the Kālī Masjid an interesting monument, its architectural importance lies not less in the fact that it represents a fully-developed style of architecture which, with very few modifications, established the architectural design and form of mosques at Bijapur. There are, however, certain features in this mosque which militate against the early date assigned to it. Apart from the general design, which is not easily distinguishable from a Bijapur mosque of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century (except for its feature of the small dome at the rear instead of in the centre), the shape and workmanship of the fully-developed mīnār with its casket-pedestal, and the bracketed cornice and arched niches under them, would suggest a later date for this mosque. It has been noted above that in the mosque of 'Alī Barīd's tomb, which must belong to the later sixteenth century, these features are not so well developed. Also, the more refined character of the mosque, emphasised by its exquisite workmanship of stone material and some of its forms which would be more appropriate in wood — should indicate that the Kālī Masjid must have been built towards the close of the sixteenth century if not later.

Another monument, the date of which is not certain but which possesses both the Barīdī and 'Adīl Shāhī features, is the mosque situated to the north-

east of the tomb of *Hazrat Makhdūm Qādirī*. This monument belongs to late sixteenth century and is of considerable dimensions, measuring about 42 feet square. It is built in the style of the tomb of *Qāsim II*, differing from it in the shape of its stilted dome, which as in the case of the tomb of *Hazrat Sayyidu's-Sādāt* rises to a somewhat disproportionate height <sup>34</sup>

The mosque in question is likewise a monument of no mean order. It comprises a prayer-hall, measuring about 31 by 20 feet internally, divided into three compartments, and is roofed by a large central dome. The façade has three shapely arches of uniform size which are remarkable for their graceful curves and receding outlines, marked by heavy mouldings carried down to the columns, with projections at the impost level. Its two minarets at ends, which are topped by bulbous domes rising from petals, are decorated by string-courses up to the roof level, and above it by two galleries also supported on petals. A parapet of foliated arch occurs at the top interspersed with finials. The spandrels of arches, the wall between them and the brackets are richly decorated with cut-plaster work.

Among the prominent features of this mosque are the shape of the pointed dome with slanted struts, the band of foliated arch pattern covering its springing place from the drum and the circular shape of the latter, the shape and design of the minaret particularly the galleries, the treatment of arches and their piers, and the moulding of bead-pattern and the parapet-design. On the other hand, the most prominent 'Ādil Shāhī feature, introducing a new elevational aspect, is in the form of a central dome. The cornice is more elaborate, there are finials occurring above piers along the parapet, and the decoration in arch-spandrels has invariably the couch-leg motif resembling a raised elephant-trunk supporting a disc. A careful consideration of these features would indicate that the mosque was built either towards the end of the *Barīdī* rule or not long after the occupation of *Bīdar* by the 'Ādil Shāh kings.

#### D *The 'Ādil Shāhīs*

But it was perhaps under the 'Ādil Shāhī rulers of *Bijapur* and the *Quṭb Shāhī* kings of *Golkonda* and *Hyderabad* that the building art reached its zenith. Remarkably analogous in their course and development, both these had, broadly speaking, quite a few things common in the architectural sphere. Their styles were a natural development from that of the *Bīdar* phase of the *Bahmani* style. But the similarity is mainly confirmed to forms or to some individual members, prominence being given to *mīnārs* in preference to multiple or large domes, ornate character of the monuments through surface decoration and highly artistic and rich parapets, decorative motifs etc.

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34. *Yazdani, op cit*, pl CXXV, CSSVIII

Though the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty was set up, except in name, in the early years of the sixteenth century, it was only the third ruler Ibrāhīm I (1535-58) who assumed full royal titles about 1539. Even then, it is only with the accession of 'Alī I (1558-80) that the real period of the 'Ādil Shāhī constructional activities starts. The first three rulers are reputed to have constructed the citadel and a number of other buildings, but the earliest monuments of architectural importance in which a distinct style is discernible are the Jāmi' Masjid, the Gagan Mahal and the Ānand Mahal, and these were started or constructed only in the time of 'Alī I. The reign of Ibrāhīm II (1580-1627) was responsible for large scale construction, and it witnessed the full growth of the typical Bijapur style which is characterised by lightness and symmetry of form, excellence of workmanship and exuberance of delicate ornamentation.

In the early stage, the buildings were made of inferior material like rubble and plaster and were simple to the point of being austere, and at times heavy in outline. This, however, was soon replaced by finely dressed stone, reasons for which have been attributed to the larger participation of outside or non-local building talent,<sup>35</sup> it was to a larger extent increasing absorption of the indigenous building ideas particularly in the field of non-structural parts like eaves and brackets which were frequently designed after the style of wooden construction.

If in its highly developed form, the 'Ādil Shāhī style retained the same characteristics of largeness and grandiose conception which marked the later Bahmanī style, it also evolved or perfected a few features on its own, which stemmed forth no less from a high aesthetic sense and architectural acumen than from sound knowledge of structural principles and sufficient engineering skill. In the tomb structures the plan varied, the square type of Bahmanī tomb does persist right to the end of the Bijapur style, but the type that found favour was one with a pyramidal outline, admitting a greater play of light-and-shade. There were also square or octagonal tombs with arched openings forming the sides. In the case of mosques, the building generally consisted merely of prayer-halls, the enclosing cloisters being dispensed with except in very few cases, their façade consisting of three or five arches, the scheme in triple arching having, not infrequently, a wider opening in the middle. In outlying places like Yādگیر and Rāichūr, double-hall mosques were not unknown.

Then there was a much greater emphasis on the upper part of the building. The first step to achieve this end was to make an important change relating to the position and shape of the main dome as also of the finials. The volume of the dome which until now almost wholly covered the roof was reduced, and except in a few cases, its hemispherical outline became bulbous, in some cases almost spherical, later domes had constricted necks. In rare cases, the domes

were pyramidal or vaulted. The multiplicity of domes found even less favour than before. The bases on which the drums were placed were usually in the form of a square storey as in the case of the Gulbarga Fort mosque, except in the case of mosques of modest dimensions.

The void thus created in the sky-line by the reduced dome was sought to be filled externally by laying greater emphasis on the corner finials which were transformed into minarets and also providing more domed finials at prominent places and angles. One such place was, as in the case of the Bidar mosques, at the rear wall from which the central *mīhrāb*, usually a polygon of five or nine sides, covered with a dome, projected outward and upward. The main and the subsidiary domes were placed on prominent drums within a band of conventional petals.

In the earlier examples the *mīnārs* start from the roof, but in later buildings, they are carried right to the base, their voluted base-pedestals being invariably in the shape of a four-legged couch or throne. The *mīnārs* are remarkable for their artistic design and elaborate treatment, and have round, or square and round, or octagonal shafts, the only exception being the minaret of the Dhārwādī Masjid, which is fluted. They are divided into miniature stories by means of horizontal mouldings and leaf decorations, simulating the outline of balconies, which are, in most cases, further adorned with miniature *mīnārs*, hanging stone-chains, perforated stone panels and the like features.

Another prominent feature of the style was the introduction of the substantial and boldly projecting cornices and exquisitely rich and artistic parapets. The former, usually consisting of neatly sculptured slabs, was supported on heavily moulded and richly carved brackets of varied elegant designs, joined with each other by running tie-beams. In the later buildings these became much more ornate and intermediate brackets became larger and deeper. This architectural feature of the Hindu building art, which essentially belonged to wooden architecture, found so much favour with the designers that they did not hesitate to subject their building material of stone to its adoption. Then the simple parapet of ordinary or foliated arch-shaped merlons of the earlier phase assumed the form of perforated or trellis-work parapet, fashioned in a large variety of designs of great artistic merit and imagination. This feature is exclusively typical of the 'Ādil Shāhī monuments, and it is difficult to find parapets of such artistic beauty in the whole range of Indo-Muslim architecture.

In the field of decoration, luxurious munificence is the key-note of the style, typical of which is the rich variety of ornaments executed in different designs and motifs in stone or stucco with great artistic taste. The encaustic tile decoration also seems to have been used, as in the Jal-Mandir at Bīnapur.

but by and large, it was replaced by low-relief carving on stone or extensive cut-plaster work of a high order. There was not very appreciable increase in the use of trellis or perforated stone screen work. Stucco and stone surfaces were not infrequently decorated with mural painting or colour work, but it was mainly confined to geometrical patterns or conventional foliage, though at least one later building, namely the *Āthār Mahal*, contains frescos depicting human figures too. But on the whole, the dominant feature of the ornamental scheme was beautiful surface decorations, comprising fine traceries in chaste designs, exclusively in cut-plaster or stucco in the earlier buildings, but later on in the form of a more elaborate and enduring medium of cut and carved stone. An equally outstanding feature is the artistic moulding of *mīnārs*, brackets, cornices, stone chains, etc. In the decorative details of the latter type, a prominent motif is that of leaf and bud, which occurs largely in the decorative scheme of the *mīnārs*—the leaf motif occurring as the crowning member and the bud motif engirdling the shaft at different stages. Another common motif is that of a cluster of miniature *mīnārs* placed round the base or the middle sections of the *mīnārs*, and also of representing the buildings in miniature form in the form of kiosks or finials.

What strikes one most in the Bijapur buildings is the sound building principles particularly in the construction of the ceilings, vaulted or otherwise. The construction of the enormous dome of the tomb known as *Gōl Gumbad* for example, is by any standard a major structural achievement. In the construction of vaulted ceilings the Bijapur builders have perfected the Persian method of the pendentive or intersection of arches. This method has the additional decorative feature of providing the interior with a pleasing look and can be further used as a part of an ornamental scheme.

The Bijapur buildings are equally remarkable for the construction of their flat ceilings which are built without any apparent support of pillars, piers, or brackets, the stone-slabs forming the ceiling having been bound together, edge to edge, by iron clamps and strong and tenacious mortar. The high quality of the workmanship of the Bijapur artisans may be seen from the nicely chiselled well-finished cut-stone work masonry, beautiful mouldings and delicate carvings, which have imparted to some buildings like the *Malika-i Jahān Mosque*, *Ibrāhīm Rauza* or the *Laksmēshwar Mosque*, a casket-like appearance.

Architecturally, the Bijapur arches have, like their *Barīdī* and other counterparts, shed the stiff angular stilt of the Bahmanī prototype and are generally pointed and slightly ogeed, with varying amount of stilt. In the early mosques and palaces there are wide arches on low imposts, a feature typical of the corridor arches of the *Fort Mosque* at Gulbarga. This feature persists at Bijapur with varying degrees of frequency almost to the end of the style though in some buildings these were replaced by well-proportioned arches.

Their curves strike from two centres rising upwards, flatten a little before meeting at the apex forming a sort of Tudor arch which was largely employed in the Mughal buildings. A still different form is seen in the incomplete tomb of 'Alī II (1656-72), where the arch-curves are carried right up to the crown in the Gothic fashion. In some cases, cusps mark the outline of the arches, either independently or as an outer ring of the recessed arch. There is also frequent use of masonry pier of considerable size instead of pillar to carry the arches, and these are occasionally treated at the place of the springing of the arch, with corbels of horizontal mouldings giving the impression of capital on pillars. The main arch is at times decorated with outer or inner rings of recessed arches, which are not infrequently carried down to the piers and pillars like the door frames of Hindu temples, while some of the features like cusped arch outlines and cable mouldings show Persian influence.

There are a few buildings of sufficient architectural appeal which were built in the early 'Ādīl Shāhī rule. Prominent among these is the entrance to the Rauza-i Shāikh at Gulbarga, which is a massive structure rising in two storeys, constructed by Yūsuf 'Ādīl Khān as an entrance as well as a *madrasah* or *sarāi* attached to the tomb of Hazrat Shāikh Sirāju'd-dīn Junaidī. Measuring 114 by 25 feet, the building, flanked with a tall circular minaret on either end, is entered through a large central arch about 25 feet high and 17 feet wide, which is topped by a two-domed chamber with a small *mīnār* at each corner, in the middle of the parapet of the upper storey. The other is the Ēk-Mīnār-kī-Masjid (1513-4) at Rāichūr, the chief characteristic of which is its solitary *mīnār*, circular in section, rising in two storeys with a slight taper upwards and topped by a rounded dome. But these buildings represent the building art of the last phase of the Bahmanī style and have nothing to distinguish them from it architecturally.

The earliest structure that perhaps provides a fair example of the formative Bijapur style is the mosque locally called Yūsuf's old Jāmi' Masjid (1512), now in a somewhat dilapidated condition. Built of coarse stone, rubble and concrete, and originally plastered over, on plan it consists of a large hall of three compartments entered through a triple arched façade, the middle arch of which is much wider and has at four corners square turrets topped by domes rising out of petals, and in the middle, above the central bay, a dome placed on a tall stilted drum. The *mīnār* has not yet been evolved, nor has the proper proportion between the drum and the dome found, the hemispherical dome is still stilted and, with a slightly inner curve of its lower outline, shows a tendency to the bulbous shape. It is, however, the arches of this otherwise plain building which are noteworthy for their shape, a precursor to the Bijapur type of arch struck from two centres with a flattish upper curve. It was from these features, which seem to be common to buildings of the very late Bahmanī



and early Barīdī periods, that the 'Ādil Shāhī architectural style was finally evolved

The other early buildings in the distinct Bijapur style are the Ibrāhimpūr mosque (c 1526), Ibrāhīm's old Jāmi' Masjid (c 1550), 'Āinu'l-Mulk's mosque (c 1556), Ikhlas Khān's mosque (c 1590), 'Alī Shāhid Pīr's mosque (c 1590) and Haidariya mosque (1582), all at Bijapur, and the mosque (1570) at Dornahalli in Gulbarga District. Of these, the solid heavy-looking Ibrāhimpūr mosque seems to be the earliest in style. The arches are placed on very low piers, minarets are small, the cornice on brackets is not very deep and the parapet has the plain arch-shaded merlons. But in the other mosques there is a definite improvement in the architectural pattern. Ibrāhīm's Old Jāmi' Masjid, consisting of three aisles and two bays, has pointed arches with a slight ogee apex, placed on very low piers, and four minārs of average height at the corners of the flat roof. A striking and somewhat novel feature of this mosque is the tall minārs, rising above the corner ones over the two central piers of the façade. These were evidently introduced to fulfil the need of a central elevational feature in the absence of any dome. But the arches being too wide for their height, the façade looks clumsy, and this along with somewhat inelegant-looking corner minārs, detracts from its general appearance. These defects are absent in the Ikhlas Khān's mosque, and the great advancement on the style of the last mentioned, achieved here, can be clearly seen in the pleasing proportions of the building on the whole. This mosque has, like the last-mentioned, two tall minārs over the central piers of its façades, but they are of better proportions than their prototype, and in addition, a fairly elegant two-storeyed kiosk crowned by a small dome covers the roof above the central *mihrab*. The treatment of the façade is also pleasing. Its three sets of double arches, one enclosed within a larger recessed one, are of much better proportions whose effect has been further accentuated by treating the space between the two arches with rectangular zigzag corners. The cornice-bracketing is also rich and more elegant and the surface decoration on plaster more pretensions.

Of the remaining three mosques of this group, the one known as Haidariya Masjid, though built as late as 1583, is more akin in style to the Ibrāhimpūr mosque than others. The rather low piers supporting the three wide arches of the façade, not very elaborate cornice bracketing, the simple parapet of arch heads, and the parapet wall between it and the cornice, all point to the same style, although the Haidariya mosque has better proportions. Another difference between the two is that the Ibrāhimpūr mosque has a dome, while the last mentioned has not, instead it has tall round minārs crowned by bulbous domes which are also of pleasing proportions. The mosques of 'Āinu'l-Mulk and 'Alī Shāhid Pīr are even better proportioned and more ornate as well. The proportion of the façade is considerably improved in both the buildings, the cornice, bracketing and the parapet are elaborate, and the stucco-decoration

on the façade and the interior is rich without being excessive. But in the former, the roof treatment is rather weak, since at either end there is only a small *chhatra* like turret with engaged four-square tiny *minārs* at corners, leaving a vast unbroken sky-line. The latter, on the other hand, is unusual in more than one respect in that the whole structure is roofed by a single vault, and from one of the nine sides of the polygon into which its prayer-niche is fashioned there is a door leading out. Its façade also presents a pleasing appearance on account of the treatment of its three arches, which, along with their piers, are adorned by a number of receding outlines, the outermost fashioned in cusp and supported on brackets representing the elephant trunk or couchleg motifs and the inner ones being further underlined by cable and bead mouldings. Its *minārs* also display a greater attention to their sections than before.

On the side of tomb architecture, the structure containing the remains of the first four 'Ādil Shāhī rulers situated at Gōgī in Gulbarga district, can be assigned to this early phase of the Bijapur style. On plan, it consists of a rectangular hall with four arched openings in a side, filled with perforated screens, it has on its north an open verandah comprising a double row of ten arches which once served the purpose of a screen wall. The simple cornice, parapet wall and small finial-like minarets, topped by spherical domes rising from petals, point to the early 'Ādil Shāhī style, but the arches of the verandah are of the stiff angular type of stilted Bahmanī arches, placed on circular pillars.

The earliest royal tomb to be constructed at Bijapur was that of 'Alī I, reported to have been built by him in his own life-time. Except for this, the plain squarish building with five arched openings, is of little architectural merit. Another tomb attributed to this period is that of 'Ainu'l-Mulk (c 1556) which is architecturally important in that it belongs to a period when the typical Bijapur style was being evolved out of the late Bahmanī style. It is a massive square building surmounted by a well-proportioned dome with its sides treated with a double row of three equal arches built in the fashion of the later Bahmanī tombs at Bidar. However, instead of the short corner finials and absence of any cornice in the latter, this tomb has four shapely kiosks in the form of miniature open tombs and a well-executed but not so prominent cornice. There is fine surface decoration in plaster, in different motifs, the most prominent being the lace-like tracery and lozenge-shaped pendants or censers hanging by chains.

A building which was very likely constructed during this phase, but which differs altogether from the architectural style, is the Jāmi' Masjid believed to have been commenced by 'Alī I, but completed later. A building of vast dimensions, it is perhaps the only one in Bijapur constructed on the orthodox plan of an enclosed open courtyard. The expansive prayer-hall is formed by

extremely well-proportioned pointed arches dividing it into nine aisles and five bays, and supporting, through the system of pendentive domical ceiling except in the nine bays in the middle under the central dome. It has neither any *minār* nor ornamental parapet, and the chief relieving features of its façade are a modest cornice and its double brackets above the arch-piers. There is a certain emphasis on the central opening in the form of a cusped outline and lace-like stucco decoration above the crown of the arch and its spandrels. But above the roof, the central hemispherical dome of sufficiently large size and of a pleasing shape, is placed within a band of foliated design comprising a row of upturned petals, on a conspicuous upper storey, fronted in its sides with a number of arched windows, and embattled at the top with merlons interspaced with domed finials. It is this pyramidal aspect afforded by the large central dome, which invests the façade with simplicity and solemn dignity. The interior is almost plain, except for lavish decoration in gorgeous colours of the central *mīhrāb* executed in the time of Muhammad (1627-56) and the small latticed windows in diverse geometrical designs. The mosque has another interesting feature in the imaginative treatment of its vast exterior: the whole surface of the back and side walls is skilfully divided into an arcaded corridor on the upper half and a matching row of similar recessed arches below, providing a pleasant setting to the elegant dome and its square base. In short, despite its limited ornament and plainness of design, the Jāmi' Masjid is unequalled among Bijapur monuments for its fine proportions.

Greatly resembling the Jāmi' Masjid in architectural style is the Mecca Masjid, which though very small, can be ranked among the most perfect buildings of Bijapur. It consists of a prayer-hall which is placed within and not at the western end of the open court enclosed on four sides by arched cloisters, and is particularly remarkable for the fine quality as well as the execution and finish of its building material. Its shapely hemispherical dome and the substantial square terrace that carries it, the cornice and the brackets, and the emphasis through a cusped outline on the central of the five arches of the façade, point to the same style as in the Jāmi' Masjid. The arches of the cloisters are of wide spans and low piers, characteristic of the cloister arches in the Gulbarga Fort mosque. Its ornament is limited, comprising some neat surface carving round the central *mīhrāb* and also on the square corner buttresses of the façade, representing tombs, niches, hanging lamps, etc. The façade has a pretty parapet in two tiers extending to the corner buttresses above each of which is placed a small dome on a circular base, between four domed finials of a type somewhat similar to the one in the mosque of 'Ainu'l-Mulk.

The other notable building of this period is the now roofless Gagan Mahal (c. 1561), an impressive large building consisting of a hall flanked on either side by two narrow halls. Its chief architectural interest lies in the immense wide arch thrown across the whole front of the central hall, sharply

contrasting with the flanking tall and narrow arches, forming its triple-arched façade. An almost duplicate of the Gagan Mahal is the Sangit Mahal at Tōrweh near Bijapur while its more improved version is Ānand Mahal at Bijapur.

The new phase of the Bijapur style, almost synchronising with the reign of Ibrāhīm II, was marked by better and refined forms. The architectural character of different types of buildings was now more or less established by either bringing about some permanent changes in the different parts of the building and determining their final place and position and also by making extensive use of sculptured and ashlar stone masonry. The most conspicuous change was in the treatment of the front mīnār, which was made a more cohesive part of the entire building by carrying it right down to the plinth in the form of a buttress. The bracketed cornice was also made more elaborate and ornate, and the plain parapet gave way to one of foliated pattern. These changes resulted in a façade of more dignified appearance. The size and shape of the arches were also improved.

This style, initiated in the group of such mosques as Rangin Masjid and the Bukhārī Masjid at Bijapur and Chānd Sultānā's mosque at Gulbarga, attained its most mature and final ornate form in the Andu, Zanjīrī, Ibrāhīm Rauza and Mihtar Mahal mosques at Bijapur and some mosques in its Shahrpur suburb, the Kālī Masjid at Laksmēshwar (in Dhārwar District), Makhdūm Qādirī's mosque at Bidar and the old mosque at Karachūr in Gulbarga district. The Zanjīrī Masjid, also known as Malika Jahān's mosque (c 1586) is a small but extremely pretty building in which an amazing amount of delicate work has been achieved between the arches and the dome. It consists of a prayer-hall divided into three aisles each two bays deep, by substantial square pillars supporting the arches on which the roof rests, and above the central bay rises a shapely bulbous dome of fine proportions. But internally, the ceiling in this part is carried up to the full height of the dome, this is a great drawback, which could have been easily eliminated by resorting to the system of double dome, which is, however, by and large, not employed in the Ādil Shāhī buildings. The pointed arches, looking somewhat squat on account of their width and low piers, are still fairly well-proportioned. The side mīnārs, crowned by ornamental domes of graceful shape, are adorned with elaborate mouldings of different designs at their base and by gallery like fascicular grouping of miniature mīnārs or replicas of tombs and like motifs. These engirdle their shaft and mark their sections from which pendants tied to stone chains were originally suspended. The rich parapet of fretted stone in artistic design, the minute tracery work of the small domed kiosks placed above the central piers of the façade, the elaborately designed and finely carved brackets and tie-beams and the ornamental fringe of the eave-slabs and above all, their superb and yet restrained execution, have earned this mosque the fame of being a gem among Bijapur monuments. Almost similar to it in plan and overall treatment, is the Kālī

Masjīd at Lakṣmēshwar, the outer gateway of which is also a striking monument in itself

In the same style, though slightly less ornate is the mosque in the magnificent group of monuments, known as Ibrāhīm Rauḡa (1626-7), in which, taken as a whole, the lavish and profusely decorative aspect of the Bijapur style has reached its culmination. The mosque is of considerable dimensions being five aisles in width and three bays deep, and it also differs from the other buildings of its type in that its bulbous central dome rises from a band of petals and is placed on a prominent square terrace decorated with parapet and finials, evidently to maintain perfect proportion of the dome without increasing its volume. But on the whole the mosque occupies a subsidiary position in the group as compared to the tomb, intended as it was to provide general balance and symmetry to the whole composition. The tomb ranks as the most ornate among the Bijapur buildings, while in structural, technical or ornamental details, it has few equals. It consists of a square central chamber, enclosed by a double row of verandah arches, the outer one having seven archways on each side. The variation provided by disposition of these arches of equal height, two of which are narrower than others, and the skilful treatment of the upper portion of the building are expressive of the imaginative approach of the architect. Four graceful slender mīnārs rise from each corner of the roof, and to ensure proper proportion of the height at which the shapely bulbous dome was to be placed, an intervening upper storey carrying the dome was introduced between them, further provided with an elaborate parapet and bracketed cornice. On the structural side, the flat stone ceiling of the central chamber, composed of stone slabs without any visible support, is a great achievement of the Bijapur architect. The slabs have been set edge to edge and bound by tenacious mortar and further strengthened by iron-clamps. But the most striking feature of the tomb is the amazing wealth of surface decoration, comprising of a low relief carvings in a variety of geometric and foliage patterns, as well as in the form of beautifully interlaced inscriptions on the entire exterior walls of the central chamber. This is further heightened with colours, mostly gilt, pink and azure, as well as independent panels of mural paintings in arabesque designs, and the trellis work of the windows. This and the deeply projected and richly executed cornices, beautiful brackets, perforated parapets and square domed kiosks representing miniature mīnārs and simulated tombs, placed along the parapet and the corners of the dome-base, are characteristic of the fully developed Bijapur style.

Another fine example of this style is the neat little mosque, to the inner court of which the far more elaborated Mihtar-Mahal (c 1620) forms the entrance gateway. Though broadly conforming to the prevalent style, it has many points of resemblance to the Zanjīrī Masjīd. For example, the roof covering its prayer-hall is flat and has no dome, and the treatment of its mīnārs

is also different. The latter are divided up to the roof level into two unequal sections by a fine collar-like gallery, originally filled with trellis work and supported on brackets, which is now no more. The lower section is smaller and polygonal and the upper round and tapering upwards, while above the roof, the shaft is uniformly round, the plainness of which is sought to be relieved by breaking the monotony of its outline by a ring of petals in the middle. Then again, instead of the usual ornamental bulbous finials, it is rounded off at the top with a small ball. In order to provide variation in the facade four unusually long and elaborately moulded prominent cornice brackets stretch almost to the springing points of the arches, where they are supported on raised elephant-trunk brackets. An equally interesting and perhaps unique feature is the typical elephant-trunk bracket, embedded into front corners of the plinth of the mosque. What, however, detracts somewhat from the otherwise picturesque architectural effect of this elegant building is the tapering treatment in section, of its somewhat plain *mīnārs*.

The Mihtar Mahal, despite its small dimensions, has been rightly described as one of the most ornate buildings of Bijapur. It is a tall tower-like construction, about 24 feet square, rising into three storeys to a total height of about 66 feet. The lowest storey serves as the entrance, the upper one consists of a square room with a large balconied window in each of its sides, the upper most comprises an open terrace protected by a high wall around, with a balconied window on the west. The entire facade is flanked by two tall and slender *mīnārs*, octagonal in section. A striking feature of this beautiful structure is its unusual plan as well as the design of its projected windows, the richly decorated balconies of which are supported by deep bracketing and covered by a highly ornamental overhanging cornice resting on richly wrought-stone struts. Worked in the fashion of wood carving, their decorative details include animal figures here and there. The whole building is remarkable for the wealth of its decorative details. These along with the lace-like parapet between the *mīnārs* have made it one of the prettiest buildings of the city.

Another dainty little structure in the style is the Jal Mandir situated in front of the royal palaces called Sat-Manzil. Standing in the middle of a small reservoir, upon the typical couch legged pedestal, this elegant little pavilion, surmounted by a dome and slender finials at corners is remarkable for its fine workmanship and highly ornamental double cornice. It was further decorated with bands of coloured tiles on each face.

To this phase also probably belongs the partially double-storeyed *Āthār Mahal*, consisting of a series of large and small halls. It was originally intended as a hall of justice, but was subsequently reserved for housing the relics of the Holy Prophet. Architecturally it is similar to other impressive

buildings, but what invests it with special interest is the varied media of its decorative scheme, which, apart from the usual geometric and arabesque decoration, consisted of gorgeous paintings of floral and inanimate objects and fresco panels containing figure paintings

The architectural traditions did not show immediate signs of substantive degeneration even after the style had reached its zenith, and if there was any such tendency, it was restricted to the ornamental aspect and attention to details. The most outstanding of later structures is the magnificent Gōl Gumbad, the mausoleum of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh (1627-56), constructed by him during his life-time. Few buildings of its type in the whole range of Indo-Muslim architecture or even elsewhere are comparable with this large cubic hall in simple but robust conception of stupendous and impressive grandeur. It is famous alike for the gigantic size of its dome, with a 144 feet diameter externally, and for its whispering gallery. It is a large square hall, about 205 feet a side, wholly covered by the enormous hemispherical dome and buttressed with a substantial octagonal tower at each corner, surmounted by small bulbous domes. The high walls are decorated, each with three lofty arches, the side ones being slightly smaller and blank and the central one larger in width, filled with cut-stone and pierced with a series of arched panels and similar carvings, enclosing the doorway of a normal size. There is a rich parapet topped by huge but graceful merlons, relieved by domed finials in the typical Bijapur style. Above all, the massive carved cornice—projecting about  $11\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the wall, supported on closely set brackets of proportionate size, about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet each, and running into four tiers or courses, is indeed an engineering feat of no mean order.

Equally amazing is the construction of a single vaulted hall of these proportions and covering it, through the expedient of intersecting arches with an equally huge hemispherical dome as also of the overhanging gallery—the world famed whispering gallery—projecting from the starting place of the dome overlooking the hall below. Apart from the fact that it represents a new trend in the prevalent style, whose predominant characteristic is virility and robustness, the Gōl Gumbad is indeed remarkable for the perfect proportion of its different parts and their skilful composition into a harmonious whole. It is a living tribute to the creative genius and gifted imagination of the architect who planned and constructed it on such a grand scale. The other two buildings nearby, namely the mosque and the Naqqār Khānā buildings, also of sufficient architectural interest, are more or less on the normal scale and in the prevalent style.

There were some other buildings planned, as for example the tombs of Jahān Bēgam (c. 1660) and 'Alī II (d. 1672), both of which however, remained incomplete. Of the two, only the foundations of the piers of the former have

remained, which, however, indicate that its plan and measurements, even the octagonal towers, were identical with the Gōl Gumbad, while the latter, which stands on an elevated basement, is even slightly larger in size. While these buildings were to be modelled on the design of Ibrāhīm Rauza, they are important in indicating that the Bijapur style was still as vigorous and inventive as ever, as is shown by the treatment of the arches in 'Alī's Tomb which is different from the usual Bijapur arch. Here the curves of the arch, struck from two centres, continue right up to the apex, instead of flattening out before doing so, as in the other examples.

Altogether different in plan form, but otherwise conforming to the prevalent tomb styles, are a couple of tombs constructed in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. These are the tomb of *Khawāṣ Khān* in the Joṛ Gumbad group and the Dargāh of Shāh Amīn both of which are octagonal on plan. Of the two, the former has a very impressive interior which possesses a gallery within the dome. The only other tomb, besides the Gōl Gumbad, to have this feature being the mausoleum of Shāh 'Abdu'r Razzāq nearby, forming the other of the pair. The latter is in the early style of the square tomb. The other octagonal type, the Tomb of Shāh Amīn is a smaller building more or less in the same style as that of *Khawāṣ Khān*, but the proportion between its upper and lower parts is more balanced than in the latter.

### *E The Quṭb Shāhīs*

Next to the Bijapur style, the Golkonda or Quṭb Shāhī style is the most powerful medium of Indo-Persian architecture in post-Bahmanī Deccan. The founder of the dynasty, Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk (d. 1543), was the *de facto* ruler of the region of Tīlang but he did not proclaim independence, and it is not beyond doubt if his son, Jamshīd (d. 1550) did. But it was his other son Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh (1550-80) who was proclaimed Sulṭān and who ruled as an independent monarch. It is from his reign onwards that the building activities were carried out on a large scale, reaching an unprecedented level in the reign of Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh (1580-1611) and continuing almost right up to the end of the dynasty.

That it was also from Ibrāhīm's time that the formation of what may be termed as Quṭb Shāhī style started though the typical style emerged even late is clear from the buildings constructed by Sulṭān-Qulī which are more or less in the architectural style of the later Bahmanī period. At least that is what is indicated by the Jāmī' Masjid at Golkonda, the only building that is certain to have been built by Sulṭān-Qulī in 1518 in the reign of his Bahmanī overlord Maḥmūd Shāh. To his reign must evidently belong some of the mass of structures, intact or in ruins, in the citadel. Even in their present condition, these buildings comprising large and spacious halls and compartments with lofty arches and rising into two or even three storeys are sufficient to give an idea



of their original grandeur, glory and magnificence. But unfortunately in the absence of any proper study and survey, it is difficult to determine their chronological order or architectural character, more particularly since they appear to have been altered and added to in the time of the later kings. But in all probability, the group of buildings now known as Zanāna Palaces including the Naqqār Khānā building to the north of the Tārāmātī mosque, which originally formed the only access to them, are not as late as one would be inclined to think. The general architectural character of these buildings, the keynote of which is spaciousness of conception and structural soundness, can be determined to some extent from the tall pointed arches, the treatment of wall surfaces into small arched and rectangular niches with cusped outline, and vestiges of decoration media—mother-o'-pearl, polichrome tiles, and stucco, employed in the different halls. The general impression thus formed is that in architectural style they are not greatly different from the style of the palace buildings at Bidar. One would therefore not be wrong to ascribe them to the middle or the second half of the sixteenth century. Whatever building activities 'Abdu'l-lāh (1626-72) may have carried out in the course of his forced sojourn in the fort in the face of the Mughal threat, seems to have been chiefly confined to additions and alterations. Probably one such building is the pretty mosque above the Ambār Khānā, which is popularly ascribed to the reign of Ibrāhīm.

In broad outline, the Quṭb Shāhī style, in common with that of Bijapur, has derived some of its features from the Barīdī monuments, as has been suggested above. As in Bijapur architecture, both the pointed as well as the flattish Mughal type arch, very frequently of large and shapely proportions, is a typical feature of the Quṭb Shāhī monuments. Among its other prominent features are the highly ornamental façades characterised by a greater emphasis on arches and their moulded outlines, a greater emphasis on the parts above the cornice, slender ornamental finials corner minārs of substantial volume, decorated with prominent projecting galleries, and bulbous domes, turnip-shaped orbs of small finials rising from a double row of conventional petals. In the field of ornamentation is the extremely fine and extensive surface decoration in stucco or cut-plaster, and occasional use of encaustic tile ornament. It is difficult to agree with the view that in Quṭb Shāhī buildings, the cut-plaster decorations have a tendency to become greatly excessive and the number of small turrets and cupolas used for ornamentation is unnecessarily large,<sup>36</sup> for the simple reason that it is factually not wholly correct. These constitute the prominent features of the typical Quṭb Shāhī monuments in the same way as they did, for example, in a different media, at Bijapur. Moreover, their share in the general design was largely intended to bring about a homogenous architectural

unit, when substantial corner minārs, in turn necessitating impressive façades, were introduced as prominent parts of the buildings

Built of ashlar stone and brick-and-lime masonry with a heavy coat of fine plaster, the Quṭb Shāhī monuments in general and the Golkonda buildings, comprising large and spacious vaulted halls, colossal entrance arches like Chār Kamān, and the great Chār-Minār in Hyderabad, indicate a remarkable skill in the structural field. The marvellous decorative skill achieved by the Bijapur craftsmen in stone is shown with equal spectacular effect and the same jewel-like craftsmanship by the Golkonda artisans in plaster.

As far as the plans of the buildings are concerned, there was no change in the usual plan of the mosque comprising mainly a large prayer-hall. However, there was a striking change in the elevational aspect with the introduction of minārs, particularly, in the later mosques. The corner finials or *chhatrī*-like tops at the front corners were developed into tall minārs of substantial volume, circular or polygonal in section. They had one or more ornamental balconied galleries supported on a sort of stalactite bracketing of corbelled-out row of up-turned petals in the shape of a voluted lotus-capital, which now dominate the elevational aspect, for the central dome has been completely eliminated. The finely proportionate galleries of pleasing outline and majestic design in themselves are now much larger in circumference and occupy a major portion of the minār shafts. While the heavy and rich mouldings of varied designs, such as flaring, wreath, petal, bead and like patterns on the shafts, impart a top heavy look to the structure. In order to counteract this effect, the elevation of the hall between them was proportionately raised. The arched openings had in turn to be provided with a number of receding arch-rings, usually, moulded in the fashion of a beaded or arrow-head pattern and with horizontal mouldings at their impost level, as in the Barīdī mosques. The result was large and spacious interiors. The Quṭb Shāhī minārs, in their general design and treatment, are different from any others in India, and they seem to have been fashioned on the design of some minārs of Cairo.<sup>37</sup>

The roof of a mosque in general was flat, but the ceiling below was vaulted, being either domical, resting on intersection of arches springing from columns or of the shouldered variety. In a few late buildings, such as the mosque of Miyyān Mishk, the ceiling is partly flat. In this regard, it is significant that the shouldered roof a frequent device in Mughal architecture seems to have been in vogue in buildings like the Bālā Hisār Bārādārī of Golkonda or the Bārādārī at Bhōngir. In the palace buildings in Golkonda fort there are halls and passages covered with groined and even barrel-vault roofs.

<sup>37</sup> Reference has been made above to a certain resemblance between these minārs and those of the Damrī mosque of Aḥmadnagar.

In the design and treatment of the tombs there is some variety, both in the ground plan and in the treatment of their exterior and interior. The dominating type of the tombs is that represented by the late Bahmanī or Barīdī tombs as Bidar and an exterior of three recessed arches placed above the dado, the double storeyed exterior is only to be found in the tomb of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. The interior in some cases is not always square but at times octagonal, the square plan being so converted by starting the squinch arch right from the floor in the form of a half domed alcove in the corner. From the eight sides thus formed, arches rise to intersect each other, making at the top the sixteen-sided polygon needed for the circular drum. Usually, at this point a parapet-gallery is also designed. It is highly significant that not only the general treatment of the interior of these early tombs, but even some of the details and motifs are similar to that in the tombs at Bidar.<sup>38</sup> A variation of this type—the only one to have been noticed—in which the square chamber is enclosed by a colonnaded gallery is provided by the tomb of Muhammad-Qulī. The treatment of the interior too is unusual, as will be seen presently. The other type of the tomb is octagonal on plan, both externally and internally, as in the case of the tomb of Jamshīd. The third type is represented by the tombs of pyramidal outline, its earliest specimen at Golkonda being that of Sultān Muhammad Quṭb Shāh (d. 1626). This type, as at Bijapur, became popular at Golkonda. It is difficult to determine its exact origin, but at Golkonda in the southern side of the Tomb Enclosure, there is a group of two or three early tombs, built in this style, which have the flat roof of the central chamber—octagonal on plan in one case—in line with that of the verandah. These, along with the galleried tomb of Muhammad-Qulī, standing on a lofty double terrace and having a somewhat raised upper part suggestive of a pyramidal outline, may have inspired the ultimate form of this type. Lastly, there are a few tombs, having their sides open in the form of a pavilion. A notable feature about the Quṭb Shāhī tombs is that, unlike mosques, no departure was made in respect of its upper part comprising a central dome and finials at corners and sides.

Different to Bijapur, no prominence was given to the cornice. Here, as in Bidar, the modest cornice is supported on moulded but simple brackets, evenly spaced. However, in some of the mosques, *e.g.* Tōlī-Masjid, the cornice is supported on highly artistic struts, resting on bracket-stumps, or in other instances, as for example in the gallery above the Bālā Hīsar Gate or the cornice of the Mushīrābād mosque, the brackets are joined, on the front side by small arches. The cornice is mostly plain, and in a few instances, it is decorated with a torana-like fringe, a prominent member in wooden cornice style. In the matter of the parapet also, the Golkonda monuments

<sup>38</sup> The interior of another tomb also (Yazdani, *op cit*, pl. LXXXVIII) is in the same style, but it is without the parapet-gallery.

ollow their Bidar, rather than Bijapur, counterpart. There are one or two early instances of the design of overlapping arches, as in the Jāmi 'Masjid of Sultān Qulī at Golkonda. Otherwise, whether in mosques or tombs, they generally consist of merlons of trefoil pattern. However, decorative parapets of different designs, including one of a lace pattern, are to be seen in the tomb-interiors at the springing of the dome. In later edifices, particularly in mosques, an additional tier of parapet in the form of a screen wall usually filled with perforated work, is introduced all around the four sides. The only tomb in which this feature occurs is that of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh.

In the field of decoration, apart from encaustic tiles and mother-o'-pearl inlay in stone, which have been found in the dado borders in the upper storey of the Palace ruins, the most common was ornament in stucco, wrought in a number of foliage and geometrical patterns including the elephant-trunk bracket motif which regularly occurs on the arch-spandrels of the Diwān-i 'Ām. Typical of Qutb Shāhī stucco ornament is a bewildering design of entwining creepers, spreading both ways from the apex of the arch, which holds a fruit-like object; it is interesting to note that in each of the surviving three or four such motifs in the Golkonda fort, just mentioned, and in one case in the mosque of Hayāt Bakshī Bēgam, squirrels are also portrayed.

The earliest dated building of the time of Sultān-Qulī is the Jāmi 'Masjid constructed by him in 1518 outside the citadel at Golkonda. It is built in the plain and robust late Bahmanī style, its most prominent feature being the stiff angular pointed horse shoe type of arches. It is in the plan of a prayer-hall overlooking an enclosed court, which is entered from east through an impressive domed entrance porch, recalling to mind a similar feature of the late Tughluq mosques of Delhi and nearer at home, the Shāh Bāzār mosque of Gulbarga. The roof of the prayer hall, consisting of five aisles and three bays is supported on plain arches, and is covered by a single dome in the centre. The ceilings of the fifteen bays are fashioned alternatively on the arch-pendentive and on the pattern of a *do-chāla* (curved gable) roof. The facade, which is decorated by a parapet of overlapping arches typical of the late Bahmanī buildings, has an interesting feature in the form of two *chhatris*, one at each end consisting of four-square tiny pillars instead of the usual small finials. The ornament is limited to stucco work in the apex of the bay-ceilings and the arch-spandrels of the central *mīhrāb*, which has the chain-and-pendant motif carved on its face, and which is enclosed within a moulded rectangular frame with zigzag corners.<sup>39</sup> While there is nothing very outstanding about these features, the building is important as indicating that about this time that the building art had not developed any distinct form in its new setting.

<sup>39</sup> The two features of the corner *chhatris* and the ornamental rectangular outline of the central *mīhrāb* are also found in the later 'Ainu'l Mulk's mosque described above.

Another building that can be reasonably taken to have been constructed at about the same time as the Jāmī 'Masjid is the tomb of Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l Mulk (d 1543). It is a simple structure as compared to the tomb of some of his successors, and, as has been pointed out above, is based, in general design and treatment, on the close type of tombs that had come into vogue at Bidar in the late Bahmanī or early Barīdī period. It consists of a chamber, about 31 feet square crowned by a stilted dome of a pointed variety. The exterior of each side is cut into three shallow arched panels, rising from the dado line. Its arches are of the same stiff pointed horse-shoe outline as in the mosque described above, while the interior is octagonal right from the floor level. Here too occurs the diagonally laid brick course below the coying line, which feature too is also characteristic of the late Bahmanī style.

The transition from the simple and plain architectural character of this tomb to the fully developed style of the subsequent tombs at Golkonda appears to be rather sudden. The architecture of the later tombs, with the exception to some extent of the tomb of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh is marked by extensive use of intricate moulded patterns on the arches and dome-drums, a more ornate parapet, rich and lavish stucco and encaustic tile decoration. Henceforth engaged octagonal pillars are invariably provided at the corners below the corner finials.

Most of these tombs are of much the same design. Even the tomb of Jamshīd (d 1550), except for its octagonal plan which is a new feature, is in the same architectural character as the other tombs. Its prominent feature, however, is the fine balcony supported on brackets which divides the upper and the lower storeys. Built on an octagonal plinth the tomb with its bulbous dome, is remarkable for the shapely arches of its sides, and overall fine proportions, which along with the picturesque gallery and matching cornice, have made it a monument of sufficient architectural merit. The tomb of Chhōtē Malik or Subhān-Qulī (d 1550) as it is supposed to be, is of the usual square type, the only difference being that its central dome as well as the domes of the finials are ribbed, while the inner surfaces of the domes and squinch arches are similarly treated.

The tomb of Ibrāhīm, on the other hand, reverts to the late Bahmanī type<sup>40</sup>. Built on an extensive square terrace, it is square on plan and its walls are cut into two horizontal rows of five arched recesses placed one above the other and set within rectangular borders. A parapet of trefoil design with small domical finials at corners and a slightly pointed bulbous dome encircled with petals and placed on a raised dome, constitute its upper part. It is square on plan internally where the phase of transition is achieved by means of squinch arches. The tomb seems to have been extensively decorated with polychrome tiles, traces of which can still be seen on the southern and eastern faces. Apar

40 To a certain extent, it resembles the tomb of 'Ainu'l Mulk at Bijapur

from the terrace, it has a high plinth, which along with its fine proportions, go a long way to make it quite an impressive building

Another monument which bears sufficient evidence to point to its early style, is Tārāmātī's mosque in the Golkonda fort. This three-aisle mosque stands on a 9 feet high plinth overlooking a small platform, about 6 feet broad, raised on a substructure of arched cells. The stilted façade arches of pointed horse shoe variety, the larger size of the middle arch, modest cornice and corner *chhatris* of foursquare tiny *mīnārs*, are some of its features which are alien to the typical later Quṭb Shāhī mosques. At the same time, the mosque has equally unmistakable features which might have contributed to the final form of the style. These include the mouldings at the arch-rings and the impost level, a two-tiered parapet including that of small merlons, and its rich surface ornament in cut-plaster. To some of these features may be traced the beginnings of the typical Quṭb Shāhī style. On these considerations, the building may be attributed to the early part of the reign of Ibrāhīm of whose time two dated mosques have fortunately come down to us \*

These two mosques, now situated within Naya Qil'ah annexe of the Golkonda fort were constructed within less than a decade of each other and are architecturally interesting in indicating the evolutionary stages of the Quṭb Shāhī style. The earlier of the two, known as Mustafā Khān's Masjid (1561), built of finely dressed granite on a high terrace, comprises a single prayer-hall, measuring 42 by 26 feet, with an extensive enclosed court on the east, whose walls are panelled with arched recesses. Its façade has five pointed arches of a somewhat stilted horse-shoe variety with triple outlines at the curves, the middle three arches are open and give access to the hall, but the side ones are built in the form of pentagonal recesses. An interesting feature of the latter is that their half-domed vault is decorated at the base with the parapet of overlapping arches. The roof of the hall is flat externally without any dome, while internally it is domical in bays, supported on arches springing from the piers. These arches are also of the stilted variety. There is a modest cornice, but no parapet, and originally it seems to have been decorated with stucco work.

The other mosque, built in 1569 by Mullā Khayālī, a noted courtier and poet, is remarkable for its general design. Its prayer-hall measuring about 32 by 14 feet is constructed on a high plinth. An extensive court of corresponding height in front, is built on vaulted rooms opening out on three sides, and is enclosed by a screen wall of arched panels filled with trellis work and topped by a parapet of interlacing arches. The façade of the prayer-hall,

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\*(This conjecture, however, runs counter to the association of the mosque with Abdu'l lāh Quṭb Shāh's wife (or concubine), Tārāmātī whose Muslim tomb is one of the important monuments of the royal necropolis. Ed.)

containing three shapely pointed arches of equal size with receding outlines of a slight ogee shape, is decorated by a deep cornice supported not on brackets but on thin strips of vertical struts. The interior consists of a single hall, roofed in the shouldered fashion. The walls, marked with blind arches except in the west, are decorated under the ceiling with a border of parapet of trefoil merlons. Outside, a parapet of interlacing arches runs all along the four sides, interspersed with shapely domed finials at angles and along the walls, those on the corners being slightly larger and also more elaborate. A parapet of similar design marks the edge of the raised roof corresponding to the flat section of the shouldered ceiling below. The mosque has thus quite a few interesting features, the arches have receding outlines, but no horizontal mouldings at the impost level, the cornice is somewhat bold, there is only a single parapet above the diagonally laid brick course, and it is of the overlapping arches, the roof is raised, and there are no tall or substantial *mīnārs* nor are the shafts of the finials carried right to the base as in later structures, though they are more elaborate than before. These features tend to show that even as late as almost the beginning of the last quarter of the sixteenth century the typical *Quṭb Shāhī* style had not fully emerged. And therefore it is doubtful if the small but pretty mosque, with its two graceful *mīnārs*, situated half way up the *Bālā Hisār*, can be correctly assigned to the time of *Ibrāhīm*. It very likely belongs to the time of 'Abdu'l-lāh who took refuge in the fort off and on. Other dated mosques of this period, viz the *Ashrafī Masjid* (c 1589) and the *Chīnī Masjid* (1589) at Golkonda also point to this fact.

That the style was yet to assume its typical highly ornate character, is also indicated by majority of the buildings of the time of Muhammad-Qulī, the founder of the city of *Hydarābād*. The first building to be completed in the new city was the *Chārmīnar* (1592), which is by far the most remarkable of all the *Quṭb Shāhī* monuments, and one of the most magnificent in India. Grand in conception and perfect in workmanship, it consists of one central square structure, about 60 feet a side, with a lofty arched opening in each of the four sides, while at the corners rise four graceful *mīnārs* in four stages, to a total height of about 160 feet. Between the *mīnārs* is thrown, with a view to ensure symmetry, a double screen of arcades in diminishing sizes, separated from each other by a picturesque coping and crowned at the top by a parapet of trellis-filled rectangular panels. At the western end of the open roof was built a beautiful mosque, the rest of the roof serving as a court and as its eastern end, the middle of the upper row of arches has a larger arch topped by a domed cupola. The most striking feature about the mosque is the treatment of its façades. The usual pointed arches of its openings have been

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[\*Golkonda was the permanent residence of *Ibrāhīm*, and the question arises whether there were no mosques on the way to *Bālā Hisār* which answered to the religious needs of the king and his courtiers. *Ed*.)

enclosed by corresponding cusped arches, a device which was employed with some variation in the Jāmi' Masjid of the city, constructed a few years later<sup>41</sup> It is indeed an achievement of a high order that, despite the dimensions of its structural masses the architect has been able to bring about a perfect balance of its different parts and create an impression of great strength without any aggressiveness. Though a number of imposing Quṭb Shāhī buildings were constructed after it, in stateliness of form and grace of design or in overall architectural excellence, the Chār Minār remains unequalled. The other buildings of large dimensions include the Chār Kamān group, situated about 250 feet to the north, which consists of four lofty portals, rising to double the height of the arches of the Chār Minār, placed at right angles to one another, originally forming a large square of nearly 750 feet a side\*. Though simple and austere looking, these arches, like those standing just without the Bālā Hisār gate of the Golkonda fort, which perhaps were built slightly earlier, represent the same robust and vigorous style as was characteristic of this type of structures.

There is one aspect of the architectural composition of the Chār Minār the significance of which is overlooked, and as a result its contribution in the final evolution of the Quṭb Shāhī style has not been properly assessed. This relates to the introduction, of almost fully developed minārs in lightly leaping stages marked by galleries, which was soon to become the most spectacular member of a typical Quṭb Shāhī mosque. That the minārs were evolved in the present form for the first time is suggested by their treatment, which, though representing a fully mature style, is still bereft of the flares and extravagant foliations, in voluted moulded patterns and other features that became integral features of the later minārs.

Most of the palaces and other buildings of the reign of Muhammad-Qulī have now disappeared, and even those that have survived have been either extensively added to like the Bādshāhī 'Ashūr Khāna or are in a disreputable condition, as the Dāru'sh Shifā. The former was originally built during 1001-5 H, but was repaired or added to from time to time. The original part of the building now comprises only the central niche and the western wall which are decorated with encaustic tile decoration of a high order in geometrical and calligraphical designs. The Dāru'sh-Shifā (c. 1579), constructed to house a hospital-cum college is a double storeyed building of impressive façade, opening into an extensive courtyard about 175 feet square, with an imposing gateway in the northern wing.

<sup>41</sup> A simpler version of this feature has been noted above in the façade of 'Alī Shāhid Pīr's mosque at Byapur, constructed about this time.

\*[The height of the Chār Minār arches from the base to the apex is 30 feet, while that of each of the four "Kamāns" or arches rise to 60 feet. Ed.]



The next important monument is the Jāmi' Masjid (1597) which consists of a double hall of 72' 6" by 32' 6" overlooking a paved court measuring about 74' by 70'. An unusual thing about it was that it was entered from the west through a pillar-and-lintel opening which led to a narrow passage by the side of the prayer-hall\*. The interior of the spacious hall is impressive on account of the massive row of pillars and beautiful arches springing above them. The facade arches have been treated in an unusual way, in two sections. The lower section, consists of seven arched entrances, the middle arch being much wider and higher, rising almost to the full height of the facade. It is superimposed, through ornamental struts projecting from the piers at their impost level, the upper section of corresponding arches of cusped outlines, rising to the height of the facade, except in the case of the middle arch, which is plain like the seven arches underneath. The architect has exploited the feature to design a pleasing facade, without raising the height of the arches and at the same time avoiding too much depth on the facade. A fine though simple cornice on brackets runs all along under the ornamental parapet of a fretted pattern, while each front corner is buttressed with a massive circular pillar from which rises a short square turret representing a miniature simulated tomb of pleasing design. It seems that the final position of the fully developed minarets, as an integral part of the mosque composition had not yet been decided. At the same time, the circular towers at ends with a voluted gallery, can be reasonably taken to indicate a definite step towards this aim.

The tomb of Muhammad-Quli (d 1611), described as an epitome of all the elements of the artistic genius of that monarch, is a magnificent structure not only indicating the first attempt at the building of a tomb on a large scale, but also containing certain peculiarities which are not found elsewhere. It is remarkable for the predominant use of the trabeate system in preference to arcuate in its construction. The architect has further planned a double terrace for it, giving it a pyramidal elevational aspect. The tomb proper\*\* comprises a square hall, measuring about 71 feet externally, adorned with octagonal buttresses at corners extending into domical turrets, and a slightly pointed bulbous dome placed within the band of petals on a raised circular drum. A beautiful ornamental parapet of arcades, topped by trefoil merlons of sufficient height is added at the top to make the height of the square hall proportionate to its width and also symmetrical to the heavy dome. A great amount of imagination has been shown in the novel design of the exterior, which is perhaps the most distinguishing feature of the structure. A twenty-two feet high colonnade runs around the square chamber between the corner buttresses in the pillar-and-lintel style, which, apart from being a skilful variation from the

\*[There is no such "passage" now as the wall which ran parallel to the mosque wall and enclosed the passage has now been demolished. *Ed*]

\*\*[This is a simulated tomb the real tomb being in the crypt. *Ed*]

monotonously uniform triple arched façades of former tombs has the additional merit of providing the much needed light-and shade effect to the elevational aspect. This effect is achieved by walling up the corner bays of the colonnade and facing the walls with shallow arch panels. The tall and slender octagonal pillars and brackets of the gallery add by contrast to the picturesqueness of the whole composition, instead of being out of proportion with it.<sup>42</sup> It will not be surprising if the treatment of the corner buttresses in this tomb, octagonal in section and capped by a voluted capital, the lace like band of the decorative parapet top above the bracketed coping, and the slightly higher domed finials, may have inspired the fullfledged Chānd Mīnār at Daulatābād. The interior of the tomb is also equally interesting. It is square up to the first storey, at the top of which runs an approachable galleried passage supported on pillars and brackets, while the upper storey is converted into an octagon, not through the system of half-domed squinch arches but by a plain arch below the flat roof. The sides in this storey are in the beam-and-lintel style, enclosed by arches.

However, a mosque, in all probability built about this time, which may be reasonably regarded as the prototype of typical Quṭb Shāhī mosques, is the beautiful mosque at Mushīrābād, which has, apart from its highly ornamental cornice, some interesting features.<sup>43</sup> It consists of a large prayer-hall overlooking an enclosed court having an imposing entrance in the eastern enclosure wall. Its façade has fine shapely arches showing a tendency to ogee shape at the top of which the middle is wider and also slightly higher. It is decorated above by an artistic cornice, adorned with a torana-like fringe supported on a row of multifoil arches, placed on moulded brackets of the elephant trunk design. Above it is a simple parapet wall, behind which is a cresting of the artistic design of interlacing of double arches interspersed with domed finials. The façade is flanked at either end by a substantial mīnār, rising from a stylobate of mouldings including those of cable pattern. The mīnār is multi-sided above and below, its band marking the roof-level—reminiscent of the mīnārs of the tomb of Muhammad-Qulī.<sup>44</sup> It has a somewhat plain ornamental gallery above the level of the finials of the other parapet. The mīnār-shaft above this gallery is reduced in girth and tapers upwards. A bulbous fluted dome rising from petals is placed on corbelled flaring. The most conspicuous feature of the mīnārs is that they look somewhat disjointed in the entire composition in that they do not merge or blend harmoniously with the upper parapet.<sup>45</sup>

42 Cf. RADN, 1918-19, 5 and Sherwani, *Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh*, 36, n. 3

43 RADN, 1914-15, pl. VI, b, c

44 RADN, 1915-16, pl. IV a

45. RADN, 1914-15, pl. VI, b

The mosque is unfortunately not dated nor is there any evidence forthcoming for its date except the local tradition that it was constructed at about the same time when the Husain-Sāgar embankment was constructed <sup>46</sup> This date may be slightly earlier, but the mosque does not appear to be as late as the second half of the seventeenth century as is generally believed. The shapely pointed arches of the façade with emphasis on the central one, the design of the upper parapet as well as the general design of its minārs, are devoid of the highly ornate character, and the somewhat clumsy treatment of the minārs in respect of the upper parapet place this mosque somewhere between the plain mosques of Ibrāhīm and the highly developed mosques of the time of 'Abdu'l-lāh.

The Mecca Masjid, which was started by Sultān Muhammad in 1617 but completed much later by Aurangzēb in 1692-93 ranks among the most impressive mosques of the Deccan. Built wholly of fine ashlar stone masonry, it consists of a prayer-hall, three bays deep, fronted by five stately arches, of which the middle one is slightly larger. The domical ceiling over the bays is formed on the principle of pendentive of arches springing from tall and massive columns of the interior, while the central bay is covered with a shouldered roof. A medium-sized cornice, supported on short brackets joined with each other by moulded tie-beams which give them an appearance of niches from a distance, and a parapet of small merlons of a trefoil design, at the top, a turret at each end surmounted by a pillared cupola, and the horizontal mouldings of the arches and the circular discs and floral motifs in the arch spandrels, are the only relieving features in the otherwise plain façade. Aurangzēb's additions, apart from the main entrance to the mosque, seems to have been limited to the pillared cupolas above the minār-buttresses, with their finely projecting cornice and very shapely domes, placed on a raised drum, which are in the characteristic Mughal style of Shāh Jahān's reign. What is really remarkable about the mosque is the fact that despite its huge dimensions, the architect has been able to design a highly impressive interior and an imposing facade of fine proportions, investing the whole building with a simple elegance and stately dignity of its own.

The next important monument is the tomb of Sultān Muhammad (1612-26), which ranks next to that of Muhammad-Qulī in splendour and grandeur. Its general design and treatment shows a distinct improvement upon the latter both in plan and architectural detail, which became so popular that it set a fashion for the remaining royal tombs. Situated on an extensive terrace, it comprises a chamber of about 63 feet square, rising to an upper storey, which is surrounded, up to the lower storey level, by a spacious arcaded gallery of seven arched openings in each side. The latter is devoid of any ornamental parapet.

<sup>46</sup> *Glimpses of the Nizām's Dominions* (Urdu), 195

or finials at corners or sides. But the upper storey has five deeply recessed arches on each side and octagonal buttresses at corners, and this is decorated with the usual double-tier parapet and small domical finials at ends as well as above the arch-piers along the parapet. A raised drum with the usual mouldings supports the dome, which is almost spherical in outline. The tomb thus rises in the form of a pyramid, and represents a break from the traditional square type. Its outer surface was originally ornamented with encaustic tiles of varied hues. The design of the interior also shows a departure in that the phase of transition is achieved by the skilful method of constructing the walls of the square chamber, about 10 feet thick, in the form of wide massive arches, the space between them filled by triangular pendentives and resting the domical ceilings on them.

But it was in the time of 'Abdul'l-lāh (1626-72) that the Qutb Shāhī architecture reached its high watermark and assumed its typical form which is essentially ornate and florid and which has left its stamp on a large number of mosques built all over the kingdom. The most prominent feature of this style is love of ornamentation which finds expression in various ways. The mosques now have at each of the two front ends, a tall and highly ornamental *mīnār*. The shafts of the *mīnārs* at times rising from *kalasa* or pot-bases, are duodecagonal up to the first balconied gallery, which blends them with the whole composition through a battlemented screen of perforated panels of its height, either along the façade, or all along the sides. A peculiar adjunct of these *mīnārs* is a slender pilaster, circular or octagonal in section, embedded in the façade where the *mīnār* buttresses meet it. Capped by a pointed ovular top, it resembles the pole of a standard (*'alam*), where, in some cases, there are *mīnārs* at the rear ends, they are small. Not frequently, the prayer-halls of the mosques of this period consist of a double chamber, and there is profuse use of black basalt made in the central *mihṛāb* and sometimes on the façade and even on *mīnārs*. While Hindu influence is illustrated in the motifs of decoration, the architectural forms and artistic devices are generally Persian in character. This highly ornate style characterises almost all the mosques of this period, which are generally of much the same design except for decorative treatment.

There is a large number of such mosques, the more prominent of which are the mosque at Hayātnagar near Hyderabad, those at *Khairiātābād*, *Shāikh-pēt* (c. 1633) and *Purānā Pul* locally called *Rahīm Khān's* mosque (1643-44), at *Kulthūmpūra*, the mosque of Hayāt Bakhshī Bēgam at Golkonda (1664), *Hirā Masjid* (1668) at Golkonda and *Tōlī Masjid* (1671) near Hyderabad. The most representative examples of these are the Hayāt Bakhshī Bēgam's mosque and the *Tōlī-Masjid*.

Hayāt Bakhshī Bēgam's mosque at Golkonda necropolis consists of a prayer-hall, measuring about 76 by 51 feet, which is three bays deep and has a

five arched façade flanked by two tall *mīnārs*. The shapely pointed arches with the ogee-point placed on substantial columns of considerable height, in the multiple horizontal moulding at their impost level, the shapely minarets, the battlemented parapet wall consisting of perforated panels set within small finials, and restrained stucco decoration on its arches, are its chief architectural features. There are two peculiarities about this mosque which have been noted by scholars, one is that the front minarets are each crowned by a pot of the Hindu motif and the second is a curious feature in the foliage design occurring on the second of the five arches on the rear wall, wherein, two squirrel are shown face to face as going up the foliage of grapes.

The *Tōlī Masjid* is a comparatively small structure. Built on and overlooking the elevated terrace on its east, and bound by a high screen wall on the west, it consists of a double prayer-hall, the outer one with five and the inner with three arches. The two side arches in the latter are taken up by niches in the pillar-and-lintel style, the surface of the arch above the beam being decorated with a miniature copy of a mosque façade with tall *mīnārs*. At the corners of the mosque rise, from pot-bases, two lofty *mīnārs* of proportionate size and pleasing design, while at the rear are smaller ones. A very prominent feature of the mosque is the treatment of the façades and the interior and its abundant decorations which indicate a strong Hindu influence. The façade consists of five openings of greatly stilted arches of equal size with an emphasis on the central one in the form of a cusped arch resting on struts. It is shaded by a beautiful double cornice, the lower one of which is supported on brackets, those corresponding arched piers being in turn supported on five long black basalt struts. The upper cornice is supported on shorter but finely moulded brackets which are likewise supported on elephant-trunk brackets, overlooking an equally picturesque parapet-screen of perforated arches with a fringed outline. The ceiling of the front hall is flat, the side walls being built in the pillar and lintel style, with a balconied window above, while similar struts as on the façade support the ornamental cornice under the ceiling. The mosque has the reputation of being one of the most beautiful specimens of *Quṭb Shāhī* architecture.

There are quite a few tombs which seem to have been constructed both at the royal necropolis and in Hyderabad, e.g. the tombs of *Fāṭimā Sultān* (c. 1625), the reputed tombs of *Akhund Mullā Shāh* near the *Khairiatabād* mosque (c. 1626), *Kulthūm* (c. 1630), *Pemamati* (d. 1662) and *Taramati*, (undated, but very probably c. 1662). These tombs are almost of the same architectural type with a triple-arched single storeyed exterior and surmounted by a single dome. All of them represent fine workmanship.

On the other hand, the tomb of *Hayāt Bakhshī Bēgam* (d. 1667), queen of *Sultān Muhammad*, is on the same lines as that of her husband in architec-

tural composition; even the decorative details are more or less the same. It has, however, as in the Mushīrābād mosque, a small but very picturesque decorative detail in the form of a *torana* fringe on the coping of the upper storey below the lower band of rosettes. The tomb of ‘Abdu’l-lāh (d. 1672) is likewise almost a replica on a larger scale of the tomb of his parents, on which it marks certain improvements. The chief improvement is the treatment of the roof of the arcaded verandah, which is adorned with a cornice on substantial brackets and a parapet of merlons of an elaborated trefoil pattern, and has at each corner a shapely slender minaret of proportionate height, and with just one gallery. The octagonal shaft of the minarets, capped with an inverted voluted capital, is engaged into the walls of the verandah. A similar change is made in the upper storey, which is also decorated by a deep cornice as in the verandah below, the section of the wall forming a band below the parapet of the previous tombs, is made wider and turned into a screen of perforated rectangular panels in the fashion of the later Quṭb Shāhī mosques. There is, moreover, greater surface decoration. All these features, particularly the corner minārs and the double cornice, have made this tomb architecturally superior to other two tombs. In this tomb too, traces of encaustic tile decoration can still be seen on its minārs, parapet and dome.

Little remains to be said about the concluding phase of the style. Despite the troublous times, the reign of the last monarch Abu’l-Ḥasan (1672-87) saw the construction of a large number of buildings, some of them on quite a grand scale, but most of these have since disappeared. And even those that have survived, as for example the partially double storeyed Bārādarī of the Gōshā Maḥal palace, the Mishk Maḥal and the attached mosque and the tomb and mosque of Miyān Mishk, in or around Hyderabad, are more or less in the same style. However, a truly befitting conclusion to the Quṭb Shāhī architecture is provided by what is considered to be the loftiest and most impressive among the Quṭb Shāhī tombs. It is the tomb of the saint Shāh Rājū II (d. 1684-5), an outstanding monument of its class rising in two storeys. It was left incomplete (despite some additions in the form of wooden verandah etc., made by the earlier Nizāms of Hyderabad), and was probably intended to be of the same design as that of ‘Abdu’l-lāh. But its most outstanding feature is its upper part comprising the fine circular drum and the slightly pointed hemispherical dome rising from a row of petals, which bears a strong resemblance to the corresponding members of a Persian or rather a Central Asian tomb.

(iii) MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE IN THE DECCAN

by DR. Z. A. DESAI

*Synopsis*

By the time the Mughals could finally establish their supremacy over the whole of the Deccan in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, their brilliant architectural style, as represented in Shāh Jahān's buildings, was already on the decline. On the other hand, the Bijapur and Golkonda kingdoms had carried on their vigorous building traditions right up to the end. The result was that the Mughal style did not, by and large, make much impact on the soil of the Deccan. No doubt there are buildings in the typical Mughal style as well but their number is comparatively small.





The golden age of Mughal architecture under Shāh Jahān came to an end even before his reign was over. And though the pace of decline may have been accelerated as a result of the dislike for these arts on the part of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr (1658-1707) on the one hand, and his continuous political engagements on the other, it is questionable as one eminent art-historian has put it whether any human power, even that of vigorous imperial patronage could have changed the course of destiny or prolonged its life another span <sup>47</sup>

Thus, by the time the Mughals finally succeeded, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, in establishing their authority in the whole of the Deccan over the regions comprising the five succession states, their building art was already on decline both in regard to style as well as to the scale of building activities. On the other hand, these regions had continued their vigorous building traditions right up to the time of the Mughal conquest <sup>48</sup>. Also, there might have been a natural resistance to ideas and forms, particularly in view of the psychological atmosphere against the Mughal style, which could not by and large make any large impact on the soil of Deccan.

As a result, we have very few buildings in the Deccan erected in the typical Mughal style. In the north too, during the early years of the Mughal rule whatever buildings of architectural interest were constructed, were more in the prevalent Sayyid-Lōdī style. Likewise, the majority of the buildings of architectural importance in the Deccan are more in the prevalent local regional styles, sometimes showing the combination of features of all these styles including the Mughal. Some of the typical features of the Mughal style are the cusped outline of arches and the fluted or striped treatment of domes. As is well known, the former was not unknown in Bijapur, Golkonda and elsewhere in the Deccan, but it was mainly used as an ornamental facing in the outer ring of the arch, which otherwise was structurally and functionally built in the usual plain way. This is not to say that buildings in the typical Mughal style were not constructed in the Deccan, but the number of such buildings is comparatively small.

Among the earliest monuments constructed during the Mughal rule in the Deccan, one is the Jāmī 'Masjīd at Bilōlī in Nāndēṛ district which was erected in 1645 in the reign of Shāh Jahān by one of his governors. It has a

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47 Percy Brown, in *CHI*, IV, 567

48 H. Cousens who made a detailed study of Bijapur monuments says, "One cannot help wondering what new departures would have been made in the further development of Bijapur architecture, had the dynasty lived and flourished another hundred and fifty years, for they were daring builders" (*Bijapur Architecture*, 100)

façade of five pointed arches which have extremely low piers in the typically Deccan style and is shaded by a deep cornice, above which runs a battlemented parapet of arcaded screen of perforated stone panels. It is flanked at either end by a tall and slender *mīnār* and has in the parapet smaller ones of similar design placed above the piers. The horizontal sky-line between them is sought to be broken by joining the two small *mīnārs* in the middle, above the central arched opening, by an arch, recalling to mind a similar device of the flying arch in some Nizām Shāhī buildings. The treatment of the *mīnār* also resembles that of Damrī Masjid of Ahmadnagar, which, as has been stated earlier, bears some resemblance to the Quṭb Shāhī *mīnār*. The general architectural impression about this mosque, particularly on account of the treatment of its arches, is that of being in a massive and solid style, and the *mīnārs* and screen, though pretty in themselves, are not in harmony with the general style of the building.

Likewise, two fine mosques at Khānzamānagar near Ellichpur in Berār, which was founded by Khān-i Zamān, governor of the region in 1675 are in the modified 'Imād Shāhī style. One of them consists of a prayer-hall with battlemented parapet all round and a cornice on bracket on the façade which has three arches between two square pylons, crowned by domed kiosks, while the roof is covered by a dome in the centre placed on a large drum. The building has some features which betray Mughal influence. The shape of the otherwise pointed arches shows a clear tendency towards flatness between the apex and the springing point, and there are at rear corners, two slim finial-like *mīnārs*. Also characteristic is the shape of the somewhat squattish and pointed dome and the tall circular drum on which it is placed. But on the whole the mosque conforms to that style of architecture which had come in vogue in Berar in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The other mosque, which is far more impressive, has at its front end two substantial square pylons in the typical 'Imād Shāhī style, and these are crowned by a domed kiosk resembling a replica miniature tomb of pleasing design as well as proportions. But it is the intelligent variation of its façade arches which invests the elevational aspect with a certain charm. The intermediate three of its five arches of uniform size are of the pointed variety with a tendency to flatness, as in the case of the other building, while the side ones are wider and of the shouldered, or segmental type.

Another monument built by an official of Aurangzeb in 1680-81 is at Ausa in 'Usmānābād district. Its prayer-hall measuring about 40 by 28 feet, has five arched openings of uniform size and is roofed by narrow-necked spherical domes in the typical Bijapur style, of which the central one is larger. Among its other similar features are a carved stone cornice supported on brackets, a decorative parapet, and a slim *mīnār* at each corner with two more smaller ones above the rear projection of the central *mīhrāb*.

Another dated monument in Berar is the tomb of a Mughal official, Lāl Khān at Amnēr in Amrāotī district. Built in 1690-91, it consists of a square hall crowned with a tall dome, decorated with closely-set fluting, in the Mughal style, and placed on an octagonal drum, while at each corner stands a square kiosk. Its most striking feature is the curvilinear treatment of the cornice and the parapet in the middle of its sides. The projecting middle bay in each of its sides, which contains a pointed arched recess, has its deeply coved cornice and parapet rising in a large curve, as in the case of the beautiful Mōtī-Masjid or Pearl Mosque, built in 1659-60 by Aurangzeb inside the Red Fort at Delhi. Apart from this, the tomb suffers from disproportion in its massing as well as disposal of different parts. There are some mosques of the Mughal period at Bidar, but they are mostly in the local style. The mosque in Farh-Bāgh built by Mukhtār Khān (1671) consists of a prayer-hall with the usual three arched openings, the middle one being larger than the side ones. The mosque of Barkhurdār Bēg (1679) is also more in the local style. Its prayer-hall is flanked on either side by a small minār, slender in form and crowned by an orb, and the three arches of its façade being somewhat squat. The mosque of Shāh 'Alī Qādirī (1695) is more or less in the same style. Its arches too do not show a happy sense of proportion. Slightly different from these is a mosque also at Bidar, called Kālī Masjid of Aurangzeb to distinguish it from its famous name-sake. It consists of a single prayer-hall having three arched openings in the façade of uniform width and height. Its parapet has a screen of four cusped arches in the middle and four small turrets, crowned with fluted orbs at the corner. The cusped treatment of the arches in the screen-panel and the striped or fluted treatment of the orbs above the kiosks are its two features which represent the typical features of Mughal architecture.

Another monument, in which the typical Mughal and characteristic local forms have been curiously combined, is the mosque situated in the enclosure of the mausoleum of the thirteenth century saint Hazrat Zānu'd-dīn. It is popularly known as the mosque of Aurangzeb who lies buried just a few yards towards the north-east. The mosque consists of a prayer-hall fronted by an imposing façade of five arched openings of uniform height and width, which are placed on thick massive pillars with voluted bases and capitals. The stately arches, which are of the pointed variety and engrailed only at the outer ring, are shaded by a deep cornice above which is a battlemented parapet. At four corners rise slender minārs in five stages of which two are above the roof. At the top of each minār is placed on highly ornamental brackets of pleasing design, a square kiosk shaded by a deep eave supported on brackets and capped in its turn by a miniature domed structure enclosed within four tiny minārs. There is only one central dome, which has, however, a constricted neck and inverted lotus and pinnacle at the top in the typical Mughal style. It is hemispherical in outline and placed as it is on a squat drum, it looks some-

what shallow and dispels to relieve the mosque of its heavy character. The minārs are too slender for the prayer-hall and may have been added as an after thought <sup>49</sup>

There is in the southern wing of the same enclosure a double-storeyed edifice facing northwards. In the absence of data, it is difficult to say as to when it was constructed but it is in the typical late Mughal style. The facade of the lower storey contains three openings of shapely pointed arches, which are placed on octagonal pillars of proportionate height and are extremely pleasing. Above the arches, two balconied windows, supported on brackets of the raised elephant-trunk motif, project from the ends of the upper storey of the facade above the side arches of the lower storey, and the space between them is filled by an opening of three smaller arches of the same type. The most conspicuous feature of these windows is their *chō chāla* type of curved canopy placed on tapering pillars in the late Mughal style.

Similarly, there is a mosque at Bīr built in 1706 by a deputy of Ghazlu'-dīn Khān Fīrōz Jung, consisting of a single prayer-hall with three arched openings. The treatment of the cusped arches of pleasing shape and the minārs, has some features of the Mughal style, but the design of the cornice of the parapet and turnip-shaped domes of the minārs are more or less in the prevalent local style.

There are two mosques similar in plan and design which are remarkable in that they are totally different from any of the Deccan mosques in general. This is not surprising, as they were apparently constructed on the model of the Mōti Masjid in the Red Fort at Delhi referred to above. One of these mosques is in the citadel—Ark Qil'ah at Aurangābād and the other at Elichpūr in Berar. While the Elichpūr mosque bears an inscription recording its construction in 1708-09 by a Mughal official, there is no evidence for the date of the other mosque. However, it is reasonable to hold that the mosque at Aurangābād, situated as it is in the midst of the extensive ruins of Mughal palaces and office buildings in the citadel and also in view of some of its features, was built in the time of Aurangzeb. The most interesting aspect of this mosque is that it largely conforms to a typical Mughal mosque. Like its prototype, the Mōti Masjid at Delhi, it is a small structure with an open paved court in front. It consists of a single prayer-hall having three arched openings and surmounted by three bulbous domes of which the one in the middle, slightly larger in volume and height, is placed on a loftier drum. The domes, which have constricted necks and bases and are placed on circular drums are treated with close flutings or stripes in the typical Mughal fashion. They are decorated at their base with a band of foliated parapet design as

-49 *Glimpses of the Nizām's Dominions* (Urdu), 384

in the case of the Barīdī tombs. Though they lack that suavity of form and graceful outline which characterises their counterparts in the late Mughal style of Shāh Jahān, they are still not unpleasing. The treatment of the façade is also somewhat unusual. Each of the three arches, instead of being plain, or even engrailed with regular cusps as in the case of the Mōt Masjīd, is fashioned in the form of a trefoil, the upper foil of which is semi-circular in the manner of a round arch. The decorative eave and the simple parapet wall above the façade, rise in curvilinear form above the middle opening as in the Delhi mosque. At each of the front corners stands a minār, also of an unusual design. Octagonal in section, it is of uniform girth up to the roof level.

Though the Elichpūr mosque is built more or less on the same pattern and the treatment of its minārs is also the same, it differs from the Aurangābād mosque in some respects. The main point of difference is the treatment of the dome, which except for its pinnacle and the inverted lotus, has no resemblance to a Mughal dome. Instead, it is hemispherical and placed on a circular drum from which it is difficult to distinguish. Then the façade has a superimposed trefoil arch only on its middle opening which, like the side ones, is plain and of the pointed variety. Lastly, there is a battlemented parapet which tends to add to the general effect. But the mosque on the whole lacks the picturesqueness of its Aurangābād counterpart.

There were likewise constructed at important places like Aurangābād, Bidar, Daultābād, Yādgīr, and other places a number of palace and office buildings but most of these have since disappeared or are in ruins. Of the Mughal palace in Daulatābād fort, started by Shāh Jahān and completed by Aurangzeb, only a bare shell of a few chambers remains. From this it would appear that the palace was more or less in the usual plan of an open court enclosed by chambers and halls which give some idea of the robust and virile architectural style that characterised similar buildings of Akbar and Jahāngīr. There are two buildings in the Bagh-i Husām near Udgīr (1649) which were also built in the typical Mughal style. One is Barā Mahal which is a two storeyed building raised high on a basement with an octagonal cupola on the top. The other, called Chhōtā Mahal, is a smaller building also raised on a vaulted basement. Likewise in the fort of Yādgīr may be seen the remains of Firdaus Mahal (1688) consisting of numerous apartments and halls of various dimensions. The large hall on the extreme west of the structure stands in the middle of two rows of three beautiful multifoil arches, of which those in the front row rests on octagonal pillars and those in the back row on double pillars, in the characteristic Mughal style. Also typical of the style is the treatment of the wall surfaces which are decorated with countless small niches. The roof of the hall and the adjoining rooms as well as considerable portions thereof have fallen off but the exterior of these buildings originally constructed of

stone masonry with surfaces coated over with plaster, was decorated with glazed tiles which have peeled off

Of all the places in Deccan it was at Aurangābād that the typical Mughal buildings were constructed. During Aurangzēb's residence at Aurangābād as Viceroy of the Deccan and during the governorship of subsequent Mughal viceroys, the city and its suburbs were adorned with a number of delightful garden-palaces and residential houses, most of which have unfortunately succumbed to the ravages of time. Here in the Citadel gardens were situated palaces and official buildings attributed to Aurangzeb most of which now exist in extensive ruins, though even these are sufficient to indicate the grandeur of the original edifices. Mention may also be made of Sunehrī Mahal situated to the north of Bibī ka Maqbarah which is a notable building in the late Mughal style. Its chief point of interest lies in the patches of old painting and gold-work on wall surfaces that has given the building its name. The only monuments that have more or less survived in entirety besides the famous Bibī ka Maqbarah, are the gates of the city wall—Delhi Gate, Mecca Gate, Zafar Gate etc. Typical of these is the heavily battlemented Delhi Gate which is a simple yet impressive structure. It consists of a lofty archway enclosed within a recessed arch, in each side of which is engaged a tall and slender pilaster having a tapering section at the top which is characteristic of Mughal buildings. The gateway is flanked at both ends by two massive sixteen-sided crenellated bastions, each crowned with an octagonal domed kiosk at the top. These domes are somewhat stilted, but otherwise they have the typical constricted necks and inverted lotus cresting at the top. There are also two mosques in the city, viz. Chauk-kī-Masjid, (1661-62) built by Shāista Khān, and Lāl Masjid, but they are not of much architectural merit except that they are constructed in the late Mughal style.

Among other gardens were those of Khān-i Jahān Kokaltāsh, and Jahān Bānō Bēgam, popularly called Banī Bēgam. The former, named Lāl Bāgh, was situated to the south of the tomb of Hazrat Burhānu'd-dīn (d. 1340). Its small entrance, which is decorated with encaustic tile work, has a modest doorway which is, however, remarkable for its beautiful brass-work. The high enclosure wall of the garden has kiosks crowned with fluted domes at corners. The buildings inside include, apart from the pleasure-pavilions, a tomb of modest dimensions, octagonal in plan, measuring about 17 feet across internally and crowned with a dome. The interior is decorated with colour paintings comprising foliage designs, and there is also trellis work wrought in geometrical designs. The Bāgh-i Banī Bēgam, contains the grave of Jahān Bānō Bēgam, wife of Aurangzeb's grandson Bēdār Bakht. It has octagonal kiosks at the corners of its enclosure-wall, crowned with domes fluted externally in the late Mughal style, while the grave of the Bēgam is situated on an octagonal platform which has been decorated with artistic inlay work. The

most interesting feature of the garden is the architecture of the four pleasure pavilions of varying dimensions roofed in curvilinear fashion which is a conspicuous feature of the late Mughal style. The other buildings in the garden, a *bārādārī* in each of the middle of the eastern and southern walls and a mosque in the western wall, have engrailed arches supported on pillars with tapering shafts and voluted bases and capitals, a characteristic feature of the late Mughal style. In particular, the interior of the three-bayed mosque is quite impressive on account of its shapely cusped arches placed on tapering shafts.

But the greatest Mughal monument in the Deccan is the *Bibi-ka Maqbarah*, situated in the suburb of Bēgampura, which was built about 1661 by Prince A'zam Shāh over the remains of his mother Bēgam Rābī'ah Daurānī, the Queen of Aurangzeb. The mausoleum is architecturally important in illustrating the general and the rapid change that was taking place in the brilliant architectural style of the time of Shāh Jahān. The mausoleum was evidently planned on the model of the Taj Mahal at Agra, built hardly more than a decade previously but in regard to architectural beauty it suffers by comparison with its prototype. The Maqbarah, as it is popularly called, is situated in the midst of a large garden interspersed with paved walks and channels of running water. In the southern side of its high enclosure wall, consisting of blind arches and decorated with a parapet and finials above arch-piers, is the main entrance. It consists of an impressive gateway in the shape of a semi-octagon, with tall slender pilasters rising above the parapet at each angle. They have in the middle of the façade a lofty recessed arch decorated with minute cusps, enclosing an arched entrance of the plain outline. The whole is decorated with a blind parapet of ornamental merlons. The arches in the sides are shallow and likewise decorated in minute cusps. The entire surfaces have been enriched with countless panels of varied shapes executed in arabesque designs. The guard-rooms on either side of the passage of the gateway have beautiful mosaic tiles representing roses, a feature that has not been noticed in any other part of India. Also remarkable is the highly artistic metal work of the brass-sheets covering its doors, which are wrought in beautiful floral designs.

The mausoleum itself, built on a high terrace of red stone, faced with blind arches decorated with small cusps, consists of a large hall about 31 feet square externally. The lower part of the building is faced with marble and decorated with carvings executed in the characteristic Mughal style. The decorative work is continued in the upper parts and the entire surface of the walls, but there it is done in stucco. The interior of the building is arranged into a gallery overlooking the sarcophagus and enclosed by an octagonal marble screen of exquisite design. The middle bay of the hall of which, unlike

in the Tāj, the corners are not flattened or chamfered, contains a lofty alcove in the middle bay between two slender pinnacles, in the typical late Mughal style. At the corners are square buttresses placed on voluted bases which support octagonal turrets above the roof, likewise placed on voluted bases and crowned by foliated capitals to support the square kiosks of a slightly different pattern. Above the roof is placed the central dome on a lofty drum, surmounted at four corners by octagonal kiosks.

The Maqbarah, conceived and designed on a grand scale, has thus all the architectural elements to be found in a Mughal tomb, but lack of sufficient imagination in the treatment of individual parts has prevented its otherwise grand composition to materialise. The minārs are by no means as graceful in outline as those of the Tāj, nor is its central dome as perfect and imposing as that of its prototype. The relations of its height with its smaller width is not very pleasing and this effect is further heightened by the overcrowding caused by the congestion of kiosks, pilasters and turrets at the base of the central dome. Among its other shortcomings, are that "almost every arch is demeaned with miniature cusps, the cornices garnished by insipid mouldings, and the surfaces are aggravated by spiritless arabesques. Those outstanding qualities of simplicity and breadth which make the Tāj so profound and satisfying have been disregarded and meaningless efforts at embellishment have been applied all over the building." <sup>50</sup> Despite these defects, the monument is remarkable for the quality of some of its applied art and exquisitely modelled designs in bas-reliefs as well as the workmanship of its perforated marble screen, and above all the masterly treatment of its metal ornaments. It thus rightly enjoys the reputation of being the finest Mughal monument in south India.

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<sup>50</sup> Perry Brown in *CHI*, IV, 567



(iv) VIJAYANAGAR

by DR. R. SUBRAHMANYAM

*Synopsis*

1. *Introduction*

2. *Secular Architecture*

Fortifications and Gates

The Baths

The King's Audience Hall

The so-called Zenānā Enclosure

'Elephant Stables'

Guards' Quarters

Dhannāik's Enclosure

The Fort and Palaces at Penukoṇḍa

Rājā Maḥal and Rānī Maḥal at Chandragiri

3. *Religious Edifices*

Hazāra Rāma Temple

Viṭhōba Temple

Paṭṭabhirāma Temple

Achyutarāmaswāmi Temple

Virabhadraswāmi Temple at Lepākshī and certain other Temples.



## 1 Introduction

The empire of Vijayanagar was established in 1336 and it practically dominated South India for over two centuries. The Vijayanagar rulers were not only the political successors of the Chōlas, Pāndyas, Hoysalas and Kākatīyas, but also the inheritors of a vast wealth of cultural tradition of those dynasties particularly in the field of art and architecture. To accommodate the changing need of the times, the Vijayanagar emperors allowed a number of innovations in the architecture of South India. "Indian architecture at all times remarkable for the profuseness of its applied decoration at this stage of its development, reached the extreme limit of florid magnificence"<sup>1</sup>

It was a period when princely encouragement was given to art which is clear from the external structural remains of the age. It is accepted that the architectural shapes of any country are conditioned by geological and climatic factors, the historical and social background of the people, as well as their religion, which is the most important motive force behind their art impulses. The city of Vijayanagar founded on the banks of the river Tungabhadra, on the advice and with the blessings of the sage Vidyāranya was the marvel of that age. Foreign travellers who visited and stayed at the city have left graphic descriptions of its numerous buildings constructed by the Rāyas. Therefore the capital city, though most of it is in ruins today, affords the best material for a study of the development of Vijayanagar architecture. Moreover there is not a single religious place or temple in the length and breadth of their empire where we do not see embellishments or additions made by the Rāyas. Inscriptions registering their benefactions to the temples, particularly recording the additions made or renovations effected at the temple complex, are too many to be recounted here. The catholicity of outlook and patronage of their subordinates was responsible for the growth of religious edifices of the Jains during the early period and later, of the Muslims and Christians at the capital. Domingo Paes, the Portuguese chronicler who visited the city during the reign of Krishnadēvarāya, has left a graphic description of Vijayanagar. "The size of the city" he says, "I do not write here, because it cannot be seen from any one spot, but climbed a hill whence I could see a great part of it, I could not see it all because it lies between several ranges of hills. What I saw from thence seemed to me as large as Rome and very beautiful to the sight"<sup>2</sup>

The city was surrounded by seven fortifications and the space in between the defences were utilised for vegetable and fruit gardens and cultivation. The

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1 Percy Brown *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu periods)*, 105 ff

2 Sewell, 256

roads were broad and lined by temples of fine workmanship. At the end of each street there was a temple but the most important existing temples like the Virupākṣha and Viṭṭhala are said to have been outside the city walls. An examination of the plan of the city and its buildings, particularly the vast temple enclosures, clearly reveal the dominating spirit of the age—preservation of the visible manifestations of Hindu dharma, to ensure the maximum involvement of the public at large. The large and animated scenes of relief sculptures on the outer walls of the temples, on the plinths of the Mahānavami platform or on the other fortification portray the day to day life of the nobles, merchants and commoners, besides highlighting the exploits of the Rāyas. This is in contrast with the sculptures of the Kākatīyas and of the Hoysalas. The latter, though of a superior calibre, are austere and lack the touch of a life of greater fullness.

The era of feuds between Jainism and Buddhism on the one hand and the militant Śaivism on the other, had ended. The animosities between Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism had ceased, thanks to the broadminded but strong and stern rule of the Rāyas. New creeds in Hinduism centering round Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, which gained ground and popularity in India due to the influence of Vallabha, Rāmānanda and Chaitanya, apostles and exponents of Bhakti cult, and of other *avatāras* of Viṣṇu which did not have much prominence earlier, gained popularity, and Svāyampradhāna temples were constructed for those deities. Other cults like Viṭṭhoba or Viṭhala, Marūtī or Hanumān, Gaṇēśa etc., more popular in Karnatak and Maharashtra, also flourished in the hospitable soil in the empire of Vijayanagar. The elaborate ceremonials connected with the daily, weekly, monthly and annual pūjas or offerings to the gods resulted in the corresponding elaborations of the temple structure. The contribution of Vijayanagar to the development of temple architecture is the addition of numerous subsidiary structures within the temple enclosure. Besides the main temple which generally occupies the central place in the courtyard, separate shrines<sup>3</sup> for the consort of the presiding deity, an addition adumbrated perhaps in the later Chōḷa period, gained a place of importance under Vijayanagar. The *Kalyānamandapa*, an open pillared hall with a central raised platform where the annual *līlā kalyāna* is celebrated, is something unique. All these structures have been built on a high plinth or *adishthāna* which emphasised the majesty of the monuments. *Jagatī* or *upa-pīṭha*, a characteristic feature of the temples of the Pallava, Chōḷa, Kākatīya and Hoysala periods, was omitted. The *Trikūṭas* of the Kākatīyas and the low structures with deep recesses of the Hoysalas needed a high plinth to give them massiveness and majesty. All the Vijayanagar structures, which are square or oblong with more members on the axis as against the three of the earlier styles, did not need

<sup>3</sup> This feature of *parivara devatās* shrines is traceable to the Chōḷa temple at Tanjore, G.K.C. puram, Dhārāsūram and the Kākatīya temple at Ghanpura.

the addition of the *upa-pīṭha*. The Vijayanagar structures did not have the foundations, as the walls of most of these structures built in cyclopean masonry stand on their own weight <sup>4</sup>. All these structures have been constructed within a highwalled enclosures or *prakāra* provided with gateways or *gōpuras*. The *prakāra* walls, meant to serve as defences in the times of emergency, are massive and strong <sup>5</sup>.

*Gōpuras* are not the innovation of the Vijayanagar builders. They are seen in the edifices of the Pallava and the Chōḷa periods. These earlier dynasties gave more prominence to the *vimāna* built over the sanctum, and their gateways were invariably short if not stunted and low. Perhaps the Pāṇḍyas were the first to emphasise the height of the *gōpura* as seen in the temples at Chidambaram, Jambukēśvaram, Tiruvannamalai and the Gōvīndarāja temple at Tirupati. This feature was continued by the Vijayanagar builders but without disturbing the balance or proportion between the *vimāna* and *gōpura*. Another important feature of the Vijayanagar period is the marked preference of the builders for brick in the superstructures. The early builders of Pallava or Chōḷa periods showed a tendency to make only stone structures, while the Vijayanagar builder preferred brick in the construction of *vimāna*, roofs, parapet and high *gōpuras*. It was perhaps attributable to the changing taste of the people. Brick and surface with figure sculpture in stucco, when painted in different colours, presented a fine spectacle.

In the matter of decoration on wall surfaces, ceilings, and pillars Vijayanagar has made a significant contribution. The vertical walls over the *adhishthāna* in the temples of Pallava and Chōḷa periods had deep *dēvakōshthas* with images flanked by pilasters. In the Vijayanagar period these niches have become ornamental. Besides, the wall surface was covered by *tōranās*, *Śālakōshthas*, *kūtakōshthas*, shallow niches surmounted by varieties of *Vimāna*, pilasters, kumbhapanjaras, bas-reliefs, portraits, scenes from epics, *sthalapūrāna*, local history and legend.

“The prominence given to the pillars and piers, the intricate and delicate work and their complicated composition has turned the Vijayanagar temple,” says Percy Brown, “into a figurative drama on stone. A striking type of pillar design and also the most frequent, is that in which the shaft becomes merely the central core for the attachment of an involved group of statuary often of heavier size and chiseled entirely in the round having as its most conspicuous element a rearing horse, rampant hippogryph, or uprised animal of

4 The temple of Anantasayanagudi built during the period of Krishnadēvarāya, which stands to a height of nearly 100' with a massive vaulted roof has less than two feet foundation.

5 These temple compounds sometimes housed the entire village or town like the temples at Śrīrangam, Lepākshi, etc.

supernatural kind ” This preference of the Vijayanagar artist for the horse in his motifs for decorative purposes was again a manifestation of the spirit of the builders, who emphasised the importance of the horse in their war machine. The Rāyas were always eager to augment the number of their horses since in all their wars the cavalry played a decisive role <sup>6</sup> Another variety is a composite pillar consisting of the central shaft with a cluster of miniature pillars, called “musical pillars” by the local people. They make different notes when hit with a piece of stone or metal. These miniature pillars are seven in number in order to correspond with the seven *svaras* or notes of Indian music. A third variety of pillars developed by the Vijayanagar mason is a shaft composed of a series of miniature shrines one over the other on the principle of arranging ‘koshtas’ on the *sikhāra* and *gōpura*. This *chitra-khanda* class of pillars is a very common feature in the mandapas of the Vijayanagar temples.

The corbels over the pillar both with and without the medial band or *paṭṭa* and of the *taranga* type underwent a change. In the early period they developed into a *pōtika* or bud. Under the later Vijayanagar rulers and the Nāyaks they matured into a *pushpapōtika*, a hanging bud completely detached from the rest of the stone.

The ceilings of Vijayanagar edifices, usually flat and panelled, are covered by paintings, figure sculpture or design in stucco. The central feature in the ceiling slab is *Viśva padmā* or varieties of lotuses with a prominent pericarp. The temples of Pampā Virupākṣha, Viṭthala, Pattabhirāma, Achyutarāya, Anantaśayana guḍī, Ganigeṭṭi Jinālaya, Chandrasekhara, at the capital, Chintalarāya at Tāḍpatrī, Jalakantīśvāra at Vellore, Kalyāṇa Venkatēśvara at Mangāpuram, the Tirupati temples etc., give us an insight into the religious architecture and the influence that was at work on the conception of decorative motifs and their composition and other details. The development of architecture in the southern regions followed earlier local traditions and improved or added to the known motifs, this explains the differences in the buildings in different parts of the empire. At the capital we find instances of Hoysala-Kadamba concepts predominating in the early stages but later genuine Vijayanagar traditions evolved, and came into their own.

## 2 Secular Architecture

Secular buildings are more often of a miscellaneous order under which there may be included the palaces, forts, gates, wells, baths, gardens, pavilions etc., meant for public and civic purposes. Any monumental building, whether it is a temple or palace, becomes a matter of general interest if it is a projection

6. This motif of rampant animal was seen in the architectural production of the Pallavas also. [This desire for a regular supply of horses determined to a large extent the relations of Vijayanagar with Portuguese. Ed.]

of human mind from the internal to the external and result of a unified effort or craftsmanship Indian masons had very rich experience in the construction of large temples of exquisite plan and artistic ability But it is sometimes observed by writers on architecture that it remained static, perhaps due to the persistent isolation or the overwhelming influence of those codes of heuristic and conventional rules embodied in *śilpa* and *vāstu śāstras* The Hindus chose the beam and lintel to cover spaces, in contrast to the later methods of arches and dome adopted by the Muslims It is not, however, suggested that the Indian builder was unacquainted with the constructions of arches or the tradition connected with it, for the arch was known in India even in the first and second centuries A D <sup>7</sup> The philosophical conception of the universe as understood by the Hindu builder as a development from microcosm to macrocosm, the *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti mārgas* is symbolically represented in the shape of temples and *Śikharas*

Though the city of Vijayanagar suffered from the vandalism of pillaging marauders, enough remains today to enable us to study the architecture of the age The fortifications, the citadels, gateways, the water system, baths, the throne platform, remains of the palaces, Audience Hall, the Queens' apartments, Lotus Mahal, watch towers and the so-called elephant stables, the guard room, Hampi Bazar, Sulaī Bazar and Rānī Mahal, the summer palace of the Rāyas at Chandragiri, the Tirumalanāyaka palace at Madurai, the palaces at Gingee etc., help us to understand the secular architecture of the period Contemporary literature and the accounts of foreign visitors who came and stayed at the city during its heyday also enable us to glean into the type of building used by different sections of society, as well as decorative details, furniture and building materials Rich men and courtesans are said to have lived in houses built of stone <sup>8</sup> These had flat roofs and towers built on pillars forming verandahs open inside and out It is said that inside the city there were many houses where the great nobles and governors of provinces lived These buildings had gardens full of aromatic herbs The houses were ornamented with figure sculpture either in stone or wood painted in bright colours The wall sculptures were sometimes gilded <sup>9</sup> In the halls of the imperial palace were painted pictures depicting "all the ways of men, including the Portuguese, which were so designed as to give the inmates of the *zenāna* an idea of how each one lived in his own country" <sup>10</sup> Contemporary literature abounds in references

7 Brick Arches are seen at the temples of Buddha Gaya, Bhitargaon and Kausambi The Mandagapaṭṭu inscription of Mahēndravarmān Pallava refers to the existence of structures built of brick, lime, timber and even mortar which were considered to be of perishable nature, and the king chose the style of making rock-cut temple's material which is imperishable for his architectural purposes

8 Sewell, *op cit*, 242

9 *Ibid*, 287, *Barbosa*, I, 202

10 *Sewell*, 286

to various types of buildings of the Rāyas *Chitrāsāla*, *mayasabha*, *majjana-grīha* (bath), *bhōjana sālā* (dining hall), *chandrasālā*, *archana-grīha*, the ivory chamber of the hall for drinking, the *gavadi*, *bhuvanēsvara*, the *jala-yantra* and so on <sup>11</sup> The tops of these buildings were decorated with *kalasas* or pinnacles and flagstuffs The palace area is divided into a number of courts or *kakshya-yantrās* connected by shortly built gates, with *gōpurās* or towers In each court were rows of pillared halls for people to wait until they got the audience of the King

The middle class people lived in tiled or flat roofed houses built in mud, while the poorer classes in the country-side had thatched houses

### *Fortifications and Gates*

The exact plan of the city is not clear Tradition asserts that Vidyāranya, gave the plan of '*Śrī Chakīa*' for the layout of the city <sup>12</sup> Hindu Vāstusāstras describe eight varieties of city plans Of these the *padmaka* type might tally with the *Śrī Chakra* pattern

The rocky terrain of the site and the unfordable Tungabhadra provided the much needed safety to the city The builders closed the openings in this region of low lying areas by massive defence walls Originally the fortifications extended even beyond Hospet where, according to Paes, "A very strong city fortified with walls and towers and the gates at the entrance very strong, with towers at the gates, these walls are not like those of other cities, but are made of very strong masonry inside very beautiful rows of buildings much after that manner with flat roofs existed" The unlimited supply of building material close at hand rendered it possible for the builders to use huge blocks of stone in the construction of these massive fortifications The fort was built with square and circular bastions at regular intervals with a moat all round The builders took full advantage of the natural elevation of the ground In the low-lying areas where it was not possible to have a moat filled with water, Paes tells us that "certain pointed stones of great height are fixed in the ground as high as a man's breast, they are in breadth a lance shaft and a half with the same distance between them and the great wall"

The walls were faced with granite blocks The inner core generally consisted of simple filling of mud and brick or rubble In 1866, a large part of these fortifications were dismantled and thrown into the moat as a part of famine relief work, while the rest has been damaged by sugar cane growers in Kamalapuram and the neighbouring villages

Of the numerous gateways and openings in the fortifications only a few have survived to the present day These are mostly openings spanned by stone

<sup>11</sup> *Vasu Charitra*, 4 72, *Manu Charitra*, 3 58

<sup>12</sup> *Mānasāra*, Chapter on "Gramavinyāsa"



lintels supported by corbels named after the images of heroes installed there or after the particular chieftain or god for whom a shrine was constructed nearby <sup>13</sup> At least two of them have been repaired later by the Muslims by adding a dome in one case and brick and plaster turrets in another. Of all the gates extant to-day, the Bhīma gate is perhaps the best preserved and ornamented. This gate is on the east and contains a large and well-carved bas-relief image of Bhīma. This gate has an arched gateway built of lintels and corbels. Protected on the sides by a massive curtain walls with a sallyport, it is perhaps the strongest of the fortified entrances at Hampi. Huge blocks of granite roughly dressed on the exterior and shaped like wedges have been used in its construction.

The 'domed gateway' is also a typical Hindu gate with the entrance facing east and a pillared *mandapa* inside which were perhaps Guards' Quarters. Now it is partly covered by an embankment of the reservoir built here for generating electricity.

Inside the citadel are ruins of ancient aqueducts, water pavilions, baths, platforms, basements of large-sized buildings, the so-called Zenāna Enclosure, Lotus Mahal, the Mint, the Dhannāik's residence, "Elephant Stables" and the *Mahānavamī* or Throne Platform, described in detail by Longhurst <sup>14</sup>. The superstructure of many of these buildings are lost and only the plinths and traces of pillar bases are extant to-day. A few interesting structures with special architectural merits are described below.

### *The Baths*

The Rāyas of Vijayanagar made excellent arrangements for baths at their capital and a few of those structures have survived the vandalism of man and nature. Beside the river are the public tanks and wells used by common people. The king and his noblemen had special reservoirs built for sport with their women folk <sup>15</sup>. Barbosa alludes to the practice in the following passage: "They (the women of the Rāya's zenāna) bathe daily in the many tanks of which I spoke about, as kept for that purpose. The king goes to see them bathing and she who pleases him most is sent for to come to his chamber" <sup>16</sup>.

13 Thus the gate opposite the Paṭṭabhirāma temple is named in the inscriptions engraved on its façade as '*Swāmidēvara Bagilī*'

14 Longhurst *Hampi Ruins*, 44 ff

15 People of the south attached considerable importance for bathing and different kinds of baths were popular in this region. Ordinary bath in warm or cold water, *abhyangana* or oil bath once a week and *jala kṛida* or bathing sport in a big tank or reservoir specially built for the purpose are common.

16 *Barbosa* p 208. However these baths should not be compared with similar structures of the Muslims. Their idea of the bath is different from that of the Hindus of the day.

Inside the citadel, where the fort wall has been cut for laying a road to the throne platform and Hazāra Rāma temple in recent years, is a large masonry tank rectangular in shape. This artificial reservoir was filled by water brought through the aqueduct and earthenware pipes and used for the daily baths of the Rāya and his queens. It has steps on all sides leading to the water level.

Outside the citadel are two or three structures described by Longhurst as baths. Of these, the "Queens' Bath" is an unostentatious structure with thick lime plaster almost plain outside, and is surrounded by a narrow ditch or moat. Inside this structure there is a tank 15.24 mts square and 1.83 mts in depth. Around this tank is an arched corridor with balconies projecting into the tank. The interior walls are plastered smooth with a few stucco decorations of floral and animal designs. The roof over the arched balcony is vaulted and is almost flat. This has been panelled and contains stucco work of intricate geometrical designs or floral decorations. Instead of bricks, rubble was used in the construction of the roof. Longhurst identified this as the Queen's Bath used by the Rāya for sporting with the queens. Its location outside the main citadel, and lack of provision of steps leading to the water in the tank, the state of its preservation and its characteristic Indo-Persian features make one feel that it was not contemporary with the palaces of the Rāya and that it was an addition made at a subsequent period, perhaps by Haidar 'Alī or Tipū, who kept Hampi as a frontier outpost\*. There is a strong tradition that Haidar 'Alī renovated the gate now known as *Talārī gattu* gate.

There is another tank near the Chandraśekhara temple outside the citadel shaped like an octagon with a small central pavilion. It is fed by a pipe-line leading from all the sides. There is a shallow channel cut into the stone along the rim of the tank. Outlets are provided at the bottom of the tank. A pillared corridor runs along with flat roofs. The ceiling of this is well preserved and contains plaster and stucco work. The style of its construction is typically Hindu and it is not unlikely that this open reservoir or tank was attached to the temple nearby.

Within the citadel there are remains of many buildings of a secular nature only the lower portions of which have escaped the destruction wrought

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[This seems to be a little too far fetched. Simply because certain edifices in Vijayanagar happen to have arches for openings does not mean that they were constructed by Muslims. There was a continuous give and take so far as cultural aspects of life were concerned. If there are Hindu motifs in a Muslim building, such as in Ghiyāthū'd dīn Tahāmtan's tomb (1397) and Fīrōz Shāh's tomb (1422) at Gulbarga, it can perhaps connote only that the masons were Hindu and that Hindu culture had permeated the court circles. Moreover what has been left of structures erected by Haidar 'Alī and Tipū show certain peculiarities of style not found in the Bahmanī arch transported to Vijayanagar. For mutual cultural influences see Sherwani, *Cultural Trends in Medieval India*, Introduction, 4 Ed.]

by the marauders and the soldiers of the victorious army after the battle of Rakshasa-Tangadi \* Of these at least two deserve special mention, viz, the throne platform or *Mahānavamī dibba* and the king's Audience Hall or Hundred Pillared palace

The latter structure was erected as a monument of victory by Krishna-dēvarāya after his successful capture of the fort of Udayagiri in 1513 It is square in plan and rises in three diminishing tiers The lowest terrace is 40 22 mts × 40 22 mts, while the topmost one is 24 77 mts × 24 77 mts Two faces of the constructions of the high plinth are clearly discernible The earlier one was of solid masonry veneered by polished and sculptured chlorite slabs, and was partly covered in the subsequent stages when the platform was extended In the second phase local granite blocks were used and these are comparatively cruder and less polished During this phase a staircase was added on the south Over this terrace are remains of pillar bases indicating that there was a pavilion which is missing now The approach to the top of this structure is by means of a well laid-out staircase on the west flanked by elephant decorated balustrades

Longhurst however conjectured that the superstructure was constructed in brick and plaster with carved wooden pillars supporting timber framed roofs, probably covered with small copper plates etc These buildings might have been of several storeys He identified this platform as the base of the pavilion when the royal throne was kept during the Navarātri or Dasahra festival and the king gave audience to all the chiefs, nobles and captains who came to pay their tribute to him The top most tier or platform is beautifully designed, its horizontality is emphasised by a series of boldly moulded courses sharply projected and fashioned out of large beams, carved and placed in position with skill and precision The lower terraces are mere plain masonry plinths evidently to serve as means for raising the height of the structure But here the vertical surface of the plinth was used by the builder to portray animal figures, sculptures and scenes from everyday life of the city

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\*There are two points in this sentence which need some comment

(i) The battle was not fought near the villages of Rakshasi and Tangadgi (thus, according to Survey of India Map 56/D/SW) which happen to the north of the Krishna, but south of the Krishna about 30 miles south of Tālikōṭa at a place called Bannihatti (Campbell, *Bijapur District Gazetteer*, 1884, 416, 679), (ii) Diogo de Couto, *Decadas* quoted by Sewell (Indian edition 1970, 199) says that "hordes of Brinjāris, Lambādīs, Kurubas, and the like, pounced down on the hapless city and looted the stores and shops, carrying off great quantities of riches" But Rafi'ud-din shirāzi (TM 64 b-65 a) was an eye-witness and says that the soldiers of the victorious army took an active part in the loot

For full discussion of the site of the battle see Vol I, 133 37, 247-48 Also see Radhey Shyam, *The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar*, 129 33 Ed]

*King's Audience Hall*

This is situated to the West of *Mahānavami dibba* or throne Platform and was originally approachable through the open court and gateways from the north. The existing number of pillar bases show that it was a hall of a hundred pillars forming ten rows of ten pillars each. These pillars had massive square bases, brackets and capitals. The basement has bold and precise moulding and rises in three spacious stages. The main approach to the hall is by means of flights of steps on the north. The massive proposition of the pillars clearly indicate that the palace was in several storeys with pyramidal roofs.

Krishnadēvarāya is said to have made fresh additions to the old palaces in the city. At the end of the Kalinga war (1512-1520) he built the famous Audience Hall known as *Bhuvana Vijaya* or the House of Victory. This palace was built of pillars shaped like elephants symbolising the eight guard elephants the vehicles of the eight *dīkpālas*. It was open in front and there was a staircase of stone around which was a terrace or corridor paved with stones.<sup>17</sup> 'Abdu'r-Razzāq informs us that the king's Audience Hall was elevated above all the rest of the lofty buildings in the citadel. It is not unlikely that the superstructure was built in timber and it was burnt down by the invaders. In the court facing the big hall there is a square tank and a long monolithic water trough.

*The So-called Zenāna Enclosure*

About a furlong to the north of the Audience Hall is a high walled enclosure described by Longhurst as the Zenāna Enclosure and the buildings in it are in the Indo-Persian style of architecture. The wall construction itself is peculiar. It tapers towards its top and no binding mortar is used. Stones are arranged one over the other on either faces and the intervening cavity was filled with mud and rubble. Originally it must have been plastered completely all over. Along the coping of this high wall Longhurst felt that iron spikes were fixed. There are watch towers at the south-eastern and north-eastern corners of the enclosure which rises to a considerable height, and flights of steps are provided to reach the top floor of these towers. The balconies or windows of these towers, which open to the cardinal directions are simple arches with dwarf parapet walls slightly projecting outside and supported by stone brackets.

The main entrance to this enclosure is on the west and is constructed on the well-known lintel and corbel principle. In the centre are basements of other palaces, the superstructures of which were completely destroyed.

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<sup>17</sup> Sewell, 263 ff

However, the finest building in the enclosure is the *Lotus Mahal* which Longhurst consider as a fine example of Indo-Saracenic architecture. This is a small building in two storeys. The ground floor is constructed on a high ornamental *Sarvatō-bhadra adhiṣṭhāna* or plinth with doubly recessed angles, forming an eight petalled lotus (*aṣṭadalapadma*). This arched pavilion is open on all the sides and the arches support the floor above. The pillars are massive and are built of random rubble in lime and thickly plastered. In the plastering of the arch, mouldings or recessings are so arranged that they give the effect of a trefoil. The pillars are square at bottom, just below the point where the arch springs projecting stones slabs are introduced. The roof is vaulted and panelled and contains decoration in stucco. On the exterior surface of the arches, at the top, are *makara tōranas* flanked by circular ornamental medallions in stucco. Above these are a row of *taranga* corbels which support the heavy and moulded cornice or *kapōta*.

The second floor is identical in plan to the ground floor but is provided with small windows on all sides. The provision of windows makes the upper room more cosy and closed when compared to the full open ground floor. The top of this pavilion is fashioned into towers imitating the *vimānas* of temples. The courses are plain and the top is shaped like an inverted cup with flutings.

The approach to the upper room is by means of a flight of steps on the north-eastern corner. The pillars and arches are, according to Longhurst, Indo-Saracenic in character while the rest, base, roof, cornice, stucco ornamentation are all Hindu. This happy blending of these two styles according to him, makes the structure a fine example of mixed architecture.

When we examine the Lotus Mahal in the context of the surrounding ruins, the question arises why and how this pavilion was left untouched while other buildings inside the enclosure were completely burnt down and damaged. There can be only one answer. It appears that this structure was a later addition, perhaps built after the destruction of the city,\* and the plinth of an earlier building was used for constructing it. This might have been used as a temporary halting place for a chief or a visiting potentate.

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\*[Quite a number of edifices, including many magnificent temples were left intact. After Sadāśiva went away to Chandragiri with 500 elephants and other means of transport laden with wealth, (Sewell, 206-7, quoting Diogo de Couto) and the city was robbed by marauders, the value of Vijayanagar as an outpost disappeared. The learned author himself says that the Mahal contains numerous Hindu motifs, and it is not clear who that 'chief or visiting potentate' would be for whom the Mahal was rebuilt.]

As regards the mixed style, there are scores of edifices in nearby Hyderabad and Bijapur in which the Hindu style is dovetailed with the so-called Indo Saracenic style. This scheme was also followed in the case of great palace at Chandragiri and later at Tanjore. Ed]

The corner watch towers and the neighbouring Elephant Stables and Guards' Quarters further confirm this surmise. If the enclosure was meant to house the ladies of the Rāya, there was no need for arranging watch towers with arched windows and projecting balcony with arches typically Muslim in style. These were really meant for watching the arrival of the enemy from all directions by the guard posted there.

### *Elephant Stables*

To the east of the zenāna enclosure is an oblong structure, containing eleven rooms with lofty domed roofs. The central room has a turret with a flight of steps on each side with its superstructure missing. These rooms are said to have been used for keeping the royal elephants, but there are no traces of iron rings or bars embedded in the floor or walls for fastening the animals. This structure is dignified and handsome, and the domes are of different varieties. Of these five are fashioned into turrets or towers imitating the superstructure of temples, while six are hemispherical with fluted or ribbed exterior. All along the ridge of the dome are petal ornaments imitating the merlons of Indo-Persian architecture. The building originally had a projecting *chhajja* supported by stone corbels in front. The *chhajja* is now missing. The surface of the front, massive and broad pillared, is cut into deep niches to relieve monotony.\*

### *The Guards' Quarters*

The oblong building with a long verandah in front and a single main entrance, has a raised platform running all round in the interior with an oblong open space in the centre. The platform bears the pillars which are just cubical shafts surrounded by a capital from which a trefoil arch springs. The space in between the pillars was originally closed with rubble walls to form a number of rooms or cells for the use of the servants.

### *Dhannāik's Enclosure*

This large enclosure, adjacent to the palace area behind the Hazāra Rāma Temple, is believed to be the residence of the commander of the fort, Durgādhyaksha. In this enclosure there are remains of residential buildings (only the basements of which with the usual mouldings are extant), an isolated tower rising in two storeys, pillared hall with arches, and a dome and a corner watch tower.

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\*[Havell, *History of the Aryan Rule in India* says that the so-called Elephant Stables, with a large central dome flanked on either side by four small domes, are really the remnant of the large mosque. Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, 82, might be quoted here: "With the exception of some of the tops of the domes, the building is almost entirely Muhammadan in character and faces due west. There is nothing but local tradition to prove that the building was used as a stable for the State elephants." Dr. Subrahmanyam himself says that there are no trace of any rings or bars to which the animals could be tied. It is not known who first dubbed the structure Elephant Stables. Ed.]

This pillared hall appears to be an open pavilion like the Lotus Mahal, built on an ornamented stone basement with fine carvings of human and animal figures, *hamsas* and floral designs. The structure faces north. At some later stage screen walls have been built to convert this into a closed hall.

Longhurst, who described this in great detail, compared this with the Lotus Mahal or Zenāna Enclosure and surmised that it was a Muhammadan mosque. This inference is based on certain Muslim architectural features like the arches and the domes and tops and a series of niches along the back wall. However, its orientation, and the absence of the central '*mīhrāb*', one of the features of a mosque, preclude the possibility of it having been used as a mosque.

A closer examination of these buildings reveals that it was a big pillared hall originally open on all sides with the usual towers soaring high into the sky, perhaps with a front enclosure wall and balustraded steps, typical of residential buildings at Hampi. This has been renovated at a subsequent period when the thickly plastered screen walls were added. The non-removal of the ramp built during the renovation work clearly shows that the building was never completed.

At the north-west corner of this enclosure there is a stone tower built in typical Indo-Persian style. It consists of a small chamber in the basement, narrow stone staircase and on the top a room divided into three parts built on a raised platform. Balconies supported by massive corbels have been added to this on the northern and eastern sides.

The roof of this lofty structure is supported by arches and small squattish domes, two of which have fallen. Longhurst, who gave a graphic description of this watch-tower expressed the opinion that this was actually a bastion and the platform with window openings where guns were mounted. He also inferred the possibility of the two little chambers being used for storing ammunition. He says that these structures in the Indo-Persian style of architecture "are not earlier than 15th century and in all probability of almost a century later than that date." To reinforce his argument, he refers to the account of Ferishta who says that the Vijayanagar rulers from Dēvarāya II, who were constantly at war against the Muslims, adopted a policy of recruiting Muslims in their army, and Dēvarāya II even built a mosque in the city, and the only building which resembles a mosque in the ruins of Hampi is the pillared hall in the Dhannāik's enclosure. From this he has inferred that this building served as the mosque for the use of the Muslim inhabitants of the city. It is difficult to accept Longhurst's view for two reasons. The situation of this hall is in the immediate vicinity of the palace of the Rāya and his private temple Hazāra Rāma. Its state of better preservation in the context of ruins of other structures in the same enclosure, and evidences of renovation which are conspicuous, show perhaps that at a later date when the city was in ruins, attempts were made to

renovate this hall. Certainly this renovation period could not be during the reign of Dēvarāya II. The typical Muslim feature, noticeable in the watch-tower at the north-western corner of the enclosure are subsequent additions made to the structure. Originally two pillared pavilions, one at the north-west and the other at the south east corners of this enclosure appear to have been designed. The pillared pavilion is still there, but the superstructure is missing. Symmetrically there should have been a similar one on the opposite corner and that has been remodelled into a solid masonry tower by the Muslim inhabitants of the city at a later date. We can clearly see the differences in the masonry of the earlier architecture and that of the renovation period. Huge blocks of granite used in the construction of the massive wall to a height of about 3.66 mts. was the original enclosure wall. Over that smaller size dressed stones, perhaps belonging to other structures, were utilised, while the upper reaches are built of random rubble which is indicative of lack of adequate resources. Judged by any standards, the later half of 15th century and early quarter of the 16th century were the days when the Vijayanagar power and splendour were at its zenith and this poor quality renovations could not be of that period.

In the architecture of Vijayanagar during the 15th and 16th centuries the most salient features of the Indo-Persian architecture are conspicuous by their absence. It is only perhaps after the debacle of 1565 that the influence of Muslim artisans became apparent. In the course of the next century we find a happy blending of the two schools in the civil and military buildings in the empire of Vijayanagar. Perhaps the only buildings of true Muslim import in the city of Vijayanagar are the Muslim tombs at Kadīrampuram village on the road to Hampi from Hospet. These consist of a large walled enclosure with three small tombs and a standing domed building in a vast and extensive Muslim cemetery. There are no inscriptions or references in literature to fix the date or authenticity of these structures. Since it is known from foreign accounts that Dēvarāya II recruited Muslims in his army and Rāmarāj invited them to stay in his capital, it is not unlikely that this part of the city formed the Muslim Quarters (*Turaka vāda*). From the luxurious way in which the enclosed halls are built with beautiful cut-stones relieved by arched openings all round, it is possible to infer that the persons who were buried inside were men of rank.

#### *The Fort and Palaces at Penukonda*

Penukonda or Ghanādri was a secondary capital of the Rāyas of Vijayanagar from the very beginning. This province was entrusted to Vīra Virupanna Oḍaiyar by Bukka I and tradition has it that the fort, with all its numerous gates, bastions, palaces and temples, was built by Anantarāsa (Chikka Odaya), the chief architect of Bukka I. Krishnadēvarāya is said to have used it as his summer residence. Its proximity to the capital enabled the defeated and



fleeing Rāya of Vijayanagar after the great battle of January 1565 to find an asylum there. Of the structures of this magnificent fort those which survived the vandalism of man and natural decay are the pavilions and Gagan Mahal. This latter is a handsome and substantial stone building with a lofty tower on the top. Rising in diminishing tiers and crowned by an *amalaka* and *stūpa*, this beautiful structure is being used as a Government office and hence has undergone numerous varieties of repairs.

Another interesting structure with Indo-Persian influence at Penukonda is that built on one of the bastions of the fort. This pavilion consists of a hexagonal room with a pyramidal roof imitating a *vimāna* of a temple. On each of these faces of this hexagon there are arches, some ornamental and others functional, leading to semi-circular projecting balconies. Similar to this bastion is another isolated tower in the midst of a cultivated field. This consists of a square room capped by a dome on a high neck or *griva*. There is a sloping *chhajja* along the cornice and a dwarf parapet which runs all round. The exact purpose of this tower is difficult to ascertain. Even here the arched openings of the room and the dome on the top are typically Indo-Persian, and it is possible that they were added on during the 'Ādil Shāhī occupation.

*Rājā Mahal and Rānī Mahal at Chandragiri*

The next important centre where the Rāyas of Vijayanagar have left vestiges of their structures is Chandragiri in the Chittoor district of Āndhra Pradesh. The beginnings of the fort of Chandragiri are sometimes dated during the reigns of the Yādavarāyas of Nārāyaṇavaram. But during the reigns of the later Sangamās, the Sāluvas made it their headquarters, and since then this fort has played a significant role in the history of Vijayanagar. There are quite a large number of temples, large and small, in the fort and two buildings identified as Rājā Mahal and Rānī Mahal. We are concerned mainly with these two buildings. The style and salient features of these two buildings indicate that they are not earlier than 17th century, allowing sufficient margin for slight alterations and additions at a subsequent period. These two palaces are close together at the eastern gate of the inner fort and adjoin at the foot of a hill.

### *The Rājā Mahal*

This is the larger of the two and faces the hill. It is longitudinal, running east to west with a frontage of 48.5 metres and is roughly 16 metres wide. It is three storeyed, has a terraced roof and ornamental parapet, a great brick tower in the centre and a pair of side turrets of a smaller dimension facing south. At the four corners there are small towers surmounting small rooms with balconies. The total height of this building from the *upāna* to the *stūpa* is about 28.8 metres.

Due to the sloping terrain of the ground the builder was constrained to form a raised platform or basement in stone which is now roughly 3 metres

high. On this plinth stands the palace. This has no entrance on the south though actually it forms the front of the building. It is provided with a pair of stone entrances on the north. The ground floor and the first floor were built of coarse rubble, interspersed with brick wall, while the second floor is entirely built of brick. One peculiar feature of this construction is the supporting brackets of the balconies, the supporting rafters holding the eaves of the cornices of the roof. Even the towers above are all of cut stone with external decoration in stucco. The ground floor consists of a vaulted corridor, and massive pillars and arches which supports the floor above. There is a hall in the centre which measures  $10.7 \times 9.00$  metres with an entrance on the north and a window on the south. The length of the corridor is 31.39 metres and its width is roughly 3.10 metres. It has two rooms on either side and two ante-chambers at extreme ends along with the staircase galleries in front of the anti-chambers. The side chambers measure  $10.10 \times 6.10$  metres.

A flight of steps leads to the first floor above, the plan of which is similar to that of the ground floor. The arched corridor in front is partly closed and in the centre there is a projecting balcony supported by brackets. The arched openings at either end have similar balconies, while those that flank the central portion on either side are panelled and the central hall is provided with an open gallery\*. A panelled frieze and the stucco decorations of the ceiling are striking and noteworthy.

The plan of the second floor more or less resembles the first except that the central portion is covered by the open gallery below. The flat roof contains smaller towers at the corners along with a larger tower over the domed hall at the centre. As has been mentioned earlier, at either end of the southern face of the hall there is a brick cell with a tower. The main tower rises in five receding tiers surmounted by a domical *śikhāra* with a *stūpi*. The *kalasa* which once adorned this tower has disappeared.

### *The Rānī Mahal*

The Queen's Palace is of a smaller scale but the materials used in this construction are almost identical with those that went to make the Raja's Palace. Its longitudinal facing is towards east. This is in two storeys but with smaller pyramidal towers. It has also a central chamber, adjoining long halls and ante-chambers at either end. On the ground floor there is no corridor. The central chamber, projecting well beyond the back wall, measures  $7.0 \times 4.72$  metres. The side halls vary in dimensions but roughly measures  $6.1 \times 2.74$  metres. The span of the arches is 2.29 metres while the corner rooms are 2.74 metres square. In the first floor the proportion of this corner chamber considerably increases. On the terrace there are three pyramidal towers one in the centre and one on either side. The central tower rises to 5.8 metres,

\*These "arched openings" are all of the purely Indo-Persian variety, demonstrating the inter-play of cultures. Ed.]

while the smaller ones are only 3.42 metres. This building also exhibits stucco decoration of superb quality.

### *Palaces of the Nāyaks*

Similar architectural structures with minor variations here and there characterise their productions by the Nāyak rulers of Madura, Tanjore and Jinjee who started their careers as vassals of Vijayanagar and established independent principalities of their own when the central authority became weak. Of these the Tirumala Nāyak palace at Madura is an important monument. It has gigantic proportions, heavy columns, high arches with beautiful stucco ornamentation and towers. This building has housed the district Courts of Rāmanāthpuram and Madura and has served the needs of these officers necessitating many modern accretions.

### 3 *Religious Edifices*

Tradition affirms that the city of Vijayanagar was built with the temple of Pampa Virupāksha as the nucleus. It is not clear whether the temple of Virupāksha as it stands now with different courts, pillared colonnades, main shrine with its three porched openings on the north, south and east and with a large *mahāmandapa* in front is coeval with the foundations of the capital or was constructed earlier. The temple of Bhuvanēsvari contains beautifully polished, lathe-turned pillars, highly ornamented door-jambs and ceiling with fine figure sculptures. These do not belong to Vijayanagar in their technique and execution, but rather to the later Chālukyan epoch. There are a few other unostentatious small buildings outside the *gōpuram* on the north inside the enclosure near the tank. The architectural features of these structures, small *cella* with an *ēkatala vimāna*, front *mandapa* with sloping roofs and dwarfish pillars, suggests that they are very early and but they perhaps belong to the Chālukyan age and therefore do not come within our purview.

The reigns of Krishnadēvarāya and Achyutarāya mark the commencement of the brilliant period of art and architecture of Vijayanagar. The empire was at the height of its glory and prosperity. In 1509 Krishnadēvarāya built a *gōpura* and repaired another, at the temple of Virupāksha. After his victorious return from Udayagiri in 1513 he installed the image of Bālakrishna (carried by him as a war trophy from the Gajapati fort) in the temple of Krishna specially built by him. Perhaps in the same year, the temple of Hazāra Rāma near the royal palace was renovated. Between 1513-20, in the far south, the Rāya caused the construction of the *Gōpurams* at Chidambaram, Tiruvannamalai, Kālahasti etc. In 1520, he repaired the temple of Vittala, the most spectacular of structures at Hampi. After his death his successor Achyuta beautified his city by the addition of gigantic Achyutarāyaswāmī and Patabhīrāma

temples in 1539 He is credited with the renovation of the temple of Vitthala also The provincial Governors and Viceroys also busied themselves in raising religious edifices The chiefs of Gandikōta built a temple for Raghunādha in their fort, but their *magnum opus* is the temple of Chintala Venkataramaṇa at Tādpatri Achyūta's officer Penūgonda Virupanna built a temple for the deity Śiva-Vīrabhadra at Lepākshī with handsome sculptures, carved pillars and painted ceilings

From this it is not to be inferred that the earlier kings of the first two dynasties who ruled at Vijayanagar did not contribute to religious architecture Contemporary inscriptions and literature refer to constructions during the reigns of Harihara and Dēvarāya II In 1385, Irugappa Dandanadha, the general of Harihara II, built temples to Jaina at the capital and at Kānchī Prōlugantī Tippa, one of the officers of Dēvarāya II, constructed a *gōpuram* at the temple of Virupāksha, a *bhōgamandapa* in the Vitthala temple complex, besides offering a *kīrīta* bedecked with jewels to Rāma in the temple of Mālyavanta Raghunādha and a pearl necklace to the god Vīrabhadra on the Mātanga hill<sup>18</sup>

Of these, the group of temples on the Hēmakūta Hill are perhaps the earliest These have been described as a group of Jaina temples by Longhurst On plan these are cruciform containing three cells opening into a central pillared hall with a flight of steps in front leading into the temple Generally they face the north Longhurst expresses the view that "the simplicity of the style of this recalls in outline, the Pallava temples of the 7th century and it is possible that a few of them may date back to that early period The larger and more ornate temples with stepped towers are obviously later and in all probability these are not earlier than the 14th or the 15th century"<sup>19</sup>

This ascription as well as dating of this group of shrines is open to question Longhurst's presumption that these are Jain temples, is perhaps based on the *phamsana* type of temples favoured by the Jains But on a more careful examination it shows that these are Brahmanical The *trikūtachala* layout was favoured in the Karnatak and western Āndhra regions at the time of the foundation of Vijayanagar The general pattern or layout of these temples is that they have a *mukhamandapa* and a *mahāmandapa* with entrances on three cardinal points The *pāda bandha* type of *adhishthāna* is preferred to the *padma bandha* moulding The rafter ends of cornice or *kapōta* is a striking feature of these structures Generally the *bhitti* is plain though instances of the introduction of scroll or other floral designs, to relieve the monotony of the wall surface, are not uncommon The *kapōta* is straight and pointed in contrast to the dwarf and elaborately moulded *kapōta* of the later type

18 Haribhaṭṭa *Narasimhapurānam*

19. Longhurst, *op cit*, 94

The superstructures are divided into *tālas* or storeys. The number of these vary from 4 to 9. The *tālas* are demarcated by the *mahānasa* in the centre. A highly separated *vēdi*, prominent *prati* and a *chaturasra sikhāra* are the characteristic features of these so called Jain temples of Hēmakūta.<sup>20</sup> The *sukanāsa* is co-terminous with the *vēdi* and is plain. The temples of *Vēsara* order are also noticeable in this group. Even here the scheme follows the *phamsana* type for patterning the wall and the *sikhāra*. The *dvitala vimāna* is highly schematised and encased by the usual *chaturasra sikhāra*. Another noteworthy feature in this temple design is the *chitrakhandā* type of pillars in the interior with their characteristic feature of having 16 sides followed by *ghatas*, *hiraka* and *phalaka*.

The Ganigetti Jain temple built by Irugappa is also of the same order. The *vimāna* over the cella has seven tiers. In front of this temple there are ruins of a *gōpura* and a free standing *mānasthambha*. The temple has porticos on two sides but the front one is more spacious. It has a highly schematic and ornamented parapet in brick and plaster. The front *mandapa* is a closed one. The roof of the *mahāmandapa* is flat and is supported by pillars. Deep niches, eight in number, have been formed in the wall which separates the *mahāmandapa* from the *mukhamandapa*. The temple has a square *garbhagriha* and a deep *antarāla* with a standing image of Jinanādhā.

### *The Hazāra Rāma Temple*

Along with the temple of Krīṣṇnaswāmī, Krīṣṇadēvarāya rebuilt the temple of Hazāra Rāma to serve as the place of private worship for the members of the Royal family.<sup>21</sup> It is located just outside the palace and is within a high walled enclosure. This temple complex, though not of great proportions like the other temples in the city, is complete in every respect. The main shrine faces east, and with all the appurtenant structures stands inside a high walled enclosure 33.52 mts × 60.94 mts, with a porch on the east. The main temple

20 This style has been designated as *Kadambanāgara* by K. V. Soundara Rajan. *Early Temple architecture in Karnataka and its Ramifications*, 13 and 14. In the Karnataka temple there is a marked preference for the simple vertically drooping *padma* course in the lower part of plinth in place of rectangular *jagati* moulding and employment of *kapōta* as the uppermost moulding of the plinth as against *paṭṭika* in south Indian architecture. These become a norm in Vijayanagar period wherein Karnāṭa proper, we find *Nāgara rēkha prāsāda* as well as *vimāna* forms.

21 There is an inscription on the basement of the main shrine of Hazara Rāma temple recording donations to Rāma by Annaladēvi, dated in the cyclic year Angirasa. There is also another isolated couplet in Sanskrit referring to Dēvarāya, probably Dēvarāya I. The occurrence of these two on the plinth suggests an earlier date for the Hazāra Rāma Temple.

consists of *garbhagriha*, *antarāla* and a *mukhamandapa*, with openings on three sides. The most interesting part of this *mandapa* are its pillars. Four black stone pillars, finely polished, support the roof. These are of an unusual design. Their shafts are shaped into contrasting geometrical designs, cubes alternating with fluted cylinders, copiously carved and surmounted by a capital, having a four-branched foliated volute. The cubical section of the pillars have been decorated with figure sculptures with *makaratōranas* and ornamental *dēvakōshthas*. Their composition is varied, schematic and beautiful. The deities on the pillars include Vishnu, Varāha, Lakshminārāyana, Dhanvantarī, Kāliyamardana, Krishna, Brahma, Vināyaka flanked by the Ganas, besides *dwārapālas* and attendants. The ceiling is of the usual pyramidal variety enclosed by a *padma sila*. The level of the *antarāla* is slightly raised and is higher than that of the *Mukhamandapa*. Similarly the level of the *cella* is slightly higher than that of the *ardhamandapa*.

The *vimāna* over the *garbhagriha* is a pyramidal structure. The first *prasthāra* is in stone while the rest of the construction is in brick. It rises in three-tiers and is surmounted by a cupola. The *tālas* have the usual decorations of *karna-kūdus*, *panjaras* and *sālās*. The height of the superstructure is about 50'.

The exterior wall-surface of this shrine, which is cut into deep mouldings, is covered by the bas relief sculptures depicting scenes from Rāmayaṇa and Mahābhārata, *kumbha panjaras* and niches. The porches on the north and south of the *mukhamandapa* lead into the court outside. There is a temple for Dēvi almost similar in style like the main temple but in smaller proportions.

The *vimāna* over the shrine has a Keil roof. The *garbhagriha* of the Dēvi shrine has an ornamental base or *adhishthāna*. The mouldings contain *upāna*, *padma*, *kumuda kantha* and *agrapattikā* with *kūdu* ornamentation with *simhamukha*. The vertical section of the wall rises over this and is capped by a heavy drooping or cornice. The entire wall surface is covered by pilasters and niches. *Kumbhapanjaras* flank the *dēvakōshthas* or niches. The space between the pilasters has been utilised for protruding bas relief scenes from the epics. The most interesting part of this narrative sculpture is Uttara Rāma Charita of Bhavabhūti.

Besides the Dēvi temple there is a *kalyānamandapa*, a pillared hall with a raised platform where the annual marriage festival of the deity was performed. The enclosure wall of this complex rises to a considerable height and on that are running panels of caparisoned elephants with mahauts, a row of horses being led by merchants to be inspected by the emperor sitting under a canopy, a row of soldiers carrying swords and lances in a procession. Above this is the panel showing dancers and women sprinkling water in the company of the queen sitting under a canopy.

### The Vitthala Temple

The *magnum opus* in the art of temple construction of the *rāyas* of Vijayanagar was the temple of Vitthala. Even the temple of Pampāpati which forms the nucleus of the old city suffers by contrast when compared with this magnificent edifice. This temple was not built at one time. With its beginnings in the reigns of the rulers of Sangama dynasty it was considerably enlarged by Krishnadēvarāya and Achyuta. It looks as though it was never completed. These structures stand in a rectangular court-yard 152 mts × 94.5 mts surrounded by a cloister of pillars in three rows and with entrances through lofty *gōpuras* on three sides. Of these *gōpuras*, those on the east and south are more important. There are six separate structures, mostly pillared halls, within this enclosure. The main shrine occupies the central position and is dedicated to Vishnu in the form of Vithōba or Pāṇḍuranga. It has a usual Dēvi shrine to its north and other attendant temples and *mandapas*. The alignment of the temple complex is from east and west. The main temple consists of three distinct compartments *mahāmandapa* or pillared portico in front, a closed pillared hall or *mukhamandapa* measuring 41.14 mts × 19.8 mts and a *garbhagriha* in the rear.<sup>22</sup> Around the *garbhagriha* there is a closed *pradakshina paṭha* which was not conceived in the original plan but was added later. The exterior surface of the walls is embellished with arrangement of pilaster, niches and alcove decorations.

The *mahāmandapa* has entrances in the north and south. A flight of steps leads to this hall. Its interior is 16.77 mts square surrounded by an aisle of 12 pillars with four other in the centre, one at each corner of a square *ranga* or dais at the far end of the assembly to the west with a vestibule leading to the *garbhagriha*. It is externally 22.82 mts × 21.91 mts. The floor of the *pradakshināpaṭha* or circumambulatory path is lower and one has to descend into it by a flight of seven steps.

The spectacular part of the structure is the *mahāmandapa*. This colonnaded hall, with its range of pillars, 56 in number, each 3.66 mts in height, 40 of them regularly arranged along with the other 16, form an oblong court in the centre. Each pillar is a variant of the same group and design. Cluster of delicately shaped columns form the central position of these broad supports some of which are 1.22 mts or 1.52 mts across. In between these colonnaded pillars are *stambhas* with animal motifs, half natural and half mythical but wholly rhythmic. The entire composition of this colonnade is so

22 In place of the rectangular *jagati* moulding and the employment of *kapṣa* as the uppermost important moulding, as against *paṭṭika* of the south are norms of the Vijayanagar period. These are seen in very early structures in Karnatak.

*Upāna*, *kumuda kanṭha*, *kapṣa*. *Kanṭha* sometimes shows friezes of miniature sculpture sometimes followed by *Yalavari*.

closely spaced that it produces an effect of bewildering intricacy. Above these pillars are bracket supports of abnormal size and a profusely carved entablature over which an ornamental ceiling with sunk lotus flower is made to rest. The ceiling slabs are thick and very long spanning considerable space.

This *mandapa* stands on a richly carved basement decorated with processions of horses, conventional geese or *hamsas* and exquisite mouldings. It is cruciform in plan and has a flight of steps on the east, north and south. On the eastern side the steps are flanked by elephants. The beauty of the carved stone drip is difficult to describe. Their undersides show that it was a copy of a similar work in wood and perhaps originally covered with copper or gold plate embossed with ornamental chains of gold or copper for hanging lamps or ornamental globes.

The Dēvi shrine is also built on the same plan with the main entrance in the north and a *mukhamandapa*. The *mahāmandapa* consists of 16 pillars and a rectangular cella. It contains on the exterior walls *dēvakōshthas*, *kumbhapanjaras* in the deep recessings and other decorative motifs. The superstructure of this temple is also damaged but enough remains to show that patient and careful workmanship that went into its making. The temple of Vitthala, as remarked by Fergusson, shows the extreme limit in floral magnificence.

As ornate as the main structure is the *kalyānamandapa* of this temple complex which is placed, according to convention, slightly to the side of the front entrance. It consists of an open pavilion almost similar to the *manhā-mandapa* and a little more than half its size. It has a high plinth with deeply recessed sides and flights of steps, and is 18.85 mts square. The pillars are 48 in number, twelve on the sides, twelve placed around the square throne in the pavilion and the remaining forming a double arcade around its sides.

Aligned with the main access of the temple and facing it is a *ratha*, a reproduction of wood work in stone masonry with realistic revolving stone wheels, drawn by elephants. The superstructure is shaped like a *śikhara*, perhaps originally built in brick and lime but now ruined. This addition of temple car in front of a temple gives the finest effect to the entire structure. At the south-west corner of the enclosure there is another pillared *mandapa* almost a replica of the *Kalyānamandapa* described above with fine relief sculpture on the back wall.

The enclosure has three openings on the east, south and north, and *gōpuras* of considerable dimensions have been built over these openings. The first *prasthāra* of the *gōpura* is in stone but the entire superstructure with all its mouldings, stucco and figure structure is in brick and lime. The main entrance is perhaps from the east, where the *gōpura* is flanked by *mandapas* on either side built on a high *adhishthāna*. These *mandapas* which are in ruins are



rectangular and are practically identical with the other mandapas inside the enclosure in plan and execution. They are pillared halls with flat roofs and a projecting *kapōṭa*. There is a big street with houses on either side facing this entrance like those of Pampāpatī, Kṛishṇa and Achyuta Rāya temples.

### *The Pattābhirāma Temple*

Pattābhirāma temple is the largest of the temples at Hampi. It was built by Achyuta Rāya. For mere proportions of its front mandapa the shrine is remarkable. The enclosure has entrances on east, south and north, and within this vast paved court are five structures besides the cloister of mandapas running all round the enclosed wall for the use of the pilgrims. Of these the *Kalyānamandapa* is located very near the *mahāmandapa*. It is square in plan with a projecting rectangular addition. On the south-eastern corner of the enclosure is the *madapalli* or the kitchen of the temple. To the north of the main shrine and not far removed from it is a Dēvi shrine with a pavilion, a *mandapa* and a cella. Curiously the front *mandapa* is rectangular, consisting of 20 pillars with a central bay one side aisle on the left and two on the right. This makes the plan a bit asymmetrical.

The main temple has the usual components, *mukhamandapa*, *mahāmandapa* and the *antarāla*. The *mahāmandapa* is on the east and contains 64 pillars with a central bay and two side aisles. From the *mahāmandapa* through the main entrance one gets into the *mukhamandapa* consisting of four rows of pillars and pilasters and enclosing walls. There are two side openings on north and south with porches and beautiful ornamented and balustrated steps. From here through a course of three steps we reach the *garbhagriha*. The cella is rectangular with a *antarāla* and vestibule. There is a *pradakshināpāṭha* and the entire shrine is closed by a wall. As has been mentioned already, except for gigantic proportions, there is nothing spectacular in this shrine.

Numerous other temples built within the defence walls of the ancient capital are almost of the same design. In striking contrast to these is the temple of Anantaśāyī near Hospet built during the reign of Kṛishnadēvarāya, but left unconsecrated. An inscription dated 1524 informs us that Kṛishnadēvarāya founded a town called Salai Tirumala Mahārāyapuram and built a temple to Padmanābha and made gifts to it. The plan is not uncommon to the temples built for enshrining the reclining form of Viṣṇu. Therefore, it is normally oblong so that the god as *Śayana mūrti* reclining in full length on the folds of *Sēshanāga* could be accommodated. There is a tradition current in the locality that the image of Anantaśāyī which is now lying at Holalu village in the Bellary district was meant for installation in this shrine, but due to the indiscretion of the messenger sent to fetch it, the god refused to move from that place where it is now left without any temple. But its size is too small to have been fit enough for consecration in this huge temple. The *garbhagriha* or the inner shrine is

oblong in plan and contains lofty pedestals along its wall for accommodating the image of Anantaśāyī. This has a beautiful superstructure rising to a height of about 30-50 mts. It takes the form of a vault with rounded apsidal ends constructed with bricks. This is the one instance where the builders of Vijayanagar chose to have a vault for their religious edifices. The vaulted *vimāna* rises in two tiers surmounted by an oblong roof with *sikharas*. The exterior of these tiers is, as usual, decorated with *karnakudus*, *panjaras* and *śāla* motifs built in brick. The central *śāla* has two sets of *karnakudus* and *panjaras* on either side in the first *pīsthāra*. The *śāla* is a miniature representation of the main shrine itself. In the second tier the number of this is reduced and we have a *śāla* with a *panjara* on either side. The front of this building is provided with a handsome pillared hall with a flat roof. It faces north and has a parapet or attic of the typical Vijayanagar design running all round.

#### *Achyutarāyaswāmī Temple*

Achyuta who succeeded Krishnadēvarāya tried to perpetuate his name by building a temple on the same design as of Vitthala imitating it in every detail. This is in ruins now. The temple stands in a double-walled enclosure with lofty gates. A Dēvī shrine, numerous other small mandapas and a verandah running all along the outer wall forms this complex. Inscriptions engraved on the gateway of this temple mention that it was constructed in 1539. The temple has a *mahāmandapa*, *mukhamandapa*, *antarāla* and *garbhagriha*. The outer surface of the wall which encloses the *mukhamandapa* and cella was covered with niches and pilaster embellishments. The superstructure on the cella is in brick and rises in diminishing tiers and has the regular *karnakudu*, *panjara*, *śāla* ornamentation. The *śikhara* is missing. The *mukhamandapa* has elegant pillars with animal motifs. The cloister-like verandah, which runs all round the inner court, has carved pillars and small engaged columns on a plinth decorated with panels showing elephant processions. There is a *kalyānamandapa* at the north-west corner of the inner courtyard. The pillars of this are richly carved. The gateway or *gōpura* with a stone plinth has a superstructure rising 5 or 6 *talas* in brick and the ornamentation is a graceful reproduction of miniature temples. The mouldings of the plinth area are in bold relief and the *kantha* is divided into section by pilasters. The vertical section of the wall is plain except for the central *dēvakōshta* flanked by two pilasters. On the inner and outer door-jambs are exquisite representation of Ganga and Yamuna standing, on *makara* or tortoise. From the mouth of this sprouts a foliated scroll ornament semi-classical in nature. This continues all through the length and breadth of the door-frame.

#### *Veerabhadraswāmī Temple at Lēpākshī and certain other Temples*

As Lēpākshī in Hindupur district, Virūpanna, a member of the personal staff of Achyuta Rāya and the chief of the merchant guild of Penukonda

conceived the idea of constructing a grand edifice for Veerabhadra, his patron deity. He is said to have used the tribute that was due to the king for the construction of this temple. When the Rāya came to know of this embezzlement he ordered the blinding of this chief and consequently the temple was left incomplete. Inscriptions in the temple range from 1530 onwards and record a number of donation including a *kāñchana mēru* by Achyuta himself.

An interesting feature of temple architecture of this age was to build massive fortification walls all round as though it was a fort. Invariably hills and natural eminences were chosen as the site and sometimes more than one *prakara* wall was built and in the space in between these the villages had their dwellings. This temple of Veerabhadra had been built on a low-lying hill called *Kūrmasaila* and it faces north. It has two enclosures built in cyclopean masonry. The outer enclosure has 3 gateways on the north, east and west, but two of them are closed. The opening in the north has a *gōpura*. The *upapīṭha* of the *gōpura* has *upāna*, broad *paṭṭa*, *gala* with elephants, *paṭṭa* with scroll decorations, *padma*, *gala* moulding with ribbon cuttings and a broad *paṭṭikā* or *paṭṭa* with pilasters and *kumbha pañjaras*, capped by a cornice with *Simhatalāta* gables. On the moulding with ribbon cutting there are dance sequences. On this, the *adhishthāna* rises and it has the usual mouldings, *upāna*, *ardhapadma*, *paṭṭa*, *tripaṭṭa*, *gala*, another *paṭṭa* with scroll decoration, *ūrdhva padma* and an *ālingana paṭṭika*. The flat surface of the vertical wall is relieved by pilasters, *pañjaras* and *kumbha pañjaras*, *śālakoṣṭha*, etc. The superstructure is in brick. It is of one *tāla* with *kūta pañjara*, *śālas* with stucco figure decorations. The door jambs of the entrance have representations of women standing under a creeper, and a vertical row of circles with figures of dancers and musicians shown all along the full length of the jamb. The inner enclosure has a pillared corridor or cloister running all round. The pillars that went into the construction are of the variety with a central stem and one pillaret projecting surmounted by a capital.

The main shrine occupies the central position of the inner court. It faces north and consists of a *garbhagriha antarāla*, surrounded by a *pradakshna patha*, and *mukhamandapa*, and *mahāmandapa*. At right angles to the *mahāmandapa* is a shrine while opposite is another smaller shrine which goes by the name Pāpanāsa Iswara. To the south of this temple is a small chamber used as *sayana griha* or *sayanāgāra*. The temple of Pārvatī is to its south. Numerous other shrines like those of Rāmalingeśvara, Kālī Hanumalinga and an open *vēdī* with Navagrahas, are also constructed along the outer wall of the *pradakshinā patha*. The most interesting part of this temple is its painted ceiling. These paintings which cover the entire roof surfaces are masterpieces of the Vijayanagar style. Scenes from the Saiva purāṇa, Kīrātā-arjunīya, Bhāgavata, Śiva's marriage and Virupanna visiting the temple of Vīrabhadra, and a gigantic

image of Virabhadra as the central figure are very pleasing and demonstrate the skill of the painter

The pillars of the mandapas are massive and are of different varieties. Those that went into the making of *Nāṭyamandapa* (24 38 mts × 13 71 mts) and *kalyāṇamandapa* deserve special mention. There are composite pillars with 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5 small pillars attached to them, the *chitī akhaṇḍa* type showing ornamental representation of miniature temples, and lastly pillars with images carved on the shafts. The *kalyāṇamandapa* is a veritable Indra-sabha with the celestial personages attending the *kalyāṇa* of Śiva. The *garbhagriha* has an elegant and ornamental moulded base but the outer walls are plain. The *Vimāna* which rises in two *tālas* with a circular *sikhara* is of the *vesara* type. The *tālas* contain *pañjara*, *śāla*, *kūḍu* decoration. On the second *tāla*, at the four corners, are kept four *nandis*.

At Tāḍpatrī in the same district there are two beautiful temples of the Vijayanagar period, Rāmalingēswara and Chintala Venkataramana. The latter is famous for *kalyāṇamandapa* and its sculpture. An inscription in Rāmalinga temple is dated 1509 and refers to the additions of *Bhōgamandapa*, *gōpura* and *prākāra* by Sāḷuva Timma in the reign of Vira Narasiṃha, and naturally the main shrine should be earlier and it is generally earlier to 1450 A.D. Since this temple is located on the banks of river Penna it has suffered considerably from floods. This has an enclosure with *gōpuras* on the north, south and west. Inside the enclosure are *kalyāṇamandapa*, the Dēvi shrine and the main shrine with the usual components of *garbhagriha*, *antarāla* and *mukhamandapa* with projecting porches on the west, north, and south. The *balipitha* and *dhvajasthambha* are on the west. The *gōpuras* are in ruins and only the section built in stone is preserved today. This has a very high *adhishthāna* divided into different sections while the ornamental motifs are *śālas* and *dēvakōshthas*. The projections have *simhatalāta* gables with human hands. The vertical wall is divided by pilasters and is embellished with distended *salakōshthas* containing deities. The recesses in the wall contain *kumbhapañjaras*.

The *kalyāṇamandapa* is at the south west corner of the inner court and is in two levels. The front part contains two rows of three pillars with the roll and *paṭṭa* capitals while the other section, which is slightly higher, has a pavilion in the centre with four ornate composite pillars. The pillars have a *yālī* projecting from the shaft. The *adhishthāna* of the *mandapa* bears dancing sequences. The *kapōṭa* contains *simhatalāta* gables.

The Dēvi shrine is more elaborate than the temple proper. It has a *garbhagriha*, *antarāla*, and *mukhamandapa* with 16 pillars. Two passages, one from the south and another from the west are provided. Facing the south entrance there is a projection on the north wall of *mukhamandapa*.

forming a cell where an image of Rāma is installed. The *mandapa* is 10.36 mts square with flights of steps on the south and west leading into it. The *adhiṣṭhāna*, which is coterminous with that of the *garbhagriha* is 76 cm high. It consists of *paṭṭa* with elephant, lion and *hamsa* friezes and another *paṭṭa* with scroll decorations and *ālingāna paṭṭika* with garlands. The pillars of the central bay of the *mandapa*, which stands on the *adhiṣṭhāna* are composite ones with a central block and small projecting pillars, *yāṭis* and female figures. The ceiling of the *mandapa* is flat and panelled, and contains sculptured figures.

The Venkataramana temple is located at the north-eastern end of the town and its construction is attributed to one of the Vijayanagar subordinates Erra Timmanāyudu. The earliest inscription in this temple is dated 1551. The temple has a high-walled enclosure built of large blocks of granite with three openings, one on the east surmounted by a *gōpura* and the others on the north and south capped by *śālas*. The construction of these *gōpuras* resembles in every detail the *gōpuras* of the Rāmaṅgēswara temple. All along the enclosure wall there runs a pillared corridor with interruptions at intervals where it had been converted into small shrine chambers or rooms for keeping *vahanas* etc.

The main temple consists of a *garbhagriha*, *antarāla*, *mukhamandapa* and *mahāmandapa*. The first three stand on an *adhiṣṭhāna* with the usual mouldings of the basements like the *upāna*, *paṭṭa*, *padma*, *kumuda*, *tālas*, *urdhya padma* and *ālingana paṭṭika*. The decoration of the *prastāra* follows the usual sequence while the *vimāna* is in two *tālas* with ornamental niches surmounted by a *sikhāra* with a single *kalasa*. On the four corners of the second *tāla* are shown lions.

The *mukhamandapa* is square in plan, measuring 11.58 mts each side. It has two porches on the south and west and on the north a passage opens into *mahāmandapa*. These porches consist of pillars mounted on *vēdis* flanking a central path or passage with ornamented door frames. The door jambs contain *dwārapālakas* while *Gajalakṣmī* motif forms the *bimba* at the top. The arrangement of pillars is interesting. The pillars have projecting capitals and each pillar has a dwarf bracket over which are placed the beams. All along the outer space of these beams are figures of men and women in different dance poses.

The *mahāmandapa* is rectangular, 18.23 mts by 13.71 mts with narrow porches in front and short flights of steps. These front mandapas measure 2.29 mts × 3.2 mts. In between these porches is a stone car with an image of *garūda*. The *adhiṣṭhāna* of the *mahāmandapa* is also beautifully moulded and contains decorations of *śālas* and *kōshṭas*, friezes of swans and *kinnaras*. The roof is supported by pillars mounted on the raised platform and over this, running along the edge, is a parapet with *karnakudus* and *śālas* in a brick and

lime. The types of the pillars that went into making of *mahāmandapa* can be classified as (i) pillars with one *yāli* bracket with a rider, (ii) two *yāli* brackets with two riders, (iii) pillars with a projection containing the figure of a woman, (iv) massive columns surrounded by pillarets, etc. The architrave over this has a *śāla* flanked by *kūṭa* decorations. The ceiling is flat and contains a lotus-bud hanging in the centre.

Further south also, buildings in the Vijayanagar style are found in large numbers. They can be seen at Vellore, Kumbhakonam, Kālahastī, Virinchipuram, Śrīrangam and many other places. The *kalyāṇamandapa* of Jalakanthiśwara temple in Vellore fort is famous for its carvings and considered as the most beautiful of its kind. Similar exuberance and treatment characterise the *kalyāṇamandapa* of Virinchipuram temple. At Conjeevaram there are two temples with pavilions in the Vijayanagara style. The 100-pillared *mandapa* of Varadarāja's temple, which is a maze of closely set pillars with imaginative statuary and the thousand-pillared *mandapa* at Ekāmbraṇātha temple with its elegant sculpture, are examples of this type. The horse-court of Śēshagiri *mandapa* at Śrīrangam temple with its colonnade of curiously fighting steed, each rearing upto a height of 2.74 mts. the whole executed in a technique so emphatic as to be not like stone but hardened steel, has few parallels in the architecture of any age in India.

The *gōpuras* rising into numerous *tālas* over 30 mts. high are the tallest buildings erected in different temples throughout south India where the hand of Vijayanagar emperor was active, forms the characteristic feature of this style. Traditional forms such as the foliation of the pedestal, the pavilion canopied niches, the voluted *kūdus* and the flamboyant *kumbha-panjaras* in the alcoves, help to identify and date them in the Vijayanagar period. These *gōpuras* are not merely ornamental, when studied against the background and evolution of temple architecture in the south since 12th century, but came to supersede the central shrine as the largest and architecturally the most important building in the temple complex. They are veritable store houses of Indian imagery. A study of these helps us considerably in unravelling the mysteries connected with various cults, the influence of one sect over the other, their feuds and rapprochements and lastly the effort at syncretism.

CHAPTER  
EPIGRAPHY

(i) SANSKRIT AND TELUGU

by DR. N. RAMESAN

*Synopsis*

I. *Introduction*

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## I INTRODUCTION

### (i) *A general idea of Telugu inscriptions*

The Telugu and Sanskrit inscriptions of the Deccan form an important part of the source material for a history of the tract. Unlike Persian and Arabic inscriptions, which are found only in limited places, these are found spread over the entire area and belong practically to all the dynasties. We have enough epigraphical material in these to form a correct idea of the changes in Telugu and Sanskrit scripts over the ages. They also give us a good idea of the changes in the structure and grammar the languages had undergone in their growth. Most of these epigraphs record votive offerings of either ruling or conquering kings and generals to well-known temples, Brahmans, choultries etc. Some were intended for the upkeep of seats of learning, some were for continuing worship in temples, some more were for feeding needy scholars and students, and some were commemorative in character, to celebrate a great victory or a great event. Most of these were grants of land or money and many of them were given during auspicious occasions like a lunar or solar eclipse or during a Sankrānti, so that the merit of the gift on that occasion may accrue to the donor. The recipients were given deeds of exemption from royal tax, or title to property, which were engraved upon copper plates and which were then closed and sealed with the royal seal. These copper plates were therefore in the nature of official documents and hence they give us graphic details of the administrative structure, social customs, systems of land tenure, land revenue system, measures of taxation, current coinage etc., that existed in those days.

### (ii) *First use of 'Telugu' and 'Trilinga' in inscriptions*

The word 'Telugu' was first used in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa in respect of the people living in that geographical division of Bhāratavarsha known there as "the tortoise's right flank". The portion runs as follows: "The Trilingas and the people would dwell in Kunjaradāri and Kaccha and Tāmraparṇi, that is, the tortoise's right flank". Pargiter, who first edited this Purāṇa has stated that this refers to Telinga or the modern Telugu country. The word 'Telugu' is found in Tamil and Kannada inscriptions only from the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. and does not also appear in any of the inscriptions of Āndhra country before that period. The term "Āndhra Bhāṣā" was used for the first time in the epigraphs of the Āndhra country in the Nandampūḍi inscription of 975 Saka or 1053 <sup>1</sup>. The donee, Nārāyaṇa Bhatta, is said in this inscription to be a poet in Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Paisācī and Āndhra languages.

“ *Samskrita Prākṛita Pysāchika, Āndhra bhāshā sukavi rājasēkhara iti* ”

The word Trilinga is used to denote the Telugu country, as for example in the Śrīrangam inscription of Mummaḍināyaka<sup>2</sup> dated 1358 and the Akkalapūḍi grant<sup>3</sup> of Singamanāyaka of 1368. The word ‘Trilinga’ was first used by Vidyānātha, the great court poet of Kākatiya Pratāparudra, in his *Pratāparudriyam*. Śrīnātha also uses this word in his works.

The first use of Telugu words in inscriptions is found in the Viṣṇukundin Sanskrit inscriptions and then in the Western Chāḷukyan grants of Vimalāditya. Extensive use of these were made only in the Telugu epigraphs of the Chōḷas of Rēnādu. Epigraphically, not much is known of Telugu before the 5th century. The early Telugu language, like Tamil and Kannada languages, had only 30 distinct alphabetical characters to represent its vowels and consonants. It had no such consonants as the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of each of the 5 vargas, and neither had it *ra*, *la*, *ksha* etc. These must have come in with the admixture of Sanskrit and Prākṛit words. The ‘tatsamās’ and ‘tadbhavās’ of Telugu are really words of Sanskrit and Prākṛit origin imported into Telugu.

## II ADMINISTRATIVE AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS AS REVEALED IN MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS

### (i) Kingship

We get a good deal of information about kings, their insignia, their accessories etc., from the medieval Telugu inscriptions. For example, the Nandampūḍi inscription<sup>4</sup> of Rājarāja I, the Eastern Chāḷukyan emperor, gives details of the insignia of king, as ‘*Svētātāpatī*’ or white umbrella, *Śankha*, a conch, *Ḍakka*, a drum, *Pimcha*, tail of a peacock, *Kumcha*, the spear, *lānchana*, or royal sign, the *kanakadanda* or golden staff, the *Makara-tōrana* or an arch etc. We also get an idea of the *Pālīdhwaja* or a row of flags accompanying a king. The insignia of the subordinates and ministers of kings like *paṭṭa*, a tiara, *bhēri* a drum, *kāhala*, a metal horn, *āṭapa*, or umbrella etc., are also mentioned in them. The political divisions of the country like *ratta*, *mandala*, *rāshtra*, *vishaya*, *nādu*, *rājyamu*, *venta*, *māgāni*, *bhōga*, *pāñchālī* etc., are made known to us from these. The *Yuvarāja* or crown prince also shared power with the king. Sometimes the appellation of *Yuvarāja* was conferred as a title or an office. For example, the Eastern Chāḷukya king Amma II<sup>5</sup> conferred the title of *Yuvarāja* on one of his nobles by name Ballāladēva as a token of his ability and bravery. The system of “*dwairājya*” or two kings ruling over the same land is also known. The Pithāpuram inscription<sup>6</sup> of Kona

2 *EI*, XIV, 83-96

3 *EI*, XIII, 259-75

4 *EI*, IV, 300 ff

5 *EI*, V, 139 ff

6 *EI*, VI, 10

chief gives us a detailed account of four generations of dual rule. The Konkuduru plates of Allayadodda Reddi<sup>7</sup> also mention that two kings ruled conjointly.

### (ii) *The Feudal system*

From medieval Telugu and Sanskrit inscriptions we learn that the ruling imperial families governed through feudal subordinates who assumed not only the names of the overlords but also counted their own regnal years from that of their chiefs. The inscriptions of the Velanāṭi Chōlas bear this out fully as can be seen from the following inscriptions.

<i>Velanāṭi Chōlas</i>	<i>Imperial Chōlas</i>	<i>Details of inscriptions</i>
Gonka II (1137 to 1161)	Kulōttunga II (1136 to 1158)	<i>SII</i> , IV, 1068
Chōḍa II (1160 to 1180)	Rāja Rāja II (1163 to 1173)	<i>SII</i> , IV, 1075 1083, 1086, 1098
Prithvīśvara (1186 to 1209)	Kulottunga III (1178 to 1215)	<i>SII</i> , IV, 1100

From the beginning of the 11th century, and during the period of the Chāḷukya-Chōlas, the Nāyamkara system was in vogue. This is a feudal tenure under which a subordinate holds a military fief and is obliged to go to the help of the overlord with his army in times of need. This was the same as the *amaranāyaka* or *amaramāgāni* system of the later Vijayanagar period.

### (iii) *Trade and Commerce*

Details of the medieval trade and commerce in this part of the country are also made clear to us from these inscriptions. There is a pillar inscription, an 'abhaya śāsana', of Gaṇapatidēva of the Kākatīya dynasty,<sup>8</sup> in Motupalli village of Guntur district, which gives us a graphic account of the duties that were levied on articles of commerce as follows —

- (i) One pagoda and 1/4 fānam on one tola of sandal
- (ii) 5½ fānams per bale of silk
- (iii) One pagoda and 3¼ fānams on one lakh of areca-nuts
- (iv) 3/4 and 3/8 fānam on one pagoda worth of local or Chinese camphor
- (v) One in thirty on all exports and imports

During the 11th and 12th centuries there was considerable maritime intercourse between Tamiḷnādu and this part of the Deccan. Two epigraphs of Viśākhapattanam clearly demonstrate that the city was at that time a mercantile town or a trade guild. The king of Kondaṇḍīdu, Anapōta Reddī, issued an order not only in the form of a Telugu inscription but also a Tamiḷ one for the benefit of the merchants who had come from there.

(iv) *Taxes and fees*

From the epigraphical records we learn many details of the taxes and fees that were prevalent during those days. The following taxes, as learnt from the inscriptions, were being levied.

<i>Name of the tax</i>	<i>Details of inscription</i>
Ammubadī sumkamu	<i>SII</i> , X, 58 (S 1002)
Manniyatīṛu payindī	<i>SII</i> , X, 85 (S 1047)
Ayirēnirūka	<i>SII</i> , X, 107 (S 1069)
Peru sumkamu	<i>SII</i> , X, 107 (S 1069)
Bēēraṇḍalu	<i>SII</i> , X, 107 (S 1069)

From the Warangal inscription<sup>9</sup> of Kākatīya Ganapati also, we learn details of the fees collected on sales of various kinds of articles and the income granted for the personal and public enjoyment of Vīrabhadraśvara, like the following.

- (i) Sale on indigo—2 *visālu* in *māda*
- (ii) The *āyamu* of local and foreign traders on areca nuts
- (iii) The *āyālu* given by traders in vegetables, a quarter for a cart-load in the case of cart-loads of vegetables, co-conuts etc
- (iv) The *āyālu* given on stores of gamdhya, a quarter for a *māda* etc
- (v) The *āyālu* of local and foreign traders on turmeric, ginger, yarn etc at varying rates

From the Singarāyakonda record of Dēvarāya<sup>10</sup> we get more details of taxes and fees, like taxes on marriages, carts, slaves, horses, grain, oils, clothes, merchandise carried to a temple, palace tax, watcher's fees etc.

9 *HAS* No 13, Ins 14 (1228 A D), *SII*, VII, 734

10 *NDI*, (Butt and Venu) Vol III, 1121 (No 132)

(v) *Food and other delicacies*

From some inscriptions of grants made to Temples, we get an idea of the delicacies that were being prepared and offered to a god as *natvēdyam*. One inscription of Dēvarāya<sup>11</sup> mentions *appa-pallu*, *akkālī pāyasam mamdalu*, *amrutapadi*, *natvēdyamu*, *panyāramu* etc. We also get details of other substances like *pāyasam*, *badālu*, *nēyi*, *perugu*, *pōkalu*, *appālu*, etc. From an inscription<sup>12</sup> to the Teluguvallabha of Srikākulam (in Krishna district), we get details of the following also

- (i) *Dajjōdanam palyālu*
- (ii) *Akala prasādam palyālu*
- (iii) *Appālu*
- (iv) *Atirasālu*
- (v) *Vadalu*
- (vi) *Iddenakuduru*
- (vii) *Ānavāla prasāda pallēlu*

(vi) *Temples*

It is in the temples of Āndhradēśa that we get the bulk of the inscriptions as the kings, rulers, subordinates, queens, officials, generals etc., all made extensive offerings to the temples and have left us records of the same. We get from these inscriptions a complete and full idea of the organisation and economies of the temples in medieval times. The temple was under the management of a superintendent who was granted endowments for its maintenance and who was responsible for the management of the temple, for the regular worship to the deity, and for the supervision of the services to be performed by the various temple servants. We get epigraphical evidence for this in many inscriptions, as for example, the Kupparam grant<sup>13</sup> of Karnaradēvachōla, the Tupādu grant of Kāpayanāyaka<sup>14</sup> and the Sātalūru grant of Kulōttunga-chōda Gonka<sup>15</sup>. The duties and responsibilities of the temple superintendents are given in a number of inscriptions like the Konidera inscription of Pottapichōda,<sup>16</sup> the Chēbrolu record of Velanāti Gonka<sup>17</sup> etc.

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11 No 68, III, (S 1436)

12 *SII*, Vol IV, No 981, p 320

13 *SII*, X, 74 (S 1037)

14 *SII*, 79, (S 1154)

15 *SII*, X, 79, (S 1087)

16 *SII*, 624, (S 1087)

17 *SII*, VI, 116, (S 1049)

Inscriptions also give us details of various members of the temple establishment and the extent of the land given to them. The most important of these is the Kannarachōdadēva's inscription<sup>18</sup> from Kopparam village of Narasārōpēt taluq, Guntur district, which gives details of the endowments, made to the temple priests, the dancing masters, the musicians, dancing girls, the drummers, the carriers of fans, the conch-blowers, the temple architects etc. In another inscription,<sup>19</sup> we get details of 21 categories of temple establishments who were given lands for their maintenance like *suvāsi*, *amgarēkka*, *pātra vāsakādu* etc.

Communal contributions to worship in the temples were also not uncommon as is seen from the Nāgulaṇḍu inscription of Kākatīya Pratāparudra,<sup>20</sup> the Chadalavalasa record of Sadāsivarāya etc.

The most conspicuous feature of the Telugu temple epigraphs is those relating to Amgaramga bhōga or forms of enjoyments or worship for the mūlabhēra of the temple. The Simhāchalam record of Krishnadēvarāya<sup>21</sup> gives details of sandal, agaru, musk, pannire etc., needed for this. The temples and the inscriptions they contain thus give us considerable information about the life of the common people.

## II SOME IMPORTANT HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS OF MEDIEVAL DECCAN

### 1) *The Vilāsa Grant of Prōlayanāyaka*<sup>22</sup>

This copper plate grant records the gift of the village Vilāsa as an agrahāra to a Brahmin named Vennaya on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The donee renamed it as Prōlavaram after the king Prōlaya Nāyaka, and gave it in turn to several Brahmans proficient in Sāstras and Vēdas. Although the date of the charter is not explicitly mentioned, its editors Dr N Venkataramanayya and the late M S Sarma have correctly ascribed it to about 1330, that is within about a decade after the fall of Warangal. While describing the circumstances in which the gift was made, the political changes which the country had just then passed are briefly recounted. Of these, the rise of the Musunūri family and the formation of the confederacy of the Āndhra Nāyakas under the leadership of Prōlaya Nāyaka, the conquest of Tīlangana by him and the re-establishment of Hindu dharma are worth mentioning.

It is related in the grant that Tīlangana and other parts of the Deccan were passing through an unfortunate period after the defeat and death of Kākatī Pratāparudra on the banks of the river Narmada. It is stated here

18 *SII*, X, 74, (S 1037)

19 *SII*, X, 395, (S 1183)

20 *Telangāna Śāsanamulu*, Vol, I, No 47, p 89

21, *SII*, VI, No 634

22 *EI*, XXXII, 239 268

that the earth was engulfed in the ocean of darkness of the alien rule Ādharma (evil), which had been kept under control up to this time, flourished. Rich people were subject to torture for the sake of their wealth. The brahmins were compelled to abandon their religious practices, and images of the gods were overthrown and were smashed to pieces, the learned were deprived of their *agrahāras* which had been in the possession of their families from times immemorial, and the agriculturists were despoiled of the fruits of their labour and their families impoverished and ruined.

The people now joined together voluntarily under the leadership of Prōlaya Nāyaka to rid the country of the conquerors. The brahmins and the farmers contributed in coin and kind to enable the leader to carry on the struggle for freedom successfully.

This was not an easy task. Muhammad bin Tughluq was a powerful monarch. No existing ruler of the south was able to stem the irresistible advance of his armies. The Āndhras, however, were able to organise themselves into a confederacy and successfully accomplished this difficult task. The first steps towards this were taken in the lower Godavari valley, where it is said that Prōlaya Nāyaka chose Rēkapalli at the foot of the Mālyavanta mountain as his capital. Nothing is known from this grant about the history and career of Prōlaya Nāyaka except that he had several brothers of whom Kāpaya Nāyaka was one. This is a very important contemporary grant that gives us details of life immediately after the fall of Warangal and how a union was forged to expel the enemy.

(ii) *The Prōlavaram Grant of Kāpaya Nāyaka* <sup>23</sup>

This grant states that Kāpaya too belonged to the Musunūri family. The date of the grant is Śaka 1267 (1346) and this confirms the identification that Kāpaya Nāyaka must be a brother of Prōlaya Nāyaka. Kāpaya is said in this record to have succeeded Prōlaya for whose merit the grant of the village Prōlavaram was made by him. There he is described as *Pratāparudra pratīma-prabhāva* (as great as Pratāparudra) and as having his capital at Ēkaśilānagari or Warangal. We have to infer from that description that he succeeded to the Tīlangana kingdom after the death of Pratāparudra. As Warangal was in the occupation of the Tughluqs till about 1335 its re-capture by Kāpaya Nāyaka must have taken place just after this year. But the Kaluvachēru grant of Anitalli dated 1423<sup>24</sup> claims this achievement for Prōlaya himself who is said to have vanquished the enemies. Hence it is to be assumed that although the task of expelling the invaders was a joint venture, the actual capture of Warangal was accomplished by Kāpaya Nāyaka who must have made

23 AR, 1934-35, No 3, cf JBORS, XX, 260

24 Bharati, XXI, part I, 553-57 and part II, 61-73

it his new capital This Kāpaya Nāyaka has been identified with Kanyā Nāyak or Krishṇa Nāyaka of the Indo-Persian historians, and he is said to have asserted his independence at Warangal<sup>25</sup> The actual date of his occupation of Warangal is not known However, the fact that Kāpaya Nāyaka was ruling the Āndhra country from the capital Anumakonda has been attested by an epigraph found at Pillalamarri<sup>26</sup> in the Nalgonda district It records the reinstallation of the god Erakeśvara at Pillalamarri by Erapōlulemka a subordinate of Kāpaya, for the merit of the latter and his own parents, in Śaka 1279 as the original image was destroyed by Alāvadīn Surataṇi (Sultān 'Alāu'd-dīn) Among the titles of Kāpaya Nāyaka stated in the epigraph, Āmdhra dēśādhisvara, Anumanamgantipuravarādhiśvara, Chōdarāya sthāpanācharya, Kāmchiraksha pālaka, are worth noting The real significance of the last two titles is however, not fully understood

(iii) *The Kaluvachēru grant of Reddī Queen Anitallī*<sup>27</sup>

The fact that the Musunūri brothers Prōlaya and Kāpaya successfully drove back the conquerors from the Telugu country is attested by another record, the Kaluvachēru grant of Anitallī dated Saka 1345/1423 It is stated here that after Pratāparudra of the Kākatiya dynasty had gone to heaven by his own will, the whole land was occupied by the Muslims Prōlaya Nāyaka then raised the country just like Varāha that is Lord Vishnu, after Prōlaya Nāyaka, (his brother) Kāpaya ruled the Kingdom, being assisted by the *Seventy-five Nāyakas* and re-granted to Brahmans the *agrahāras* taken over by the Turushkas besides granting them some afresh It further states that after the death of Kāpaya Nāyaka his subordinate Seventy-five Nāyaka who were formerly in his service went to their towns and protected their respective land The rise of the Reddī kingdom by Prōlaya Vēma was one among such principalities Kolani Rudradēva, the Mahāpradhāni of Kākati Pratāparudra and son of Gannaya mantri, was another chief who, according to the Santamāgulūru epigraph<sup>28</sup> dated A D 1326, shook off the Delhi yoke and was free to make at his will a grant of land for the merit of his later master He was a great Sanskrit scholar and the author of *Rājarudriyam*, a work on grammar

The renowned Telugu poet Śrīnātha described in his *Bhīmēśvara Purānam*, Bendapūdi Annamantri as the veritable fire in annihilating the Yavanas and the establisher of the throne of the *adhyaksha* of the Āndhra dēśa The term *adhyaksha* here means supervisor or president but not king, and no doubt refers to Prōlaya Nāyaka and probably Kāpaya Nāyaka

25 *Origin of the city of Vijayanagara*, App D

26 *Corpus of Tilangana Inscriptions*, part 2, 113

27 *Bharati*, XXI, part I, 553-57 and part II, 61-73

28 AR, No 308 of 1915



too after him, who were evidently assisted by Annamantri in resuming the Telugu country. The Velama chiefs from the Tīlangana side must have also participated in the combined struggle. Although direct evidence in this regard is not available from epigraphs, the literary work *Velugōtīvārī Vamśāvalī* refers to some of Singaya Nāyaka's activities during the early post-Kākatiya period, which indicate his participation in the liberation struggle.

The earliest reference to a rebellion against the invaders is in the Mallavaram epigraph<sup>29</sup> of Vēma Reddī dated Saka 1247/1325. The donor was one of Prōlaya Nāyaka's subordinate associates and is described in the record as the Agastya to the Ocean namely the Mlechhas. The Santamāgulūr epigraph of Kolani Rudradēva, referred to above, signifies the completion of the reconquest of the Coastal Āndhra by next year that is 1326, the date of the inscription. A few inscriptions of this period of the Telugu Chōḍas and the Reddīs contain references to their victories over the Delhi armies in general and of the particular Muslim chiefs in the course of their wars.

(iv) *The Pentapāḍu grant of Chōḍa Bhaktirāja* <sup>30</sup>

This grant of Chōḍa Bhaktirāja is a very interesting record, as it furnishes valuable information about Prōlaya Nāyaka and a certain Vengabhūpati. From this we learn that subsequent to the death of the father of Chōḍa Bhaktirāja who was then a boy, the Āndhra country was conquered by the Yavanas and the valorous and righteous Prōlaya Nāyaka, son of Pōchaya Nāyaka, together with his associate Vengarāja, left the Vēngi country and repaired to a *vana durga* (forest fort) surrounded by mountains. They both reconquered the Āndhra country after putting the entire Turushka horses to flight. After killing all the Yavana commanders, Vengabhūpati went to heaven, as if to help Indra in battle. This Vengabhūpati was the maternal uncle of Kāma *alias* Bhaktirāja who, it would appear, was installed in the former's place in the Vēngi country by Prōlaya Nāyaka. The description in the Pentapāḍu grant not only confirms the account of liberation of the Coastal Andhra country furnished by the Vilāsa grant of Prōlaya Nāyaka but also reveals two names of his associates, Venga and Bhaktirāja. The *vana durga* mentioned in the Pentapāḍu grant may be the fort at Rēkapalli mentioned in the Vilāsa grant.

(v) *The Rājahmundry Museum Plates of Annadēva Chōḍa* <sup>31</sup>

Some more information about the achievements of Bhaktirāja such as the defeat of Boggara and other warriors in the battle near Gulapūḍī, his

29 *Nellore District Inscriptions*, III, 073

30 *AR*, 1946-47, App A No 3

31 *EI*, XXVI, No 2

conquest of the armies of Dabaru-Khān and others near Pedakonḍapurī is from the undated Rajahmundry Museum plates of his son Annadēva Chōḍa

As has already been stated, the Kaluvacheruvu grant of Anitallī mentions Vēma of the Panta community as one of seventy-five Nāyakas that served Kāpaya Nāyaka. He was the son of Prōlaya Reddī and was the founder of the Reddī kingdom of Kondavīdu. Vēma was then a contemporary and a loyal associate of the Musunūri family chief Kāpaya, and probably also of his cousin and predecessor Prōlaya. His Mallavaram stone inscription dated Saka 1247 (1325) indicates the region of his activities as the Ongole taluqa of the Guntur district, during the period of this war. The Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva Chōḍa is the only record which throws some light on the history of the Coastal Āndhra Dēsa during the last years of the Reddīs of Kondavīdu.

The battle of Panchadhārī mentioned in this grant in connection with the victories of Chōḍa Bhaktirāja, appears to have been a decisive engagement when the Gajapatī and his ally Haihaya Chōḍa II were vanquished by the Reddī king Anavōta with the assistance of Bhaktirāja. Bhaktirāja is further said to have defeated another king Singa who might be a chief of the Kōrukonda family ruling a territory in the Ghāts near Rajahmundry. Another adventure of Bhaktirāja was his victory over the Delhi armies under Dabaru-Khan which name may stand for Dabīr Khān or Zafar Khān, probably one of the commanders of the Delhi armies who invaded Tīlang at this time<sup>32</sup>. One of the inscriptions at Amarāvati in the Guntur district, dated 22 July, 1361 describes how Kātaya Vēma, an officer of the king Anavōta of Kondavīdu, repulsed the invading cavalry and reinstalled the image of Amarēśvara<sup>33</sup>. Malla Reddī a brother of Anavōta Reddī also might have participated in this battle, as he is said in one of the local records to have repulsed 'Alāu'd-dīn and his commanders. 'Alāu'd-dīn appears to have reduced the country from Bhongīr to the banks of the river Godavari to subjection.

The first achievement of Annadēva described in his Rajahmundry Museum plates was his assistance to the Bahmanī king in defeating the king of Karṇāta at Sāgar. This statement clearly indicates that Annadēva entered into an alliance with the Bahmanī Sultān. Sāgar is a city of that name on the northern bank of the Krishna in the Gulbarga district which stood on the frontier between Gulbarga and Vijayanagar and constantly figured in the wars between the two kingdoms.

An inscription of Annadēva at Draksharamam shows that he had returned to his native place before 1404 and had managed to regain the power which he had lost some years earlier. This must have happened after the

32 *El*, Vol XXVI, 24-25

33 *SIL*, Vol VI, No 226

death of the Reddī king Kumāragiri in 1403. The circumstances which facilitated Annadēva to return from Gulbarga and reestablish his authority in the Godavari delta are firstly, the death of Kumāragiri Reddī and the succession to the throne of Kondavidu by his distant cousin Pedakōmatī Vēma, who did not like Kātaya Vēma to rule a part of the kingdom at Rajahmundry, secondly, the confusion created after the death of Harihara II and the struggle between Bukka II, Dēvarāya I and Virūpāksha for the throne of Vijayanagar. Somehow it is certain that Annadēva Chōda captured Rājahmundry and became an independent ruler in that part of the Reddī kingdom. The location of the few inscriptions of the Velama king Peda Vēdagiri's officers at Simhāchalam and Srikrūmam, dated 1405 and 1407, indicate that the Velamas of Dēvarkonda must have assisted Annadēva in defeating the Reddis and capturing Rajahmundry. A study of the Reddī inscriptions of this period, however, leads to the conclusion that the successors of Kumāragiri had completely lost control over the coastal Andhra between the Krishna and the Godavari.

Although the Rajahmundry Museum plates give no information about Kātaya Vēma's death, it refers to the surrender of his family to Annadēva.

(vi) *The Kālēśvaram Inscription of Dēvarāya I*

This inscription is engraved on one of the pillars of the mandapa of the Muktiśvara temple at Kālēśvaram in the Manthani taluqa of Karimnagar district. It consists of only one Sanskrit verse in *Śārdūla vikrīḍita* metre and records that king Dēvarāya son of Harihara, while celebrating the festival of *digvijaya* ("Conquest of the Earth") at Kālēśvaram on the banks of the river Gaūtami (the Godavari) made the gift of *Tulāpurusha* on the date corresponding to Wednesday, 28 February 1397. *Tulāpurusha* is one of the sixteen *mahā dānās* ("noble charities") prescribed by Hindu canons of ethics (Dharma Sāstras) and is generally performed by royal dignitaries by giving in charity a lump of gold equal in weight to that of the donor.

The inscription is of great historical importance as it brings to light for the first time a hitherto unknown expedition of Dēvarāya over Tilangana. Dēvarāya who is stated to be the son of Harihara II is obviously Dēvarāya I. At the time of the expedition, that is 1397, Harihara II was still ruling the empire and Dēvarāya was governing the province of Udayagiri. Kālēśvaram, where the latter is said to have celebrated the festival of *digvijaya*, was situated in the territories of the Velama kings as evidenced by the Aynōl inscription of Anapōta Nāyaka dated 1369<sup>34</sup>. The cause of the enmity between Velama kings and the Rāyas of Vijayanagar was on account of the former's alliance with the Bahmanī Sultāns of Gulbarga, the hereditary foes of the Rāyas. This alliance was disliked by Harihara II as it gave an

advantage to the Sultāns in their wars with Vijayanagar Harihara II made persistent efforts to break this alliance The expedition described in the present epigraph is one of such attempts During the last years of his rule Harihara II had a favourable opportunity caused by the internal dissensions in the Bahmanī kingdom During the last year of the reign of Muhammad II a rebellion broke out at Sāgar, but the Sultān somehow managed to retain the fort His two sons, Ghīyāthu'd-dīn and Shamsu'd-dīn ruled the kingdom in succession for a few months each and were finally dethroned as a result of revolution in the palace This was the most opportune time for Harihara II to launch an attack on the Velamas as the latter could not get much help from their ally To accomplish his object he sent two expeditions against the Velamas simultaneously, one from the south under his son Dēvarāya, Governor of Udayagiri, and the other from the west under his heir-apparent, Bukka II Of these two expeditions, the former, whose triumphant culmination at Kālēśvaram spread on the banks of Godavari, is described in the record under consideration

(vii) *The Warangal fort Inscriptions of the Gajapati Princes Raghudēva and Ambiradēva*

On the eastern and western entrances of the Warangal fort, there are two inscriptions, one of Ambiradēva and another of Raghudēva both of Saka 1382 These two epigraphs record the capture of the fort by these two Gajapati princes one from each entrance The date of these records corresponds to Saturday, February, 1460

As stated in the inscription Ambīra was the son of Kapilēśvara Gajapati, and Raghuvīra was his grand nephew The circumstances in which they captured Warangal, which belonged at this time to the Bahmanī Sultāns of Gulbarga, are described by the Indo-Persian historians The Velamas had been reduced to subjection by the Bahmanī Sultān Ahmad Shāh I in or about 1433 At the time of his death, while dividing the kingdom among his four sons, Ahmad Shah I allotted Rāyachal (Rājakonda) with its dependencies to his third son Dāwūd Khān The Velamas apparently acquiesced in this arrangement, for they not only remained loyal to Ahmad II, who succeeded him but also supported him against his enemies On the death of Ahmad II in 1458 and the succession of his son Humāyūn Shāh, their relations with the Sultān became strained The reason for this change is not quite apparent They seem to have joined Sikandar Khān and his father in their revolt against the Sultān Therefore, after suppressing the revolt of the nobles mentioned above, Humāyūn Shāh declared war upon the Velamas and captured Warangal While he was preparing to lead his army against Dēvarkonda a revolt broke out in his capital Bidar Therefore instead of proceeding to Dēvarkonda as he desired, he sent an army under two of his generals against the Velamas and returned to the capital The Bahmanī generals proceeded to Dēvarkonda

and invested the fort The Velamas thereupon sent an appeal for help to Kapilēśvara Gajapati of Orissa In response to this appeal Kapilēśvara sent an army to the help of the Velamas under his son, Hamvīra Mahāpātra and his cousin Raghuvīra Both proceeded against Dēvarkonda and defeated the Bahmanī army Now they proceeded to Warangal and laid siege to it, Hamvīra attacking the fort from the Eastern side and Raghudēva from the Western side Humāyūn Shāh was not able to send any help to the garrison in the fort Therefore, the inscriptions mentioned above indicate the fact that the fort fell to the Gajapati generals, in 1460 \*

Thus these inscriptions give us useful information which enables us to fix the historical sequence of events with some measure of accuracy Being contemporary records they also incidentally enable us to have a glimpse into the administrative and social systems that were prevalent in these days These, when supplemented by historical material for Indo-Persian sources, would enable us to more or less correctly map out the correct historical sequence of events in medieval Deccan

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\*[Warangal was captured on 22-2 1460 See *RHAD*, 1344 F, 29 Ed]



(ii) ARABIC AND PERSIAN

by DR. Z. A. DESAI

*Synopsis*

Deccan is very rich in Arabic and Persian epigraphs which are found in great numbers. A few epigraphs dated prior to the conquest of the Deccan by 'Alāu'd- dīn Khaljī are to be found, particularly in the south coastal regions.

The number of these inscriptions increases with the passage of centuries. These seek to commemorate the buildings of forts, religious edifices, works of public utility, etc., while quite a few contain texts of royal orders. In short, they provide a valuable source for the history of Deccan of the period to which they belong.





Persian and Arabic inscriptions of India date from the last decade of the twelfth century, with the exception of about a dozen which have been found in the Panjab and Gujarat. In the Deccan they appear slightly at a later date, though on coastal regions, particularly on the western coast, there may have been originally set up a number of such records by the early Muslim settlers, some of whom, as is now established by a Sanskrit epigraph, were appointed to posts of authority—such as the ruler of an entire *mandala* or territory—under the Rāshtrakūtas<sup>1</sup>. Likewise, popular belief and traditional accounts speak of early Muslim inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries in Kerala and elsewhere in south India, but so far researches have failed to bring out any record of so early a date, which must have existed but have not survived. With the establishment of Muslim authority in Deccan consequent upon its conquest by ‘Alāu’-d-dīn Khaljī, we start getting these records as a rule.

Most of these epigraphs are to be found in religious edifices like mosques and tombs, secular buildings and places such as forts, city-walls, gateways, palaces, pleasure-pavilions and granaries, works of public utility like tanks, step-wells, wells, cisterns, gardens, dams and embankments, and caravansarais and cultural houses such as schools. There are also some epigraphs which contain administrative orders connected with various departments of government and public activity. Some of these epigraphs indicate boundaries of kingdom and also of immovable property and some others serve as road signs. Lastly, there are inscribed movable objects like guns, arms and the like.

Quite a few of these epigraphs are bilingual, and in a few cases, even trilingual, the main version being in Persian and the other being in one or two local languages. This feature, particularly in regard to the areas where such epigraphs are found, may not be without interest to a student of the growth and development of local languages. Then again, there are inscriptions whose counterparts or corresponding versions in local languages are met with independently. Those relating to the proclamation of a royal or state order indicate the importance of the local language in day-to-day administration as far as the general public was concerned.

There is also the calligraphic aspect of these inscriptions, which have preserved for posterity the names of quite a few calligraphers of great artistic talent. This aspect may be of help in the study of the artistic temperament of the people of different regions at different period of their history. We have in them a diversity of scripts, beautifully executed, as also ingenious ornamentations, providing perfect specimens of calligraphy of a high order. The

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1 *EI*, XXXII, Part (ii), 45-58

cripts represented include *Kūfi*, *Naskh*, *Thulth* and *Nasta'liq* executed in their distinctive conventional styles and at time in *Tughra*, a typical form of which is the one in which the letters of the text are so inscribed as to form the outline of a tiger, a bird, animal or flower

Being contemporary documents, these epigraphs provide first-hand source material and definite and valuable data, both direct and circumstantial on the political, social and cultural aspects of the history of the period. They are at times the only source supplying a missing link in the chronology of rulers. They also throw light on some administrative details or events and personages unrecorded in chronicles or literary works, correct incongruity or misstatements and provide material for an assessment of the economic condition. They are further useful in fixing the dates of important events about which information in other sources is either lacking or confusing. They corroborate statements or supply details left out by them, afford data for the compilation of lists of governors and officials of provinces, regions, districts and sub-divisions as well as for the history of prominent personages and families. They are, lastly, a valuable source for the history of monuments and buildings.

In the field of political history, despite the fact that quite a number of contemporary and later chronicles have come down to us, these epigraphs have contributed much to the history of the period. The pre Bahmanī records are comparatively few in number. While making allowance for the disappearance due to neglect or vandalism, this paucity of epigraphs is understandable as they do not cover a range of more than half a century, from the conquest of Deccan by 'Alāu'd-dīn in 1296 to the establishment of the Bahmanī kingdom in 1347. We have five *Khaljī* records, two of 'Alāu'd-dīn and three of Quṭbu'd-dīn, seventeen *Tughluq* records, four of Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq Shāh and thirteen of Muhammad Shāh. The *Khaljī* records are mainly important in indicating the extent of *Khaljī* sovereignty in terms of area, at a particular time. 'Alāu'd-dīn's records, for example, were found, one each from Karad in Satara district of Maharashtra, and Rakkasgi in Bijapur district of Karnatak, while Quṭbu'd-dīn's were found, two at Rājūr in Buldāna district and one at *Khuldābād* near Daulatābād, in Aurangābād district of Mahārashtra. The *Tughluq* records were found at such far and wide places as Rajahmundry in Krishna district of Āndhra Pradesh, Bodhan in Nizāmābād district, Daulatābād, Jālna and Kāghazipura (near Daulatābād) in Aurangābād district, *Khānāpūr* in Satara district and Qandhār in Nandē district, all in Maharashtra, and Bidar in Bidar district and Gōgi and Kalyānī in Gulbarga district of Karnatak.

The inscriptions of the Bahmanīs and the dynasties that inherited their kingdom, are naturally found in large numbers with the exception of the epigraphs of the 'Imād Shāhīs of Berār and the Barīd Shāhīs of Bidar. These records provide valuable and precise evidence to determine the political

status of certain regions of the Deccan such as the Rāichūr *doāb*, the Kalinga region adjoining Tilangana country, Kondāpallī and the neighbouring areas on the eastern side, as far as Poonamallī in the south, Goa and other parts of the Konkan territory in the west, which were successively held or lost either by the Bahmanīs or their successors on one hand, and the kings of Vijayānagar, Orissa, and other neighbouring kingdoms on the other. This is all the more so in view of either incomplete, conflicting or confused or even one-sided accounts. Unfortunately not sufficient note has been taken of these epigraphs by historians who have sought to describe the events of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whose very findspots provide unimpeachable evidence on the subject. It would be unnecessary here to detail these epigraphs, since these have been already annotated or published.<sup>2</sup>

Then we have inscriptions which contain references to some important events providing in some cases new, and in other, corroborative or supplementary information, and as such, are not without interest. To quote a few examples, an epitaph, from Viśākḥapatnam, of Tāju'd dīn 'Alī, son of Muhammad a'sh-Sharīf al-'Alawī, who died in 1257, mentions that he was the first to conquer Bandar (Port) Shāhpattan, which seems to be the name by which Viśākḥapattanam was known.<sup>3</sup> Nothing whatsoever is known about the deceased or the event itself, the possibility of his being an official of the Delhi Sultānate cannot be ruled out. Likewise, an inscription from Bijapur refers to the siege of the city fort by "Kīshan Rai"—Kṛṣṇadēvarāya of Vijayānagar—and his retreat four days later on 23 March 1522.<sup>4</sup> The revolt of 'Ainu'l-Mulk against his 'Ādil Shāhī master and its suppression by Khān-i A'zam Nūrī Khān is mentioned in a royal *farmān* dated 1555, it also mentions "'Ālī-Jānab Rāmraj" and Venkatādri Rāj.<sup>5</sup> The siege of Dhārūr-Fathābād in the time of Kīshwar Khān's governorship against the Nizām Shāhī forces in 1569-70 may be taken to be indirectly referred to in another epigraph which records the construction of a bastion etc., when breaches must have occurred.<sup>6</sup> It is again only from an epigraphical record from Mudgal, that we know of the conquest of the Bankapūr fort from the Vijayānagar authorities by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I in 1574-75.<sup>7</sup> Likewise an inscription from Poona district refers to the subjugation of the region by a Nizām Shāhī official, Mīr Muhammad Zamān about 1586.<sup>8</sup> In a couple of interesting epigraphs we have reference to the

2 EIM, 1937-38, 53, *Subject-Index to the Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*, (Calcutta, 1940), 24-25, EIAPS, 1953 and 1954, 26-27, 31, 1962, 53-66, 1963, 61-78, 1964, 27, 31, 42-43, 1965, 39-48, etc.

3 ARIE, 1953-54, No. C, 77.

4 Ibid, 1964-65, No. D, 278.

5 Ibid, 1963-64, No. D, 187.

6 Ibid, 1965-66, No. 190.

7 EIM, 1935-36, 16-17. Rafī'u'd dīn Shīrāzī records the conquest of Bankapūr on 16 Ramazān 972/17 April 1563, TM, 75 b 76 a.

8 Ibid, 1933-34 (Suppl.), 24.

skirmishes between the Mughal forces of Akbar and Jahangir and of the Deccan chiefs. For example, the one from Paithan in Aurangābād district informs us that Mīrzā Iraj, son of Khān-i Khānān, had encamped there on 20 May 1602 on his return from the battle at Khēd (Poona district) in which he, leading only four thousand horsemen, is stated to have been victorious against his Habashī and Dakhnī opponents numbering seventeen thousand, it also supplies an important piece of information that Khēd was designated as Fathābād.<sup>9</sup> The reference to the other incident of the Mughal—Deccanī fight, of which exact dates are mentioned, is contained in a few epitaphs of the members of one family, Mīr Muhammad Yūsuf Nēknām and his sons. The former lost his life along with his eldest son, Mīr Shāh Husain, relatives and servants, in the battle with the ‘enemies from Deccan’ on 3 May 1610, and Mīr Farīdūn Husain, another son, a *hāfiz* of the *Qur’ān*, was killed in the battle of Kharkī fighting on Jahangir’s side against the Deccanī enemies (*ghanīm*) by whom evidently the forces of Malik ‘Ambar are meant, this was on 3 February 1616.<sup>10</sup> A Nizām Shāhī official, ‘Abdu’l-lāh Baig, died a martyr’s death, apparently in a battle, in 1610-11, according to an epitaph from Udgīr in Bidar district.<sup>11</sup> Another record from the same place states how Udgīr fort was reduced by Shah Jahan’s general Khān-i Daurān Nuṣrat Jang Bahādur on 27 September 1638, after blowing off a bastion by laying a mine.<sup>12</sup> A reference to the growing menace of robbers waylaying the roads to ports is found in a Quṭb Shāhī record from Vinukōṇḍa in Guntur district, according to which Malik ‘Ainu’l-Mulk ‘Alī Rīzā Khān suppressed the said menace and managed the Tānget expedition in 1640-41.<sup>13</sup> The Quṭb Shāhī conquest of Kalinga in 1641-42 is described in another inscription from Srikakulam.<sup>14</sup> Incidentally, the epigraph shows that Srikakulam town and its environments were considered to be a part of Kalinga as late as the seventeenth century. In a few inscriptions, reference is made to the conquest of many forts in ‘Karnatak’ and Mālnād by the celebrated ‘Ādil Shāhī general Afzal Khān Muhammad Shāhī (c 1652).<sup>15</sup> Attention may also be drawn to the Gōlkōṇḍa fort inscription which gives the Quṭb Shāhī point of view—and thereby affording a true perspective—of the siege of the fort by Mughals under Prince Muhammad, son of Aurangzeb, in

9 *Ibid.*, 1949 50, 3-5, where the text (pp 4 5) is wrongly translated to mean that Khēd was the camping ground and not Paithan. The translation also fails to specify Khēd as the battlefield.

10 *EIAPS*, 1966, 44-48

11 *EIM*, 1929-30, 21

12 *Ibid.*, 22

13 *EIAPS*, 1953, and 1954, 31

14 *ARIE*, 1953-54, No D, 70

15 *EIM*, 1933-34, Suppl., 55, *ARIE* 1964-65 No D 318 etc

1655-56 and of the circumstances under which peace was finally concluded. According to this, it was the death of the Mughal general that hastened the termination of hostilities <sup>16</sup>

Apart from these references to expeditions, campaigns, conquests etc., the epigraphs either supplement or corroborate statements of historians, or at times help in elucidating conflicting or contrary views. A number of inscriptions have been found at places like Antūr and Parthan in Aurangābād district, Junnār in Poona district and Galna in Nasik district, which are helpful in fixing the dates of Burhān Nizām Shah III of Ahmadnagar, who is ignored by historians <sup>17</sup>. We owe a good deal of authentic information on the history of the later Bahmanīs to epigraphical or numismatic material. Quite a few inscriptions of the early ‘Ādil Shāhī and Quṭb Shāhī rulers which have come to light show that the latter did not completely throw off the yoke of allegiance to the Bahmanī sovereign. Not only Mahmūd Shāh II (during whose reign in 1512, according to Ferishta, the *ṭarafdārs* of Bijāpūr, Golkōṇda and other provinces assumed independence), but even Waliyu’l-lāh and Kalīmu’l-lāh Bahmanī are mentioned as sovereigns in inscriptions dated 1525-26<sup>18</sup> and 1529<sup>19</sup>. On the other hand, even in the records where the name of the Bahmanī monarch is omitted, these chiefs style themselves with their usual titles under the Bahmanī kings. Such epigraphs include the epitaph of Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu’l-Mulk of Golkōṇda, dated 1543,<sup>20</sup> and his earlier records from Kōrangal, Golkōṇda and Kōṇdapalli, dated respectively 1513, 1518-1519, 1524-25 and 1538<sup>21</sup>. It will be recalled that it was on the basis of this Golkōṇda inscription that Yazdani first drew attention of the scholars to the fact that Quṭbu’l-Mulk did not assume sovereignty until six years after 1512, the date given by Ferishta<sup>22</sup>. Sherwani has subsequently shown that not one of the great fief-holders of Deccan declared his independence while the rightful Bahmanī overlord was alive<sup>23</sup>. The epigraphs of the first ‘Ādil Shāhī chiefs, likewise, do not have their names accompanied by any such title as would indicate assumption of royalty; it was only about the end of 1536 or beginning of 1537 that the title Shāh and the like are used for them<sup>24</sup>. Among other such instances where epigraphical evidence has been of help in scrutinising certain interpretations

16 *Ibid*, 1913-14, 51, 1937-38, 51,

17 *Ibid*, 1919-20, 12, 14, 1933-34, Suppl., 22, 1949-50, 6, *EIAPS*, 1967, 58-59

18 *EIM*, 1931-32, 20

19 *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 122

20 *EIM*, 1915-16, 26-27

21 *Ibid*, 1913-14, 48, *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, 24, 26, 1959 and 1960, 57-58

22 *JASH*, 1918, 89-94

23 *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Seventh Session, Madras, 1944, 256-62, *JIH*, 1955, 281-86 etc

24 *EIM*, 1931-32, 21-22, *ARIE*, 1958-59, Nos. D 122, 141, 1962-63 Nos. D, 152-53, 1964-65, Nos. D, 262-63, 278

or statements or establishing correct spellings of names are the questions of the nomenclature of Daulatābād for Dēvagiri by Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh,<sup>25</sup> the name of the Bahmanī king—Muhammad Shāh or Mahmūd Shāh<sup>26</sup> the correct spelling and meaning of the title *Sawa'ī* of the 'Ādil Shāhī rulers,<sup>27</sup> the correct name of the 'Ādil Shāhī governor of Belgam Asad Khān, etc. In particular, the corrective value of these epigraphs for scrutinising the statements of modern writers, chiefly the compilers of the revised District Gazetteers is too great to be overstressed. But we cannot resist the temptation of quoting how the most uncharitable remarks of Woolsey Haig about Maliku'sh-Sharq Parvīz (son of) Qaranfal Sultānī of the Chānd Minār record described as 'the bombastic and ridiculous inscription of Parvīz', to wit, 'Parvīz the African slave recorded his insolent boast'—have been proved to be unfounded. Two more inscriptions, dated 1456 and 1458, from Kāghazipūra and Khuldābād, mention him as 'Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik Parvīz, son of Qaranfal Sultānī', a servant of Ahmad Shāh I Bahmanī.<sup>28</sup> Incidentally, these epigraphs also help to identify another Bahmanī nobleman, Maliku'sh-Sharq Muhammad Parvīz Sultānī, *thānadār* of Fathābād, as his son.<sup>29</sup>

This brings us to another important field in which the inscriptions have proved to be a useful source. A large number of officials—ministers, governors, commanders, personnel of the revenue and other departments and the like—find mention there in one capacity or the other, and in the case of quite a few of them, their very existence is known only through epigraphical material. Important links in the succession-lists of official and governors at different levels are furnished by them. They list the names and titles of prominent officials who are not even mentioned in histories and chronicles. Thus we get names of Khahī, Tughluq, Bahmanī and Sultānate officials about whom we would not have known anything but for these inscriptions.

Even in regard to the persons known from chronicles and historical works, the epigraphs supply some more details about their career and postings, particularly in the matter of dates, which are as a rule not given in historical literature. These include Maliku'sh Sharq Ikhtiyāru'd-dīn Shāhīn Sultānī, Nasīru'd-dīn Qublī Sultānī, Maliku'sh Sharq Saifu'd-dīn *akhurbēk-i maisara* and the celebrated Maliku'sh Sharq Qiwāmu'd-dīn *wazīr* of the *iqīm* of Dēvagiri, (of the Tughluqs<sup>30</sup>), Maliku'sh Sharq Bahram Khān, Syed Khudāwand

25 *Dr G Yazdāni Commemoration Volume*, Ed. H K Sherwani (Hyderabad, 1966), 81-82.

26 *EIM*, 1931-32, 10-11.

27 *Ibid*, 1939-40, 11-12, *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 324.

28 *ELAPS*, 1964, 37-39.

29 'Alī Tabāṭabā, *Burhān i Ma'āthir* (Hyderabad, 1936).

30 *EIM*, 1935-36, 1, 1931-32, 27, *ELAPS*, 1957 and 1958, 39-40, *ARIE*, 1962-63 No. D, 113, 1965-66 No. D 271, etc.

Khān Khān-i Jahān, Malik Syed Razī son of Zaid, entitled Quṭb-i Mulk, A'zam-i Humāyūn Khawāja-i Jahān, Khān-i A'zam Safdar Khān, Khān-i A'zam Mullā Khān, (of the Bahmanīs)<sup>31</sup>, Asad Khān, Khān-i A'zam Ibrāhīm entitled Kāmil Khān, Dilāwar Khān wazīr and *amīr-i jumla* Kishwar Khān, 'Ainu'l-Mulk, Malik Raihān, Amīn entitled Mustafā Khān, Khawās Khān, Khund-Mīr Ankus Khān and his father Marjān Ankus Khān, Afzal Khān Muhammad Shāhī, Randaula Khān, Jauhar Salābat Khān, Āqā Khusrō, Mas'ūd Khān, Muhammad entitled Khān-i Khānān, (of the 'Ādil Shāhī court),<sup>32</sup> Kamālu'd-dīn Husain entitled Mustafā Khān, Rif'at Khān Lārī Malik Na'ib, conqueror of Tilangana, Shāh Khundkār, Khairāt Khān, Mīr Muhammad Sa'id Mīr-i Jumla, 'Alī Rīzā Khān 'Ainu'l-Mulk, Shēr Muhammad Khān Fath Jang conqueror of Kalinga, Ghāzī 'Alī Fath Jang conqueror of Udayagiri, (of the Quṭb Shāhīs),<sup>33</sup> Khawāja Jahān Dakhnī, Syed Shāh Mīr Tabāṭabāī, Khawāja Husain Shāh son of Jalālu'd-dīn Samnānī entitled Nī'mat Khān, Mīr Muhammad Zamān Mashhadī, Khudāwand Khān, Malik 'Ambar called 'Ādil Changīz Khānī, (of the Nizām Shāhīs)<sup>34</sup>

The above grandees are known from historical works, but in the case of most of them, a mere passing reference is made there. Our records supply definite dates in their career and also provide some details, direct or indirect, which add to our knowledge of the history of the period.

Of political as well as human interest are epigraphs which record the names of eminent personages including royalty and nobility or these connected with them. For example, we have rarely come across, except in epigraphs, the names of 'Alāu'd-dīn 'Alī, son of the Tughluq governor of Gujarāt Malik Mufarrah Sulṭānī, who seems to have hailed from Kōnkan, or the Bahmanī queen-mother Makhduma-i Jahān Bībī Shahnāz wife of Ahmad Shāh I, Tāj Sulṭān wife of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, wife of the Bahmanī nobleman A'zam Humāyūn, Khānum Āghā, mother of Muhammad Quṭb Shāh, Bībī Halīma, most probably the wife of the 'Ādil Shāhī nobleman 'Abdu'l-Muhammad, or Khūnza, wet-nurse of the celebrated Chānd Sulṭān, and Hīva, wet-nurse of Dastūr Khān.<sup>35</sup> In this category may also be placed the epitaphs of a large number of men and women belonging to foreign stock which, incidentally, also indicate the pattern of the settlements of these immigrants. It has been

31 *EIM*, 1921-22, p. 6, 1931-32, p. 17, *ELAPS*, 1962, p. 60, 1964, pp. 22, 25, etc.,

32 *EIM*, 1921-22, pp. 10-11, 1933-34 pp. 7-9, Suppl., pp. 48, 50, 58, 60, 1935-36, pp. 7, 9, *ELAPS*, 1963, p. 78, etc.

33 *EIM*, 1913-14, p. 48, 1917-18, p. 47, 1921-22, p. 8-9, *ELAPS*, 1953 and 1954, pp. 30-32, *ARIE*, 1953-54, Nos. C, 70-71, 1966-67, No. D, 41, etc.

34 *EIM*, 1907-08, p. 20, 1921-22, p. 6, 1933-34, Suppl., pp. 10, 22-24, etc.

35 *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 47, *EIM*, 1931-32, p. 19, *ELAPS*, 1959 and 1960, p. 33, *Ibid*, 1965, pp. 9-10, *ARIE*, 1958, 59, Nos. D, 118, 152, 1962-63, No. D, 171, 1964-65, No. D, 310.

ound that at places like Karhad or Kondapalli, to name only two, lie buried a number of these people who flourished in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries <sup>36</sup> Moreover, these epitaphs as well as other historical inscriptions invariably mention the native places of these settlers, and thus provide, however, indirectly, some basis for study in the pattern of relations and communications between particular places India and Iran. It may be noted here that the concentration of these foreigners, who were mostly Persians and hence Shī'ah, at Karhad, should account for the existence of the 'Qadamgāh-i 'Alī'—in itself a building of an unusual nature, as against the more commonly found 'Qadamgāh i asūl' popularly called 'Qadam Sharīf'—as mentioned in an epigraph from that place <sup>37</sup>

There are also a few administrative details which can be gleaned through the inscriptions. A list of posts and designations held by some of the aforementioned noblemen and officials will not be out of place here. Of the Tughluq period we have only ākhurbēk-i maisara and nā'ib kotwāl, of the Bahmanī period we have kotwāl, kotwālbēk, majmu'ahdār, Khattāt Khān, <sup>38</sup> amīr-i urkān, shahna-i bār, nā'ib-i sarpardādār, thānēdār and thānēdārbēk, of the 'Ādil Shāhī time, we have nā'ib, nā'ib i ghaibat, sarnaubat and sar-i rnaubat, hawālahdār and sar-hawālahdār, sarkhēl-i haram, sarkhēl-i pāyahāwa raftīhā, amīr-i jumla, wazīr i hukūmat, sipahsālār, thānēdār, amīn, qandildār, najālisdār, dabīr, sar-khawās, ābdār, kārkun, nā'ib-i dīwān-i a'lā, dīwānī 'lā, mahājan and bālūtīyān, of the Quṭb Shāhī period, muqaddam, kulkarnī, uhdādār, kārkun, nawisanda i Bahman (a Brahman accountant) dēshpande, halkarnī (sthalakarnī), 'āmil and mutasaddī, sipahsālār, sar-i lashkar, kiliddār, nuqāsā-i fil sawār, lalla, hawālahdār, nā'ib-i thānēdār and Amīr-i Jumla. Of the Nizām Shāhī time, thānēdār

A number of guns found in different parts of Deccan bear inscriptions which also provide some idea of the gun manufacture industry which seems to have been undertaken only by the government. A larger number of guns, discovered so far are those that were manufactured by a Turkish artisan Ustad Ahmad son of Husain under the orders of Abu'l-Ghāzī Husain Nizām Shāh, while only a couple of them have been found that can be traced to the Barīd Shāhī rulers <sup>39</sup> The quality of these guns, which were either of bronze or copper of fine quality, indicate great technical knowledge and skill. The present locations of most of these guns provide an interesting study in their

<sup>36</sup> *ARIE*, 1953-54, Nos C, 27, 31, 33, 78, 1958-59, Nos D, 5, 21, 87, 1962 63, Nos D, 15, 107, 1963 64, Nos 212-13, 222 24, 227 28, 232-34, 236, 239 40, 1964 65, Nos D, 6, 228-243, 1965-66, Nos D, 287, etc

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*, 1965 66, No D, 217

<sup>38</sup> This is a title, which was most probably conferred on the court calligrapher

<sup>39</sup> *EIM*, 1907-08, pp 7-15, 1927-28, p 22, 1929 30, p 3, 20, *ARIE*, 1964 65, No D, 1966-67, No D, etc



movements and an indirect evidence on the history of particular sites or even alliances. For example two guns cast at Asīr under the orders of Mubārak Shāh Fārūqī, are found at Ja'farābād and Kalyānī.<sup>40</sup> The famous Mulk Zabt Gun which was originally placed on the Lundā Qassāb bastion at Bijāpūr seems to have been used by Aurangzeb against Satāra Fort.<sup>41</sup> Another interesting note of the time of Aurangzeb states that the gun now at Narnāla which was manufactured when the Dakhnīs were ruling and was captured about 1533 was lying unmounted till 1679 in which year it was firmly placed on the knoll.<sup>42</sup> The use of naphtha (*nafat*) is also hinted in an epigraph.<sup>43</sup>

Another important aspect of administration is revealed by records which contain royal orders and mandates, or texts of endowments, etc. The importance of these is obvious, particularly since not much information on this subject is found in historical works. They relate to levy or (as in most cases), remission, regular taxes or imposts, discontinuation of illegal or unjust practices and conventions enforced by the local officials, foundation of *pēts* (market-towns) and remission of taxes in the initial stages for the furtherance of trade, adjustment of public grievances, provision of agricultural facilities and steps to increase the yield by augmenting water-supply by the construction of wells, tanks and canals, establishment of free kitchens and schools and creating endowments for their upkeep, making roads on hills and *ghāts* for the convenience of the public, and the like. There is also an indirect reference to the practice of conscription. A few instances illustrating the above may be quoted.

In a *qaulnāma* dated 1495, orders were issued by Khān-i A'zam Ghālīb Khān, who was in charge of thānā Muhammadābād, for the arrangement of the cultivation of fallow land etc., under certain specified conditions.<sup>44</sup> Another *qaulnāma* was issued in 1513 by Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik 'Ambar, governor of the Rāichūr region, announcing reduction, in some cases quite substantial—25 to 35 per cent—in the levies on village communities like grocers, weavers, oil-sellers and men of similar professions. It gives a schedule of the amount originally fixed and the one to be thenceforth realised, in *pratāps*, *jitals* and *ṭankās*. It also enjoins prohibition of the practice of forced labour, unreasonable demands and unauthorised levies, and further exhorts to make the best of the cultivated and fallow lands.<sup>45</sup> The founder of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty, Sulṭān-Qulī Malik Quṭbu'l-Mulk, remitted, on a request made by the *sthāla-karanam* of Koṇḍapallī *rājya*, the tax called *āndīsānta-sunkam*, for public

40 EIM, 1935-36, p. 14, ARIE, 1967-68, No. D.

41 ARIE, 1964-65, No. D, 271.

42 EIM, 1907-08, pp. 14-15.

43 Ibid., 1962-63, No. D, 172.

44 EIAPS, 1955 and 1956, p. 78.

45 Ibid., 1962, pp. 63-64.

good, in about 1530 <sup>46</sup> According to one more *qaulnāma*, Ghālīb Khān, an 'Ādil Shāhī official in charge of Adōmī region, founded in 1574, a *pēt* and named it 'Ādilābād, on the outskirts of the town and fort of Adōmī and remitted lawful and unlawful taxes in the case of weavers and grocers settled there for a period of twelve years <sup>47</sup> Another reference to the interest taken by the authorities in the holding of markets, is found in an imprecatory inscription dated 1574, invoking a curse upon those who might seek to interfere with lighting arrangement of the *bāzār* and *guzrī* and dues of the attendants <sup>48</sup> Mention of the foundation of one more *pēt*, designated Mustafābād at Rāibāgh, by Muhammad Amīn entitled Mustafā Khān, in 1629, is contained in another *qaulnāma* It stipulates remission of duties on orchards and insists that the *pēt* should be called by its name <sup>49</sup>

In a deed of endowment for a mosque, made by Khān-i A'zam Nūr Khān, an 'Ādil Shāhī official, at Shirol in 1561-62, some amounts and rates for, and weights of, local agricultural produces are detailed It is, however, not clear if the rates quoted were fixed for the purpose of purchase and sale or for taxation purposes, as the writing is crudely executed <sup>50</sup> In another *farmān* recording the grant of land and villages to the same official, it is enjoined upon his descendants not to make money out of a garden and well situated in the town of Shirol, and not to refuse fruits and vegetables grown therein to mendicants or seek to raise their price <sup>51</sup> The quality of soil, sandy or black, is mentioned in an epigraph recording the grant of one *chāwar* land of each type by the 'Ādil Shāhī king to Khān-i A'zam Bilāl entitled Dilāwar Khān in 1570-71 <sup>52</sup> The laying out of gardens for public or private use seems to have been very common, as we come across a number of inscriptions to that effect <sup>53</sup> The need for stepping up agricultural production seems to have been felt even in those days, for we have on record fallow lands brought into cultivation by hard labour <sup>54</sup> Another epigraph of the 16th century refers to the construction of a step-well intended for the use of men and animals and also for bringing into cultivation 30 *bigahs* of fallow land which was endowed for its maintenance <sup>55</sup> The embankment of a reservoir built for the accumulation of residual water, was ordered to be repaired after breaches had appeared, by

46 *Ibid*, 1953 and 1954, pp 25 27

47 *ARIE*, 1962 63, No D, 8

48 *Ibid*, No D, 139

49 *Ibid*, 1963-64, No D, 253

50 *Ibid*, 1963 64, No D, 188

51 *Ibid*, No D, 189

52 *EIM*, 1931-32, p 25

53 *ARIE*, 1958-59, No D, 114, p 114, *EIM*, 1907 8 p 5 No 14, *Ibid* 1913 14 p 55, 1933-34, *Suppl*, pp 11 12, etc

54 *ARIE*, 1958-59, No D, 123

55 *Ibid*, 1958-59, No D, 123

Barīd Shāh in 1579 <sup>56</sup> These show that the facilities of irrigation by tanks etc also existed. Another example of such a method of irrigation is found in a bilingual epigraph from the Panagal tank in Nalgōṇḍa District of Andhra Pradesh which lays down the share of the proceeds of the lands irrigated by the tank to be divided between the king, the subjects (tenants) and the 'Turkshas' (Muslims), that of the last mentioned being as much as that of the first two combined <sup>57</sup> The store-houses for grains also find mention in some records <sup>58</sup>

There are some more orders, stipulations, etc., which throw light on another aspect of administration. An 'Ādil Shāhī inscription shows that some sort of conscription or military service was expected from certain sections of the community. On a representation made by one of its members, the local barber-community was exempted from garrison duties and also from payment of certain taxes like *barād*, *kalmīva* and other imposts. At least four or five royal orders issued between 1570 and 1653 speak of the attempts of the 'Ādil Shāhī rulers to discontinue an unlawful practice named in one epigraph, *niputrik*, which was prevalent in some parts of the kingdom applicable, as it would appear, to Hindus in some places and to the whole population in others, whereby the property of a person who died without leaving a male heir was denied to his other relatives including daughters, and escheated to the State. The epigraphs containing these have been found so far at Bijāpūr, Dabhōl and Goa. The fact that the order had to be repeated may be reasonably interpreted to indicate the weakness of the government in getting it enforced. In one of these orders, the practice is said to have concerned 'the community of jewellers' and in another 'merchants, jewellers, *chātīs* and grocers' <sup>59</sup> It may be of interest to note that such orders were generally sent through the chief *qāzī* of the region for which they were meant <sup>60</sup>

In another 'Ādil Shāhī record, dated 1585, the property-rights of a step-well for public use are assigned to the builder Malya, son of Nag Setti, a resident of Bijapur, and his descendants <sup>61</sup> Lastly, we have the text of a *mahzar* (decision by assembly)—so typical of Mahārāshtra region—made by Mahājans and Balotīyān of Hukēri according sanction to the endowment of one *chāwar* land belonging to Jai Sēthi for the *kāranja* (water-fountain), and the public guest-house built for public use by Manṣūr Khān, an official under 'Āinu'l-Mulk, in about 1585. It also quotes the names of the persons who had attended the *mahzar* <sup>62</sup>

56 *EIM*, 1937 38, p 1

57 *EIM*, 1925 26, p 23

58 *EIM*, 1913-14, p 57, *ARIE*, 1958-59, No D, 138

59 *EIM*, 1933 34, pp 10-12, *ARIE*, 1963-64, No D, 61, 1964-65, Nos D, 318, 328

60 *Ibid*, 1963 64, No D, 61, *ELAPS*, 1965, p 43

61 *Ibid*, 1964-65, No D, 330

62 *Ibid*, 1963-64, No D, 249

The administrative divisions mentioned in these records are *mu'imala* and *pargana*, roughly corresponding, respectively, to a district and a sub-division, *qasba*, a large town, *mauza'*, a village and *qil'ah*, perhaps a cantonment area usually bound by a fort or so. A number of districts, towns and villages and in a few cases localities of the town are also mentioned in these records. These are important in that they have thus preserved their correct spellings as also those that were current in those days.<sup>63</sup> These also include names newly given to some places or of places newly inhabited or founded, such as Muhammadānagar-Golkonda, Jannatāpūr Jālāna, Ustadābād-Gōgī, Mubārakabād-Mīraj, Mangalāwaram-Janwāl *alias* Hasanābād, Mustāfābād-Rāibāgh, Mustāfābād-Dābhōl, etc., in the first category, and 'Ādilābād near Adoni, Khīzrābād near or about Kōṇḍapalli, Muhammadpūr near or about Siruguppa or Raichur, Barkatābād near Shirol, etc., in the second. In this connexion, we also have an interesting piece of information contained in one epigraph mentioning *inter alia* that Qutbu'l-Mulk coalesced two villages, namely Olēr Buzurg and Olēr Khurd, near Kōrangal, into one under the new name Hasanābād.<sup>64</sup> Attention may also be drawn here to the spellings, Muhammadānagar and Ahmadānagar occurring in inscriptions.<sup>65</sup> This long *alif* after the name and before the suffix *nagar* is used perhaps to show respect to the person after whom the city was so named, or this may be an epigraphic error.

The epigraphs also seem to indicate that the institution of works of charity, and public utility like endowments for religious or secular purposes, construction of bunds and embankments, tanks, step-wells, wells, public rest-houses and sarais, milestones, etc., was, at least partly, a responsibility of the administration. While we do get quite a few similar works undertaken by individuals, in most cases, the local officials or fief-holders carried them out as a part of their duties.<sup>66</sup> Mention may be made here, for example, of water-storage towers—given the name 'Muhammad-Nad', at Bijāpūr in 1651-52 by Afzal Khān, or the huge tank-like well with rooms for the poor and bathing cubicles for the public, by Taj Sultān wife of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II.<sup>67</sup> Reference has already been made to the *kāranja* constructed for public use by Manṣūr

63 *EIM*, 1907-08, p 3, 1913-14, p 50, 1915 16, p 38, 1917-18, pp 51-52, 55, 1921 22, p 11, 1925-26, p 23, 1930 31, p 14, 1931 32, pp 2-3, 6, 10, 1933-34, p 11, 1933 34, Suppl., pp 4, 11, 60, 1935-36, pp 9, 15, 16, 20, 35, 44, 1949 50, pp 4 5, *ELAPS*, 1959 and 1960, pp 34, 58, 1953 and 1954, pp 24, 26, 33, 42, 1955 and 1956, pp 74, 78, 1962, pp 61, 63, 1964, p 33, 1965, pp 43, 47, etc

64 *ELAPS*, 1959 and 1960, p 59

65 *EIM*, 1917-18, p 51, *ELAPS*, 1962, p 74

66 *EIM*, 1937-38, p 1, *ARIE*, 1958-59, Nos D, 58, 103-113, 1961 62, No D, 181, 1962 63 No D, 181-82, 1963 64, Nos D, 186, 200-04, 249, 1964-65, No D, 326

67 *ARIE*, 1964-65, Nos D, 290-91, 298, etc

Khān who also endowed land for its maintenance. A few such works, particularly those built as pleasure-pavilions are considered by modern engineers as feats of engineering skill and ingenuity. For example, the Panī-Mahal at Naldurg and the tank of Mān Sāhibā at Hyderabad provide a fine example of the combination of engineering skill and artistic taste.<sup>68</sup>

To this category of public utility also belong inscriptions which were set up to indicate or point to the roads to different places. In recent years quite a few such records have been discovered from places at considerable distance from each other. The noteworthy thing about them is that they were all set up in the time of the later Nizām Shāhī rulers. Obviously these records reveal an hitherto unknown administrative aspect. Moreover, found at such distant places as Nimbair in Nāsik district, Bīr in the district of the same name, Antūr in Aurangābād district, Kalamb in Yeotmal district, and Paunar in Wārdha district of Mahārāshtra and at as far north a place as Khērla and Somaripet near the district headquarters of Betūl in Madhya Pradesh.<sup>69</sup> These epigraphs are authentic landmarks of the extent of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom. Attention may also be drawn to an inscription found at Halsingi in Bijapur district which was set up to indicate the boundary of the Bahmanī kingdom under 'Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad Shāh. There is another epigraph from Rāichūr district, assignable to the Bahmanī period indicating distance—286 *krohs*, but it makes no reference to the place from where this distance is calculated.<sup>70</sup> Epigraphs defining limits of a cultivable field or a property endowed for some public cause are also found.<sup>71</sup>

A considerable number of records registering grants of property and land with income or establishment of charitable and public institutions like public houses, free kitchens, etc. by officials or private individuals for varied purposes including merit (*ihawāb*) are available.<sup>72</sup> It is not necessary to go into the details of the exact nature and purport of these grants, but there are two important aspects of public life revealed by them which deserve particular mention here. Firstly, they, along with some others purporting to record the construction of edifices and the amount of expenditure or the schedule of

68 For their description see *EIM*, 1917-18, pp. 3, 47

69 *EIM*, 1919-20, p. 15, *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1966, pp. 114, 15, *ARIE*, 1961-1962, No. D, 198, 1964-65, No. D, 183, 1966-67, Nos. D, 47-48

70 *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 306

71 *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pp. 74-75, *ARIE*, 1965-66, Nos. D, 233-34, 242-43

72 *EIM*, 1915-16, p. 38, 1917-18, p. 51, 1931-32, p. 25, 1935-36, p. 28, *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, p. 24, 1955 and 1956, pp. 73-74, 84, 1959 and 1960, p. 57, 1962, p. 61, *ARIE*, 1958-59, Nos. D, 122, 23, 1962-63, Nos. D, 138, 143, 1963-64, Nos. D, 4, 207, 1964-65, Nos. D, 253, 263

stipends quoted, give some idea of the economic condition of the time. For example, in an inscription of the time of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, an item-wise schedule of expenditure on the establishment connected with the observance of 'Ashūrā and Alāw, and the maintenance of ābdār<sup>khāna</sup>, with a mosque and *langar* attached to it, as well as including the stipends and wages of the personnel—trustees, a Brahmin accountant, caller-to-prayers, attendant, oil-and-lamp, carpets, kitchen, water-carrier, repairs to the mosque, "deoti", watchman, sweepers—and also of the expenditure on the various items for the *hammām* such as fuel, water-drawer, fodder for oxen, buckets and ropes, carpets and *lungis*, shampooer, gardener, attendant and similar other items of expenditure. A comparison of the amounts spent on each of these items, (ranging between 20 *hons*, the maximum for the *mutawallī*, and 3 *hons*, the minimum for the sweeper in the first, and from 40 *hons*, for fuel, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  *hon* for carpet and *lungī*, in the second category)<sup>73</sup> furnishes some idea of the price of commodities as also the pay-structure of different classes of people and the cost of living. In a Bijapur record dated 1559, the daily stipends of the *imām* or leader of prayers, *mu'adhdhin* or caller-to prayers and attendant of the mosques—1 *tanka* for the former and 6 *jikāni* for each of the last two—are quoted<sup>74</sup>

The account of the cost of some buildings, likewise, provides some data on this aspect. The construction of the city wall of Kalyānī in 1580, at a cost of 6000 *hons*, the Mecca Masjid at the same place in 1586-87 at the cost of 1000 *hons* and the royal *jāmdār-khāna* at Sultān Nagar near Hyderabad built in 1625 at a cost of 1400 *hons*<sup>75</sup>. We get the following terms of weights and measures and currency in such records: *bigah*, *nitan*, *chāwar*, *gaz*, and *nauras-gaz* (instituted by Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh) in measures and *hon*, *pratāp*, *tanka*, *jikāni* and *jital* (as late as in the sixteenth century records) in currency<sup>76</sup>

Secondly, the texts of exhortations and imprecations—*la'nat nāmas* which were inseparable parts of endowments and royal orders, provide, though on a lesser scale, interesting insight into the prevalent taste of the people, trend of local behaviour, class-consciousness and like, prejudices, religiosity, belief in the sanctity of places and rivers—river Krishna, for example, on the one hand, and the apprehension of lack of integrity or misappropriation on the other. It appears that corruption in some form or the other, misappropriation of even religious edifices or of the income derived from the endowments

73 EIM, 1917-18, pp 51, 53, 55

74 ELAPS, 1955 and 1956, p 75

75 EIM, 1917-18, p 55

76 ELAPS, 1955 and 1956, pp 74-75, 1962, pp 63-64, ARIE, 1963 64, No D, 206, 1964 65 No D, 282 etc

meant for them or other establishments, change of attendants and employees and the like, were not uncommon <sup>77</sup>

Information on social customs and similar topics is comparatively meagre, and only stray references to these are found. The practice of appointing attendants and the reciters of the *Qur'ān* for the royal tombs and tombs of important personalities, was common. Usually a *langar*—free kitchen cum rest house (cum school) and a Bath (*hammām*) were also attached to such places. In religious buildings like mosques, provision was also made for fragrant material <sup>78</sup>. The community of coppersmiths of Nāgaur in Rajasthān, which is even to-day celebrated for its copper-ware, is mentioned in the epitaph of its preceptor (*pīr*), dated 1559, found at Ahmadnagar <sup>79</sup>. Likewise, references to the practice of weekly markets being held in big cities and other places are also found in sixteenth century epigraphs <sup>80</sup>.

In the field of literature and fine arts also the epigraphs provide some valuable information. In particular, the metrical records some of which are of a fairly high quality, should not be excluded from the survey of contribution of Deccan to Persian literature under the Bahmanīs and their five successor kingdoms. The composers of their texts are almost unknown except from these records, and therefore, it may not be out of place to enumerate here the names of a few of them. Burhānī, Dāwūdī, (14th century), Muftī, Nadīm, Maḥdī (15th century), Abu'l-Qāsim Lārī, Afzalī, Amīn, Hakīmī, Hushī, *Kh*usrawī Nūrī (16th century), Abu'l-Faḍl, 'Āshiq, Chirāghī, Dabīr, Mazhar, and Mubārīz (17th century). A few of the builders from among the nobility like Amīn *Kh*ān and Jamshīd *Kh*ān were poets of no mean order as may be seen from the records composed by them <sup>81</sup>.

Worth to be mentioned in this connexion are two epigraphs which provide specimen of Dakḥnī poetry of the late sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. One of them contains a poem of fifteen verses and the other one couplet only <sup>82</sup>. Then there are a number of local words which are found used in the texts such as *that*, *suthār*, *nītan*, *bā'in*, *bāoṛī* and *bāwīn*, *bhānj*, *kālwa*, *chhajja*, *jī* (suffix for denoting respect), *chaukhaṇḍī*, *kōt*, *lādnī*, *gagan* (and its corrupt form, *ghaghan*), *mulgī*, *sawā'i*, *Kanara*, *kaṛā*, *parkōta*, *diddī*, *chāwar*, suffix '*sar*'

77 *EIM*, 1915-16, p. 38, 1917-18, p. 52, 1935-36, p. 28, *ELAPS*, 1953 and 1954, p. 24, 1955 and 1956, pp. 73, 74, 1959 and 1960, p. 57, 1962, p. 62, etc.

78 *EIM*, 1933-34, Suppl., p. 5.

79 *Ibid*, p. 11.

80 *ARIE*, 1962-63 No. D, 139, etc., *EIM*, 1933-34, Suppl., p. 11.

81 *ARIE*, 1953-54 No. C, 71, 1958-59, Nos. D, 55, 62, 1961-62, Nos. D, 184, 190, 193, 1962-63, No. D, 153, 1963-64, No. D, 6, 1964-65, Nos. D, 118, 153, 275, etc.

82 *ARIF*, 1962-63, No. D, 163, 1965-66, No. D, 225. Also cf. *ELAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 83.

in Zain-sāi (lake), *nād* in Muhammad-Nad, *dēs*, part, *lungī*, *deotī*, *hulmuk*, *mālī*, *tēl*, *barē*, *guzrī* (market), *mahjīd* (a corrupt form of 'masjīd'), *kākā*, etc.<sup>83</sup> Indicating usages of known dates in different regions, they can provide valuable information for the history of the development of Dakhnī language. *En passant*, reference may be made to an interesting philological feature as seen in the spelling of the name 'Adīl Shāh, which has been spelt as in the case of Ahmadanagai and Muhammadanagar (Golkonda) referred to above, with an additional *alif* as 'Adāl Shāh.<sup>84</sup>

Likewise, the evidence of these records on the extent of the usage of one or the other of the local languages like Kannada, Marathi or Telugu cannot be over-stressed. We have bilingual or even (in a case or two) trilingual inscriptions. They supply authentic evidence about the currency of a given local language in border areas. It may be of interest, for example, to know that at Siruguppa in Shimoga district of Karnatak, is an inscription in Persian, Marathi and Kannada.<sup>85</sup> Also they provide specimens of a particular local language as was current at a particular time. For example, we have a Marathi version of an Arabic epitaphic inscription dated 1377.<sup>86</sup> Then we have clear indication, at least in one epigraph, of the fact that it was the local language which was considered the medium of communicating official orders—*qaulnāma* in this case—to the members of the public apparently in non-urban areas.<sup>87</sup>

More than literature, however, it is in the particular field of fine arts, that these epigraphs are of great value. They provide some fine specimens of calligraphy. We have not only a considerable number of beautifully executed calligraphical specimens on stones, but also—and this by itself is important—they have preserved the names of the artists who have executed them. The usefulness of this information for the cultural history of the Deccan is evident. Space forbids us to enumerate the name of all these artists here, but mention must be made of Muhammad son of Ziyā (1323), Mughīth al Qārī a'sh-Shīrāzī (c. 1425), Kamāl (1486-87), Khattāt Khān (c. 1494), Ismā'īl Kurd (1560-61), Muhammad Husain (1571), Abdu'l-Qādir Husainī (1582), Jalāl Sharafu'd-dīn Hīrewī (1582), Abu Tālīb Zarrīn-Qalam (1590), Bābā Khān (1597-98), Jalāl'u'd-dīn Muhammad al Fakḥkhār a'sh-Shīrāzī (1599-60), Luṭfu'l-lāh Husainī Tabrizī (1634-35), Khālaf a't-Tabrizī (1634), Syed Husain son of Fazlu'l-lāh

83 *EIM*, 1919-20, p 22, 1925-26, p 23, 1931-32, p 14, 1933-34, Suppl., p 52, 1935-36, pp 11, 12, 18, 28, 1939-40, p 17, *EIAPS*, 1962, p 61, 1963, pp 67-69, 1964, p 37, 1967, p 44, *ARIE*, 1964-65, Nos. D, 273, 283, 290, 298, 329, etc.

84 *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 272.

85 *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, p 62.

86 *Ibid*, 1957 and 1958, p 12, also cf. *Ibid*, pp 14, 16 etc.

87 *Ibid*, 1955 and 1956, p 78.



(1639-40), Mīr 'Alī (1643-44), Ismā'il son of the celebrated Quṭb Shāhī calligrapher 'Arab Shīrāzī (1668), Naqī al-Husainī (1670-71), to quote only a few, who can find place in any list of first-rate calligraphists not only of India but of other countries also <sup>88</sup> At least two names from among the royalty and nobility which can rightfully claim honoured place in the domain of calligraphy, have been preserved in stone records one is Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī (1503-04) and the other 'Abdu'l-Qādir Amīn Khān *alias* Shaikh Malīk (1583-84) <sup>89</sup> There are quite a few epigraphs at Bījāpūr, Hyderabad, Golkonda and other places, which seem to have been designed by expert calligraphers but their names are unfortunately not given <sup>90</sup> In particular, some of the inscriptions including epitaphs at Bijapur, Golkonda and Hyderabad can rank among the finest calligraphical specimens <sup>91</sup>

There are a few more fields of our knowledge in which the epigraphs could be helpful Thus we have the interesting example of the solar adaptation of the lunar Hīrī era, called the *Shuhūr san*, or in local parlance *Shur* or *Sur san*, which was almost uniformly current in the kingdom of Bījapur but is also found in some of the epigraphs in the later history of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty

88 *EIM*, 1907 08, p 12, 1913 14, pp 37, 593, 1917-18, pp 44, 45, 49, 1935-36, pp 22, 25-26, 37 38, 1939-40, pp 21 22 corrected in *EIAPS*, 1959 and 1960, p 28, *ARIE*, 1959-60, No D, 58, 1963 64, Nos D, 210-11, 1964 65, Nos 155, 287, 1965 66, Nos D, 237 38, etc

89 *EIM*, 1925-26, p 18, 1935-36, pp 61-62

90 *EIM*, 1933 34, pl V a, 1935-36, pl XX b, c, 1935-36, pl III, *EIAPS*, 1963, pl XXIV b, *ARIE*, 1962-63, No D, 163, etc

91 *EIM*, 1917 18, pls V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, XVII b, Nazim, *op cit*, pls II, III, IV, VIII, IX, etc



(iii) KANNADA

by DR. P. B. DESAI

*Synopsis*

I. *Palaeography*

Brāhmi. Emergence of the Kannaḍa Script. Stages of its development.

II. *Epigraphy*

The language of the Epigraphs. Material Classification of the Epigraphs. Growth of Epigraphs. Subject Matter and Contents. Historical Importance. Special Merits. Their Contributions.

*Appendix*

Development of South Indian Scripts.



The two fundamental aspects of Kannada epigraphy are palaeography and epigraphy proper. While palaeography concerns itself with the characteristics and evolution of the script, epigraphy proper deals with the nature and contents of inscriptions.

## I

### *Palaeography*

#### *Brāhmī*

To start with palaeography. The origin and beginning of the Kannada script can be traced to the edicts of Asōka, written in early Brāhmī alphabet of the third century B. C., found in the northern as well as southern parts of our country. These early Brāhmī characters gradually underwent a change in the course of centuries. This change became marked after a lapse of about six centuries when we approach the fourth century.

#### *Emergence of Kannada Script*

If the tendency in the development of northern Brāhmī alphabet was generally towards linear and angular form, that of the southern was towards curve and circular shape. A well developed later stage of northern Brāhmī was Nāgarī. The conspicuous early examples of the southern development are met with in the epigraphs of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshtrapa rulers, datable about the second century, engraved in the caves at Nāsik and other places in the western regions. These are known as the cave alphabet. From these are derived the later scripts of south India, particularly of the Kannada and Telugu speaking areas.<sup>1</sup> Kannada being the direct and proximate descendant of the cave alphabet, it would be accurate to describe the derivative as Kannada-Telugu. Absence of conspicuous topline of the north Indian scripts in general, is a characteristic of the southern alphabet. The accompanying genealogical chart broadly indicates the growth of the southern alphabets from the Brāhmī.

#### *Stages of its Development*

From the point of its developmental characteristics, the Kannada script can be broadly divided into the following six stages.

1 *Preliminary Stages of Southern Brāhmī* From the third century B. C. to the fourth century A. D. Although, during this period the characters retain in the main their Brāhmī features, a positive tendency for round bends

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1 Ojha *The Palaeography of India*, (Hindi), 43

and curves can be noticed. This is the characteristic phenomenon of the southern scripts in general and Kannada in particular.

2 *Embryonic Stage* From the fourth to the sixth century A D. This may also be designated the formative or proto-Kannada period. During this age the script was taking positive direction towards the well-defined archaic form of Kannada.

3 *Archaic Stage* From the sixth to the ninth century A D. During this period emerged the earliest Kannada script with its distinctive features.

4 *Classical Stage* From the tenth to the fourteenth century A D. This was the age of stylization, when the Kannada alphabet attained the high state of refinement in circular mode and form and harmony in shape, which endowed it with graceful elegance.

5 *Medieval and Pre-modern Stage* From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. This was a period of transition and simplification, when the script lost its pristine glory and developed new trends and angularities. The change may be attributed to the absence of aristocratic patronage and usage on a mass scale.

6 *Modern Stage* From the eighteenth century onward. The advent of printing facilities has restored the classical beauty of the Kannada script and stabilized its refined status.

A passing reference may be made to the fact that besides Brāhmī and Kannada, inscriptions engraved in Telugu, Tamil, Grantha, Nāgarī and Perso-Arabic scripts of the early and late periods are found in small quantities in some parts of the Mysore State. But, since these are not indigenous to the region, it is unnecessary to notice them here in any detail.

## II

### *Epigraphy Proper*

From the scripts we pass on to the inscriptions proper. The areas of Karnāṭak abound in epigraphs ranging in date from the third century B C till modern times. The earliest epigraphs are those of Asokan Brāhmī followed by a few inscriptions of later Brāhmī at Maḷavalli, Banavāsī, Sannati and other places. It may be averred with a fair amount of certainty that in the majority of districts almost every village can boast of one or more inscribed stones. By a rough calculation it is estimated that quantitatively the overall strength of inscriptions in Karnāṭaka approximately ranges between twenty to thirty thousands. This province is one of the richest areas from the point of epigraphical records, and stands next only to Tamil Nāḍu in this respect.

### *The Language of the Epigraphs*

As for the language, the epigraphs are composed and drafted predominantly in Kannada prose and verse. A handful of early inscriptions are found in Prākṛit. In regard to the other languages, Sanskrit forms the language of a substantially large number of epigraphs. A noteworthy factor in this context is that most of the early Sanskrit records are written in Kannada script, Nāgarī having been used sparingly, but not so in the later epigraphs. A few inscriptions in Tamil and Telugu are found in the border areas. Marathi epigraphs come very late and they are meagre, a notable single exception of the early period being the two-words record on the Gommatēśvara colossus<sup>2</sup>

### *Materials*

With reference to the materials used for engraving the records, the epigraphs fall into two broad categories, namely, those engraved on the sheets of copper and others incised on hard rock or stone. Besides copper, other metals like bronze, brass and silver were sometimes used. Before engraving, the copper sheets were suitably cut to proper shape and size—often rectangular—and their surface was smoothed. The stone was also generally cut into slabs of rectangular shape and the surface to be inscribed was dressed and polished. If the stone records were set up in public places like temples and village *chāvadis*, as they were meant for the information of all people, the copper-plate charters were made over to the custody of particular individuals who were beneficiaries of the gifts mentioned in them.

### *Classification of Epigraphs*

From their character and purport the epigraphs can be classified under the following principal varieties. This classification has no direct reference to the copper plate records, all of which are donative charters registering gifts.

1 *Donative epigraphs* These register gifts, donations, endowments etc., to religious institutions like temples, or persons associated with them. An overwhelming majority belong to this class.

2 *Educational epigraphs* These register gifts, donations, endowments, etc., for educational purposes, to the educational institutions and scholars engaged in educational pursuits. The number of such records is considerably large.

3 *Memorial epigraphs* These mainly constitute records which purport to commemorate the martyrdom of individuals who sacrificed their lives to protect their hearth, home and honour, or with a religious motive. Such commemorative records pertain to warriors who fought and died for a noble cause, ladies who committed *satī* after the demise of their husbands,

and Jaina devotees who courted death by the voluntary process of fasting for spiritual attainment. These are known as *Viragallu* or Hero-stone, *Mahāsatigallu* and *Nishidhigallu* respectively. The first two also mention gifts made to the surviving member of the family.

4 *Laudatory epigraphs* The inscriptions of this class largely extol the merits and achievements of kings, nobles and other distinguished persons. The eulogies were composed to mark important events like conquests, celebration of victory or installation. In some cases they end with gifts also.

5 *Votive epigraphs* These were generally engraved on the pedestals of the images of gods and deities, donated in fulfilment of religious vows.

Kannada epigraphs are sometimes classified on the basis of religious faiths represented by them. In this connection three faiths are prominently taken into consideration, viz., Jainism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. Epigraphs glorifying Jaina divinities and registering gifts to Jaina institutions and teachers are styled Jaina. Similarly we have epigraphs of Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and other persuasions. Symbols distinctive of the sect are engraved at the top of the records. These generally commence with an invocation to the deity of the particular creed to which they belong.

### *Growth of Epigraphs*

Some features about the subject-matter and its growth in epigraphs may be indicated here. The early epigraphs are brief and matter-of-fact comprising a few statements. Progressively, new items were introduced in the subject-matter and contents which swell to massive proportions in the course of centuries. During the eleventh to the fourteenth century Kannada epigraphs become elaborately descriptive, couched in literary style and enriched with poetic charms. A considerable number of epigraphs of this period display the excellences of a complete *champū kāvya*, a composite narrative poem interspersed with prose and poetic passages. The dominant literary character of the epigraphs of the time can be explained by the fact that it was an age of classical grandeur in Kannada language and literature which matured into a state of efflorescence. A large number of inscriptions were composed by men of literary merits and talented poets. In some cases distinguished literary figures like Ranna, Abhinava Pampa and Janna lent their helping hand in their preparation.

But this glory did not last long. From the sixteenth century onward sets in the age of decadence in Kannada epigraphs. Divested of their former force and elegance, they become prosaic and commonplace. Away from their literary merit, they even betray errors of spelling and construction in ordinary composition.



### *Subject-matter and Contents*

Adverting to the contents and arrangement of the subject matter, a brief idea of the common formula of well-developed epigraphical records may be indicated here. They usually open with an auspicious expression like *ōm*, *namah* or *svasti*. This is followed by invocatory phrases or stanzas, generally in Sanskrit or Kannada verse.

Hereafter begins the record proper which introduces at the outset the region and then in regular order, its smaller units like province, district, division, sub-division and lastly the town, village or locality which is the scene of the transaction. This is followed by a description of the imperial ruler, sovereign or overlord, then the feudatory king and subordinate governor and thus going down to the lower administrative officials upto the village headman. While giving this information a genealogical account of the ruling dynasty, details about the family of the subordinate chiefs and officials of the state are also furnished.

Next comes the date portion. The date is recorded in detail, mentioning either the Saka year or the king's regnal year, or both, the month, the particular *tithi* or the day in the fortnight, the week-day, the moment, etc. These can be easily calculated and equated with precision to the Gregorian date. As the usual object of the epigraph is to register gifts for a religious purpose, the occasion or moment chosen in almost all cases was auspicious, such as the full moon and the new moon, equinoxes, festivals and the like.

The description of the donee or recipient of the gift, who is generally a distinguished person, a teacher, a priest, a man of piety and learning or a scholar, also finds a place. The nature of the gift which may be a village or a piece of land, income from revenue, taxes or other source or some other object, is specified. If it is a land gift, its boundaries are described in minute detail. The names of the composer or drafter of the record and the mason, mechanic or craftsman who engraved the epigraph on stone or copper plates, are announced at the end. The record closes with a prayer, commending the acquisition of merit to the protectors of the charity and condemning those who misappropriate it.

### *Historical Importance*

The above sketch reveals the importance of the inscriptions and shows how valuable they are for reconstructing the political and other phases of history on a sound chronological basis. Putting together such records systematically and studying their contents critically we can extract rich material for drawing up an authentic account of the ruling dynasties, their genealogy and regnal succession, administrative framework, political geography, social set-up, religious conditions, economic position, education, palaeography, language and literary development.

*Special Merits*

Kannada epigraphs occupy a place of distinction on account of their special merits some of which may be pointed out here. Firstly, they are objective, precise and clear cut and less speculative. Secondly, they exhibit better chronological and historical sense by citing the details of the dates in the regnal years as well as in the years of an established era. The most common reckoning used is the Śaka era which commenced in 78 A D. The other eras partially in vogue were the Chālukya Vikrama Era of 1076 A D and Kali Era of 3101 B C. This is found to be of great help in fixing the chronology of the rulers not only of Karnatak, but their contemporaries like the Pallavas of the Tamil country. Thirdly, their calligraphy is exceedingly beautiful. Great attention was bestowed on the carving of records in well-shaped and attractive forms of letters in proper settings. Many of them stand comparison in their excellence with the best printed pages of a modern book.

Kannada epigraphs are noteworthy by virtue of their dominating literary character. A variety of charming metres have their play in the passages composed in verse, and the poetic charm is displayed not only through verses, but even in prose compositions. This may be called the phase of literary renaissance in Kannada epigraphs.

The earliest Kannada epigraph with a literary touch is the Halmidi inscription<sup>3</sup> of about the fifth century A D. The Bādāmi cliff inscription in Sanskrit of Śaka 465 or 543 A D, proclaiming the construction of the Bādāmi fort by Pulakēśi I, is a chronological landmark in the history of the Early Chālukyas<sup>4</sup>. This is the first authentic record dated in Saka era. A seventh century record at Bādāmi<sup>5</sup> composed in the Tripadī metre extols Kappē Arabhatta, a dignitary of great courage and high self-respect. The following statements in the epigraph are worth contemplating —

“A spirited person would prefer death to survival in humiliation. The pain of death is momentary, but the torture of humiliation is unending. Good to the good, sweet to the sweet, he is an exception of the age, torment personified to the tormentor. This is veritable Mādhava, none else.”

Rāshtrakūta Kṛishṇa III (960-72 A D) is eulogised in a Kannada epigraph discovered at Jurā<sup>6</sup> near Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh. Describing the emperor's self-restraint and firmness of character, it avers

“If the mind falters, the eye succumbs to the temptation of another's wife. Look here! This son of another's wife regards another's

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3 MAR, 1936, 72

4 EI, XXVII, 4

5 IA, X, 61

6 EI, XIX, 287

wife more respectfully than his own mother who has brought him up by feeding her breast's milk His mind never wavers ”

The secret of a faithful wife committing *sati* was nothing else than unflinching devotion and supreme spirit of sacrifice for her beloved This is thrillingly narrated in an inscription at Beḷatūru,<sup>7</sup> Mysore district, commemorating the sacrifice of Dēkabbē, a nobleman's daughter, who spontaneously hastened to the funeral pyre to burn herself to death, unmindful of the importunities of her parents and relations, as soon as she heard the news of her husband's death

Agrahāras were centres of holy learning solely engaged in educational activities As meritorious institutions they deserved highest esteem One such was Lokkiguṇḍi, modern Lakkuṇḍi in Dhārwar district In the eyes of the poet who was indulgent in praising this renowned seat of knowledge, it excelled even the immortal city of the gods, Amarāvati How could it be? Here is the answer <sup>8</sup> —

“ God Brahma, eager to judge the weight of Lokkiguṇḍi in relation to Amarāvati, put them both in a balance , and lo ! the pan bearing the celestial city shot up to the heavenly region and Lokkiguṇḍi stayed on the earth ! Here lies the preponderating grandeur of Lokkiguṇḍi, which is beyond description ”

This is a simple statement purporting that a scholar's fame spreads far and wide But a poet resorts to an ingenious device to affirm this fact An inscription at Lakshmēśvara<sup>9</sup> in Dhārwar district describes the erudition of Nayasēna, a Jaina monk and teacher, as follows —

“ With profound affection he has sheltered that Lady of Learning and spurned me I can't remain with him , let her stay It is hard to pull on with a co-wife ! Thus uttering harsh words, the Lady of Fame mounted on the elephant of the quarters, roamed about scandalising the eminent ascetic Nayasēna Sūri ”

The Jaina monks were noted for their extremely rigorous austerities Arhanandi Munī, who belonged to the lineage of Koṇḍakundāchārya, performed the penance called Trunk-of-a-tree, sitting motionless in the midst of nature's fury Even the rage and storm of the monsoon could not shake him Overpowered by his spiritual force, the Rainy Season itself lay prostrate before him

7 EC, IV, Hg 18

8 EI, XV, 355

9 EI, XVI, 61

An epigraph at Hunasi-Hadagali<sup>10</sup> in Gulbarga district exhibits a rare flight of poetic imagery in visualising the scene thus —

“When he was practising the Vow of Trunk-of-a-tree (*vrikshamūlavrata*), it appeared as though the Rainy Season in physical form came to offer worship at his feet, with the circle of clouds as fuming incense, the rain-drops as rice grains, the downpour of showers as wreaths of flowers, the flashes of lightening as array of lights and the peal of thunder as the sound of bells”

The patriotism of the poets led them to consider their province as superior to other regions. Rivalry existed between Karnātak and the southern powers of Kāñchī (under the Pallavas and the Chōlas) and the northern power of Central India (i.e. Mālwa under the Paramāras). Kuntala broadly denoted Karnātak. Kuntala also means head with decorated hair. Kāñchī also connotes the waist-band. Equating the land to a handsome lady the composers of the epigraphs, adept in punning, exclaim —

“Kuntala by virtue of its natural position can always claim a palm over other provinces like Kāñchī or Madhya Dēsa. Is there any region higher than Kuntala? No!”<sup>11</sup>

The earlier name of Sēram in Gulbarga district was Sērimba. It had a strong, well-fortified and lofty citadel unassailable by the enemy. An epigraph of the place<sup>12</sup> describes its splendour in hyperbolic vein. Below are cited a few excerpts —

“With its fortifications abutting the heavens, the cavity of its ditch fathoming the nether region and its mighty magnificence pervading the entire space, the citadel of Sērimba is indeed a source of headache to the aggressive adversary”

The impregnable fort of Lankā was built in three tiers, its massive ramparts were sevenfold, it had eight bastions, eighty million demons guarded it day and night, the terrific ocean itself formed its encircling ditch, in spite of all this it was reduced. Can it, in any manner, stand comparison to the mighty fort of Sērimba, a pride of place to the Angel of Victory?”

A Kannaḍiga was noted for his dauntless heroism. He wielded his shining scimitar with dexterity and won laurels on the battlefields. Equating this blaze of the weapon with a variety of water, a poet who composed an

10 P. B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jain Epigraphs*, Pt 11, No. 2

11 P. B. Desai, *Studies in Epigraphy (Kannada)*, No. 53

12 Desai, *Jainism etc*, op. cit., Pt 11, No. 7

epigraph at Mudhōl,<sup>13</sup> in Rāichūr district, depicts the triumphant career of general Sōma with a string of metaphors —

The flash of lustre on the moving sword in the mighty arm of general Sōma, is the nourishing water to the ever-rising creeper of his fame, an ocean sheltering those who seek refuge, boiling water burning the root of the insolent enemy, spittle to the hostile kings and auspicious flow of water sanctifying his union with the lady of victory

Most of the instances cited above belong to the period of literary renaissance specified earlier

### *Their Contributions*

The epigraphs of Karnātak make substantial contributions to the studies in the fields of history and culture not only of Karnātak and South India, but also in the wider spheres of India and the world in general. A few outstanding contributions may be indicated here

The discovery of the Maskī inscription<sup>14</sup> convinced the world of historians for the first time that the king who issued the earliest known edicts in Brāhmī all over India under his unique epithet *Dēvānām priya priyadarśi* was none else than the great Mauryan emperor Aśōka himself. The exploration of the votive records in early Brāhmī and Prākṛit at Sannatī<sup>15</sup> in Gulbarga district has aroused interest among the Buddhist scholars about this hitherto obscure Buddhist centre in an unexpected region.

The Bādāmi cliff inscription of Pulakēśi I, noticed earlier, provides evidence of the early prevalence of the Śaka reckoning. That the Kadamba kings of Karnātak enjoyed a distinguished political status among the contemporary ruling dynasties of India like the Guptas and the Vakatakas is revealed by the Tālagund inscription of Kadamba Sāntivarmā,<sup>16</sup> assigned to the fifth century A.D. This epigraph graphically narrates the marvellous foundation of the Kadamba dynasty by a student warrior Mayurāśarma and his exploits. This record, composed in Sanskrit with verses in rare metres, is an outstanding example of the classical literature of the period.

The help rendered by the Aihole *prasthiti*<sup>17</sup> of Ravikīrti for understanding the eventful history of Indra during the early decades of the seventh century with special reference to the rulers of the Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi and the magnificent achievements of Pulakēśi II, is memorable. This epigraph, reckoned among the finest products of classical style of the age, has brought

13 *Studies in Epigraphy, op cit*, No 31

14 *CII*, I, 174

15 *Journ of Karn Univ, Social Sciences*, IV, p 158

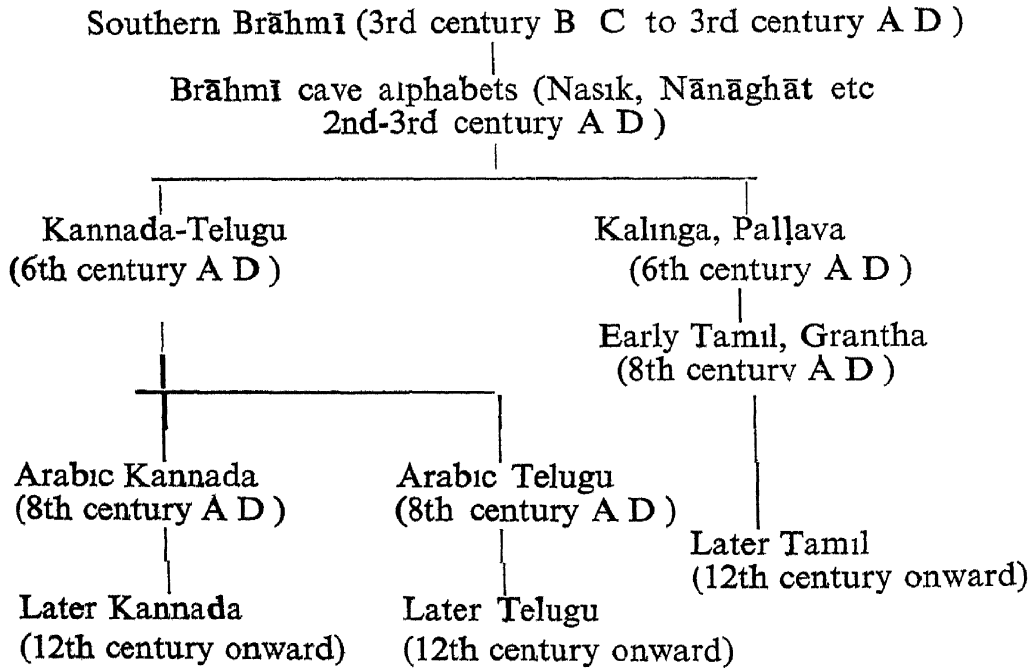
16 *EI*, VIII, 24

17 *Ibid*, VI, 1

to light its author, the otherwise unknown poet Ravikīrti, who shared the eminence of Kālidāsa and Bhāṛavi in the literary world. The record has further assumed considerable importance on account of the allusion it contains to the world-renowned poet Kālidāsa who must have flourished fairly earlier than the date of the inscription, 634 A D. The Sañjāna copper plate inscription<sup>18</sup> of Rāshtrakūta Amōghavarsha Nripatunga, dated 871 A D, furnishes a historical account of the early rulers of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty giving many a detail of their political activities in relation to the contemporary powers of the south and the north. Epigraphs<sup>19</sup> pertaining to Krishnadēvarāya of Vijayanagar reveal his triumphs in the political and military spheres.

More abiding are the contributions of the Karnātak epigraphs in the realm of culture as they focus welcome light on our priceless heritage in the field of religion, society, language, literature, education and art. Of special significance is their contribution to the growth and development of Sanskrit language and literature. Sanskrit inscriptions in Karnātak range in date from the fourth to the seventeenth century A D. Mention may be made here of the Tālagund and Aihole epigraphs noticed above, the Ganga and Rāshtrakūta copper plate records of the seventh to the tenth century A D, written in ornate poetic diction and the inscriptions of the Vijayanagar kings, all furnishing valuable information about historical events and cultural phenomena.

#### *Development of South Indian Scripts*



18 EI, XVIII, 235

19 SH, IV, 254, *The Historical Inscriptions of South India*, 241

(iv) MARATHI

by DR. M. K. DHAVALIKAR

*Synopsis*

Decipherment of Marathi Epigraphs

Script

Eras

Purport of Epigraphs

Form of Epigraphs

Invocatory and Imprecatory verses

Palaeography

Orthography

Poetry in Epigraphs





The importance of epigraphy in Indian history can never be overstated for the simple reason that we have no well connected written history before the advent of the Muslim rule. And even during the Muslim rule, the language of administration was mostly Persian. This brings into sharp relief the crucial importance of documents in Sanskrit, Prakrit and local languages. A number of these records have been preserved in the form of inscriptions engraved on stone and copper-plates and they go a long way in the reconstruction of the history—political, social, economic and religious. However, it should be made clear at the outset that the number of such stone and copper-plate inscriptions of the medieval period is considerably less as compared to those of the ancient period of our history. As a matter of fact, the number of Marathi epigraphical records gradually decreases from century to century to such an extent that they pale into insignificance during the Muslim rule, but only to be revived again in the Maratha period. In the ancient past, inscriptions were engraved to record the grants given to various religious establishments, priests and individuals, as also to commemorate the meritorious acts of the donor. But in the period under review comparatively few religious structures were erected. Moreover, paper came into use for the purpose of official records, leading to the decrease in the number of stone and copper-plate inscriptions. However, tradition dies hard, more so in a country like India, and epigraphical records continued to be executed, albeit on a restricted scale.

The decipherment of Brāhmī by James Prinsep in 1837 is undoubtedly a landmark in Indological studies. Since then the attention of scholars has been attracted towards the undreamt of wealth of the epigraphical material in the country, and literally thousands of inscriptions have been studied so far. A casual glance at the whole range of inscriptions is enough to show that the earliest epigraphs of the indigenous Indian rulers are in Prakrit, while from the first century B C onwards it is noticed that Sanskrit gradually replaces Prakrit as the language of inscriptions, particularly in north India. Sanskrit holds sway for over five centuries, and in the later half of the first millennium A D we witness the emergence of local languages in different parts of the country. It is significant that among the neo-Indo-Aryan languages, Marathi appears first in epigraphic records. Although *Vivēka-sindhū* of Mukundarāja, which was composed in Saka 1110, is the earliest Marathi work known so far, the antiquity of the language can be stretched back at least by a couple of centuries on the basis of the evidence furnished by inscriptional records. Then onwards we witness the flowering of a regional Prakrit dialect into a full-fledged language capable of expressing all the subtle nuances known to the human tongue.

There ranges a heated controversy about the earliest inscription in Marathī. Long before, V K Rājwādē, the pioneer of historical research in Maharashtra, published three copper-plates<sup>1</sup> and one more was published by Chandōrkar<sup>2</sup>. Both of them read the date in the plates as Śaka 410 and they were consequently taken to be the earliest documents in Marathī. It was later realized that the plates were dated in the Silahara era and that they therefore belonged to Saka 1126. Rājwādē committed the same error when he assigned the Mangalwēdhē plates to Saka 410. No research worker, however, takes the dating by Rājwādē seriously so far as these plates are concerned.

The date of the Siāvana Belgōla inscription on the pedestal of the colossus of Gōmatēśvara, taken by some scholars to be the earliest record in Marathī, is also not beyond controversy<sup>3</sup>. The record is in two lines which are separated from each other at least by a century and quarter, the first line is supposed to belong to Saka 905 and the second to Saka 1039. But it is only a reasonable guess as the record is not dated.

The earliest dated epigraph in Marathī which is not controversial is the *Divē-Agar* Marathī copper charter which is dated Saka 982/1086<sup>4</sup>. But S G Tulpule has published a stone inscription from Akshī which he thinks to be the earliest dated epigraph, for it is dated, according to him, S 934/1012<sup>5</sup>. This is disputed by Dikshit who states that the date is clearly given as Śaka 1132<sup>6</sup>.

It may be noted in this connexion that Tulpule has accepted the revised reading of the record suggested by Dikshit but not the date<sup>7</sup>. On closer examination of the estampage of the inscription it appears that the date read by Dikshit is correct for there seem to be four figures and not three as has been read by Tulpule. Moreover, the last two figures are clearly 3 and 2 respectively. Thus the only earliest dated epigraph in Marathī, which is indisputable, is the *Divē-Agar* copper charter which is dated S 982/1060.

About two hundred Marathī inscriptions engraved on stone and copper plates have so far been found. They are reported from all over the present State of Maharashtra including Vidarbha and Marathwāda. Quite a considerable number of epigraphs have also been discovered outside Maharashtra, both in the north and the south, where Maratha dynasties rose to power even before Shivaji and continued to rule till very recently. As D B Diskalkar rightly observes "It is well known that the spread of language and culture

1 *BISMA*, Saka 1836

2 *BISMO*, IV

3 *EC*, II, 179-80

4 *EI*, XXVIII, 128 ff

5 'पहिला कालोलिखित मराठी शिलालेख,' *MSP*, VI, 1 (Oct 1958), 1-20

6 "काही अुत्कीर्ण लेख — नव पाठ," *MSP*, IX, 2 (Jan 1962), 19-20

7 *Ibid*, VI, 2, (Jan 1959), 116-17

owes considerably to the establishment of political power”<sup>8</sup> About three-fourths of these records are on stone and the remaining on copper-plates They can be divided into three groups viz , those of the Yādava and the Śilāhāra periods (11th–14th century), the period of the Bahmanīs and Bahmanī Succession States (15th and 16th centuries) and the Maratha period (17th and 18th centuries) They are important not only for the reconstruction of political and cultural history but also for the linguistic history of Marathi

The history of the study of Marathi inscriptions can be divided into three distinct phases of which the first covers the whole of the 19th century It appears that the credit of the first recorded attempt at the study of a Marathi inscription goes to Captain James Grant who published the Kashili copper plate in 1821<sup>9</sup> However, he published only the Sanskrit part of the record Another early attempt was that of Wathen who published the Parēl inscription of Śilāhāra Aparāditya<sup>10</sup> In 1844 James Bird edited the inscription in Karīmu’d-dīn’s mosque at Bijapur<sup>11</sup> Some Indian scholars have also done pioneer work in the last century so far as Marathi inscriptions are concerned Among these mention should be made of Balshastrī Jambhekar, Bhau Dajī and Bhagwanlal Indrajī Buhler, Keilhorn, Hultzsch and Fleet who were pioneers in the field of epigraphy, have also studied some Marathi records Most of the epigraphs which were discovered in the last century have been published in the Bombay District Gazetteers, Epigraphia Indica, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India and its various circle offices Of these, the Gazetteers do not give completely edited texts of the records, they only supply us with readings accompanied by some ancillary information Among the inscriptions published in the last century, mention must be made of stone inscriptions from Srāvana Belgōla, Parēl, Pata, Vihār, Ambē Jōgāi, Bhandak, Vēlapūr etc , and copper-plate grants from Miraj and Nāgdēv<sup>12</sup>

The second phase is dominated by Maharashtrian scholars mostly from the Bhārata Itihāsa Sanshōdhaka Mandala, Poona, one of the greatest among whom is V K Rājwādē He published about ten stone inscriptions and three copper-plate grants, but unfortunately he never published the photo copy or estampage of any inscription On the basis of the Mangal-vēdhē and Chikurdē plates he tried to stretch back the antiquity of Marathi

8 “Inscriptions in the Sanskrit Provincial Languages”, *JOI*, (1956-57), VI, 132

9 *Transactions of the Literary Soc of Bombay*, III, 391-97

10 *JRAS*, Vol 5, 176-77

11 *JBBRAS*, I, 373-74

12 Grant Duff is also reported to have collected several copper plate grants which he wanted to utilize for writing the history of the Marathas See *Bakhar Marathyanchi*, Bombay, 1829 But we do not know which were these inscriptions

language to fifth century <sup>13</sup> But this was rightly refuted by Gune who showed that the said inscriptions were actually of a much later date, i.e., the 11th century <sup>14</sup> Other scholars of this period are D V Apte, and D V Potdar also of the Bhārata Itihāsa Sanshōdhaka Mandala and Y K Deshpande A significant contribution of this phase was that of Jules Bloch who appended notes on Marathi inscriptions in his book entitled *La Formation de la Langue Marathe*

The past three decades constitute the last phase when important contributions were made by M G Dikshit, G H Khare and S G Tulpule The Bhārata Itihāsa Sanshōdhaka Mandala, Poona, published some Marathi inscriptions in the series on the *Medieval Sources of the History of the Deccan* (in Marathi) which was edited by Khare, Dikshit and V V Mirashi Dikshit published revised readings of a number of Marathi inscriptions mostly of the Yādava and Silahara period and also compiled the inscriptions of the Maratha period <sup>15</sup> Tulpule not only discovered several Marathi epigraphs but also studied those already known, and published a corpus of Marathi inscriptions which is undoubtedly a shining example of his scholarship But only pre-14th century epigraphs have been included in his Corpus <sup>16</sup> An important study of this period is by Alfred Master who studied the grammar of some of the Marathi inscriptions <sup>17</sup>

There are two distinct categories of stone inscriptions viz, those which are engraved on stone and the others which are carved out in relief All the early Indian and pre-Muslim stone inscriptions belong to the first group, whereas the second variety can definitely be said to be due to the influence of the Muslim method of carving inscriptions in relief The Portuguese can also be said to be partly responsible for this It must be mentioned here that in a climate like that of India, inscriptions which are carved in relief do not survive for a long time unless they are executed on a fine grained stone like marble

A comparative study of Marathi inscriptions and contemporary Sanskrit inscriptions shows that the former are inferior so far as the script, language, material, composition and general execution are concerned Marathi epigraphs can never be said to be models of calligraphy for they have often been executed carelessly On the other hand the Persian and Arabic inscriptions of Muslim rulers bear ample testimony to the skilful hand of the engraver However, some of the Paramara inscriptions can be said to be exceptions for they have been engraved neatly The engravers of Marathi inscriptions never

13 See above p 396 and footnotes 1 and 2

14 *BISMA*, VI, 28-50

15 मराठे शाहीतील शिला लेख, Nagpur, 1962

16 प्राचीन मराठी कोरीव लेख, Poona, 1963

17 Master "Some Marathi Inscriptions, A D 1060-1300," *BSOAS*, XX, 1957, 417-36

seem to have taken enough care for they did not select the proper space for the record they executed. The record was engraved on whatever space that was available, it never occurred to them that the space should be enough to accommodate the whole record. That is why often enough we find that not only sentences but sometimes even words are not completed in one line. The plight of the record is unbearable when it is executed on an entablature block of a temple. Some of the pre-Muslim inscriptions, however, are well carved. But with the advent of the Muslims, the art of engraving Marathī inscriptions began to deteriorate, so much so that by the sixteenth century it was almost on the verge of vanishing. Contradictory as it may seem, a few inscriptions of the Muslim rulers themselves which are in Marathī have been very carefully engraved. Thus three Barīd Shāhī stone inscriptions from Bīdar are excellent specimens of Marathī calligraphy.<sup>18</sup> The same can be said of an inscription from Dabhōl which is a *farmān* issued by Sultān Muḥammad ‘Adil Shāh of Bijapur.<sup>19</sup>

Marathī inscriptions are useful for tracing the origin and development of the Marathī language. The earliest inscriptions are modelled upon preceding Sanskrit epigraphs which contain at times a sprinkling of Marathī, first come names in their Marathī form and then words for which there was no satisfactory equivalent. A study of the epigraphical material shows that the Marathī language developed into three distinct stages. At first we find the overwhelming influence of Sanskrit on the records of the Yādava and the Silahara period, later it gradually vanished. "The Sanskrit atmosphere extended beyond loan words," observes Alfred Master, "and Marathī gives the impression of a neo-Indian dialect, which, disdaining the slipshod phonology and grammar of Apabhramśa, has retained or even introduced archaisms, phonemic and morphemic."<sup>20</sup> After the advent of the Muslim rule the language was influenced by Persian, and finally in the Maratha period we notice Sanskrit words and phrases coming into use again. But all through these stages the beginning and the end of the record is almost always in Sanskrit, it begins with *Om svasti* and ends with *mangala mahāśrī*. So also are the date, the titles of the ruling chief and the invocatory and the imprecatory verses which are mostly in Sanskrit. As against this, the purport of the grant is always in Marathī and so also are the personal names and the place names. Sometimes we come across Kannaḍa words in Marathī records. Equally interesting is the occurrence of words from local dialects. An excellent illustration of this is provided

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18 *EII*, 1937-38, 14

19 *Ibid*, 1933-34, 9-11

20 Master, *op cit*, 417

by an inscription from Songir Fort which contains a few words of Ahirani, the local dialect <sup>21</sup>

### Script

The script of Marathi inscriptions has all along been Devanagari. Very rarely Kannada script has been used for a Marathi inscription as in the case of the Khātegrām copper plates <sup>22</sup>. Some of the epigraphs have been written in Mōḍī. Among these mention should be made of the Wai copper plates dated Saka 1452 and 1463<sup>23</sup> respectively and the Barshi well inscription dated Saka 1607 <sup>24</sup>. The invention of the Mōḍī script has been traditionally signed to Hēmadri or Hēmadpant who was the minister of the Yādava kings, Mahādēva and Rāmachandra. But surprisingly enough Mōḍī had not been used for any of the Yādava inscriptions. A plausible explanation for this is that the script was meant for writing fast. Obviously the donors could not have liked the idea of employing this script for their pious and meritorious deeds which they wanted to remain perpetually in the public mind. However, the influence of Mōḍī is seen in some inscriptions. The Nāgāon inscription contains a few letters like *u*, *i* etc., which have been engraved in such a manner that they almost look like their counterparts in the Mōḍī alphabet. Another interesting feature of this epigraph is that before executing the record, horizontal lines, as are drawn for Mōḍī writing, have been engraved <sup>25</sup>.

### Eras

Quite a good number of Marathi epigraphs are dated. It is noticed that in a majority of them the era used is the *Śaka samvat*. There are only a few inscriptions in which the Sālivāhana *śaka* is used. It is, however, significant that the earliest record so far found in peninsular India which contains the name Sālivāhana is a Marathi inscription of Saka 1111 found at Pandharpūr in the temple of Vithōba. "It was only in comparatively modern times" says Fleet, "that the name of Sālivāhana came to be connected with the era and in all discussions respecting early dates in an anachronism and it is a mistake to call it by his name" <sup>26</sup>. In some records, more particularly in copper plates recording land grants by Maratha rulers and officials the *Rāja Śaka* founded by Shivaji in 1674 is used.

Another important era which is used in Marathi epigraphs is the Shuhūr or Sūr era. It was often used in the *farmāns* of the 'Ādil Shāhī kings of Bijapur. It

21 Dikshit, *op cit*, No. 1

22 PMKL, No. 53

23 *Vitva ritta*, I, 3, June 1906

24 BISMQ, X, 3, 116

25 PMKL, No. 55

26 *IA*, XII, p. 215

is a modification of the Hīrī era and is called the 'Arabī' (Arabic) San and *Mriga sāl*. The name Shuhūr was derived from the plural form of the Arabic *Shahr*, meaning a month. It was prevalent in the Marathi speaking areas of the Deccan and "Sūr" is therefore probably a Marathi modification of the Arabic name. It is a solarized form of Hīrī, the solarization in the Deccan having taken place on 15 May, 1344. There is one solitary inscription which gives the date in the Shuhūr year as also in the Saka samvat <sup>27</sup>

Although a majority of Marathi epigraphs are dated, the details of the dates are not always given. Only very rarely do we come across the details of month, fortnight, *tithi* day, *naksatra*, *lagna* etc., many records therefore are with incomplete dates. Moreover, the Saka and the Samvatsara do not always tally in some cases e.g. the Nāgdēv<sup>28</sup> and the Mathgāon inscriptions<sup>29</sup>. Sometimes the *tithi* and the day also do not tally as in the Velus inscription<sup>30</sup>. The Saka year is sometimes given in figures only, and sometimes both in words and figures. The fortnights (*paksa*) are usually referred to as *vudī* and *vadī*, they are respectively the corrupt forms of *suddha* (brighter) and *vadya* (darker) halves of the month. Very rarely the Saka and the Hīrī year are given together <sup>31</sup>

#### *Purport of the epigraphs*

A number of epigraphs have been issued by ruling chiefs and they no doubt contain information of historical importance. But inscriptions which were executed only to record historical episodes are quite few. One such epigraph from the Shōlāpūr fort belonging to the time of Sultān Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh dated Saka 1515/1593 records the capture of the fort <sup>32</sup>. A very interesting *farmān* issued by Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur has been inscribed on a slab. It appears from this inscription that, according to prevailing practice, the property of a private individual escheated to the king if he died without leaving an issue. As this practice caused great hardship to the public the Sultān issued a *farmān* to stop it. The *farmān* is bilingual and is in Persian as well as in Marathi, the former is dated 1062 H <sup>33</sup>

27 EIM, 1937 38, 3-4

[For Shuhūr San, see Nāzīm, *Bijapur Inscriptions*, Mem. Arch. Survey of India No. 49, Appendix I, followed by a comparative table (App. II) giving a concordance of the Shuhūr San with the Christian year extending from S. S. 876/1475 to S. S. 1130/1717. Ed.]

28 PMKL, No. 54

29 Ibid, No. 56

30 Ibid, No. 58

31 Ibid, No. 55

32 *An Rep. on Indian Epigraphy for 1954-55* Bombay, No. 106

33 EIM, 1933-34, 9-11

Some inscriptions are carved to perpetuate the memory of a person, as is the case of the Mathgāon inscription <sup>34</sup> It is very rare that we come across signboards showing direction One such inscribed stone of the time of Burhān Nizām Shāh dated 1599 shows the direction to Salvad and Nachangāon <sup>35</sup> A majority of inscriptions records the grants to religious establishments, priests and individuals Noteworthy among these is the Chinchōlī inscription which records the construction of the temple of Ghaibi Pir of the Nāth sect <sup>36</sup>

### *Form of Epigraphs*

Early Indian inscriptions begin with the word *siddham* This appears to have started in the Deccan in the time of the Satavāhanas and later several Indian ruling dynasties followed this practice Some, however, preferred to put the word *svasti* or *Om svasti* at the beginning of the record A vast majority of Marathi inscriptions begin with the words *om svasti sri* whereas only a few begin with invocation to Śiva (*Om namah Śivāya*)<sup>37</sup> and Gaṇēsa *Sri Ganādhipaye namah*,<sup>38</sup> *Śri Gaṇānana*<sup>39</sup> and *Śri Gaṇēśāya namah* <sup>40</sup> Some records simply begin with the letter *chha* <sup>41</sup> Quite a few epigraphs have a letter resembling ञ which, according to some scholars, represents the word *Siddham* <sup>42</sup> Several documents in mōḍi which were written on paper also have a similar letter or symbol at the beginning The same is also to be noticed in the Kata inscription of Yādava Rāmachandra dated S 1227/1305-06 <sup>43</sup> This has been read by Tulpule as *Om* <sup>44</sup> However, there are some inscriptions which do not have any such symbol at the beginning

Many Marathi epigraphs end with the words *mangla mahāsrī* and some with the words *subham bhavatu* But there are several inscriptions which do not have any such expression at the end In some cases we come across names of witnesses at the end of the record The Nāgāon inscription gives at the end the names of Muslims such as Mhaira Muhammad Dāwar Āyā and Hāji Dāwar <sup>45</sup> The Khātēgrām copper plate grant also gives at the end names of

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34 PMKL, No 56

35 BISMQ, V, 22 23

36 Dikshit, *op cit*, No 12

37 PMKL, No 54

38 *Ibid*, No 59

39 Dikshit, *op cit*, No 5

40 *Ibid*, No 10

41 PMKL, No 43 & 54

42. Dikshit, *op cit*, 17

43 PMKL, No 57

44 *Ibid*, 247

45 *Ibid*, No 55



five persons as witnesses <sup>46</sup> It may incidentally be remembered that this feature has also been noticed in certain wooden inscriptions of Central Asia <sup>47</sup>

### *Invocatory and Imprecatory verses*

Most of the Marathi epigraphs contain quite a number of invocatory and imprecatory verses. Of these, only a few are in Sanskrit whereas many of them are in Marathi. Thus the Bandōdē epigraph invokes Siva as

नमस्तुगशिरस्चुबि चद्रचामर चारवे ।

तैलोक्य नगरारभान्मूल स्तभाय सभवे ॥<sup>48</sup>

Some of the invocatory verses are in Sanskrit. They occur in the Sanskrit inscriptions of the earlier period and, because of the convention, they were copied in early Marathi records. However, benedictory verses in Marathi are also found in some records. They are as follow-

- 1 पालिता जयवादे <sup>49</sup>
- 2 जो पाली जो पालवी तेयाचा वसु व्रीधि पावे<sup>50</sup>
- 3 हा धर्मु पाली तेयाचा धर्मु<sup>51</sup>
- 4 पाली तेयाचा धर्मु पाली तो विजैय वाची तो विजैय<sup>52</sup>

The benedictory verses and passages were obviously included in epigraphic records with a view to perpetuating the grant. Because of this the imprecatory verses also became a necessity so as to prevent people from undoing the meritorious act. Therefore, along with benedictory passages, imprecatory passages also began to be included in inscriptions from fifth century onwards. They are all standardised and some of them are therefore in Sanskrit. The commonest among these is

स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा यो हरेत् वसुधरा

But it should be noted that some are also in Marathi. They are as follows

- 1 सारुन लोपी तेहा<sup>53</sup>
- 2 हा केला धर्मु जो मोजी<sup>54</sup>
- 3 पाली तो स्वर्गा जाए<sup>55</sup>
- 4 हा धर्मु जो नाषी<sup>56</sup>

46 *Ibid*, No 53

47 Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, I, 261, Pl 23

48 *PMKL* No 59

49 *Ibid*, No 43

50 *Ibid*, No 50

51 *Ibid*, No 51

52 *Ibid*, No 57

53 *Ibid*, No 69

54 *Ibid*, No 59

55 *Ibid*, No 45

56 *Ibid*, No 51

A very significant feature of Marathī inscriptions is the 'ass curse' which is found in a large number of inscriptions. Sometimes we also find the graphical rendering of the 'ass curse' inscribed on slabs as in the case of the Velus<sup>57</sup> and Koprad<sup>58</sup> records.

Very interesting benedictory and imprecatory passages have been found in a recently discovered inscription from Goa which is dated 1579. It states that if a Muslim renovates it, he would accrue the merit of a visit to Mecca and in case of a Maratha, a visit to Kashi. But if they destroy it the former will be violating the Vow while the latter's sin will be equivalent to that of killing a Brahman.<sup>59</sup>

### *Palaeography*

There are several palaeographical peculiarities of Marathī inscriptions. First and foremost among these is the *prashtha-mātrā* which has been found in almost all cases. It was used for the medial *e*. So also is the case of *śiro-reśā* which is found in almost all cases. In some cases the line was engraved first and then letters were engraved, as in the case of the Nāgāon inscription.<sup>60</sup> This, however, appears to be the influence of mōḍī script which was current especially in the later medieval period for the purposes of official documents.

Marathī epigraphs, especially those belonging to the earlier half of the period under review, show that old forms of several letters have persisted in them in spite of the remarkable development of certain other letters. The old form of several letters like *cha*, *chha*, *ja*, *na*, *tha*, *dha*, *ba*, *bha*, *ra*, *sa* are found in all the records of the earlier half of the period under review. Other noteworthy forms are those of *śa* and *sa* which are sometimes clearly differentiated.<sup>61</sup>

Inscriptional evidence shows that the development of *la* was complete, by 14th century so much so that we find it frequently substituted for *la* as in the records from Pandharpūr,<sup>62</sup> Nāgāon,<sup>63</sup> Velus<sup>64</sup> etc. The letter *śri* is written as *श्री* in Vēlapū,<sup>65</sup> Pandharpūr,<sup>66</sup> Bijapur,<sup>67</sup> Mathgāon<sup>68</sup> and Bandōdē inscrip

57 *Ibid*, No 58 and 69

58 *Ibid*, No 43

59 *Sunday Sakal*, 29th June, 1969

60 *PMKL*, No 55

61 *Ibid*, No 59

62 *Ibid*, No 51

63 *Ibid*, No 55

64 *Ibid*, No 58

65 *Ibid*, No 50

66 *Ibid*, No 51

67 *Ibid*, No 52.

68 *Ibid*, No 56

tions <sup>69</sup> But the letters *tha* and *ya* are sometimes written in such a way that they could be easily confused as in the case of Bandōdē inscription <sup>70</sup> Very interesting evidence is furnished by the same record in which the *anusvāra*, which is not pronounced, is shown by a crescent

The above discussion of the palaeographical peculiarities of Marathi inscriptions show that the Development of the Devanāgarī script for the Marathi language was almost complete by the fourteenth century All the illustrations cited are from those epigraphs which belong to the earlier half of the period under review There is therefore no discernible development, so far as palaeography is concerned, in the inscriptions of fifteenth to seventeenth century when only a few epigraphical records were executed

### Orthography

There are several orthographical peculiarities which are common to most of the inscriptions The first and the foremost among these is the confusion between the short and the long medial *i* In all probability this is due to the influence of mōḍī which, being a running script, does not differentiate between the two It may be pointed out in this connexion that mōḍī itself was influenced by Persian so far as the long medial *i* is concerned Another orthographical peculiarity is the unnecessary *anusvāra* as in the case of करुनि<sup>71</sup> गाउ<sup>72</sup>, होते<sup>73</sup>, भुभ<sup>74</sup>, पुर्व<sup>75</sup>, etc Sometimes we also come across the doubling of *anusvāra* as in पुण्येंची<sup>76</sup>, पुण्यकाली<sup>77</sup> The reference has already been made to the unpronounced *anusvāra* which is shown by a crescent A very common orthographical peculiarity not only of Marathi inscriptions but also of Sanskrit epigraphs of the earlier period is the doubling of the consonant after *r* as in कार्य्य<sup>78</sup> Equally noteworthy is the occurrence of a single consonant in place of double in case of अनादिसिध (ध्य), त्रिघी (वृद्धि)<sup>79</sup> etc Very often we find corrupt forms of several Sanskrit words such as हेमलन<sup>80</sup> (हेमलब), चक्रवति<sup>81</sup> (चक्रवर्ति), स्वछरे<sup>82</sup> (सवत्सरे) etc

69 *Ibid*, No 59

70 *Ibid*

71 *Ibid*, No 46

72 *Ibid*

73 *Ibid*, No 50

74 *Ibid*, No 54

75 *Ibid*

76 *Ibid*, No 45

77 *Ibid*, No 59

78 *Ibid*, No 53

79 *Ibid*, No 50

80 *Ibid*, No 43

81 *Ibid*

82 *Ibid*, No 48

Another interesting orthographical peculiarity is the abbreviated forms of several words and technical terms They are as follows

टा - Tanka coin<sup>83</sup>

त - तसेच<sup>84</sup>

तु - तुलसी<sup>85</sup>

दा - द्रम्म<sup>86</sup>

ना - नारियल<sup>87</sup>

भू - भूमि<sup>88</sup>

छा। - The word used to indicate the end of the record<sup>89</sup>

Orthographical errors are all due to the ignorance of the engraver Usually the record was first composed by the writer (लेषकु)<sup>90</sup> and was later executed on stone or copper plates, as the case may be, by the engraver However, many of the orthographical peculiarities are common to a vast majority of inscriptions and it is therefore not unlikely that the writer himself committed the errors It is also probable that the writer, in his turn, used only colloquial forms of words in the record he composed In that case it would not be justified to hold the writer and or the engraver responsible for orthographical errors

### *Poetry in epigraphs*

Almost all the Marathi epigraphs till the end of 14th century are in prose and very rarely do we come across a versified record But it should be mentioned that the benedictory and the imprecatory parts are frequently in verse, but they are usually in Sanskrit After the fourteenth century, inscriptions become rare and it is only during the Maratha period that they begin to be engraved again It is in these later epigraphs that we find that the record is sometimes versified A very early attempt at versification is noticed in the Vēlapūr inscription dated Saka 1227<sup>91</sup> The lines 15-18 of this record appear to be almost in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre This of course appears to be a solitary example of versified record of the pre-Muslim period But in the

83 *Ibid*, No 59

84 *Ibid*, Nos 57 & 58

85 *Ibid*, Nos 46, 47 & 50

86 *Ibid*, Nos 43 & 51

87 *Ibid*, No 43

88 *Ibid*

89 Dikshit, *op cit*, No 5

90 *PMKL*, No 45

91 *Ibid*, No 50

Marathi inscriptions of the Maratha period we frequently come across versified records. Noteworthy among these is the Khēḍ-Shivapūr inscription which is in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre.<sup>92</sup> Another interesting inscription from this point of view is that from the Shōlāpūr fort which is in 12 lines.<sup>93</sup> Of these only three lines are in prose, while the remaining are in verse. It appears to have been composed on the model of *Pavāḍā*, the folk tune of Maharashtra.

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92. Kumudini Gharpure, "मराठी कोरीव लेखातील पद्यरचना"  
*PMKL*, 133 ff.  
 93. *Ibid.*, 137.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

- BISMA*—Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala Annual  
*BISMQ*—Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala Quarterly  
*JOI* —Journal of Oriental Institute  
*MSP*—Marathi Samshodhan Patrika  
*PMKL*—*Prachin Marathi Koriv Lekh* by S. G. Tulpule.



## CHAPTER VI

### CALLIGRAPHY

by MR. KHWAJA MUHAMMAD AHMAD

#### *Synopsis*

#### *Introduction :*

A short history of Calligraphy in the Deccan.

*Calligraphy under the Khaljis :* Coins and Inscriptions.

*Calligraphy under the Tughluqs.*

*Coinage under the Sulṭānate of Ma'bar.*

*Khāndēsh.*

*The Bahmanīs of Aḥsanābād-Gulbarga :* The development of *shikasta*; thulṭh.

*The Bahmanīs of Muḥammadābād-Bidar :* Inscriptions on tiles, a high water-mark of Calligraphy.

*The 'Imād Shāhīs and the Nizām Shāhīs :* Thulṭh and Naskh inscriptions at Aḥmadnagar.

*The Barīd Shāhīs :* Inscriptions on guns and their technique.

*The 'Adil Shāhīs :* Perforated inscription in Ibrāhīm Rouza. Development of thulṭh, naskh and *nasta'liq*. Calligraphy on coins.

*The Quṭb Shāhīs :* Inscriptions on tombs and mosques. Calligraphy on sanads.

*The Mughals :* Inscriptions of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb on guns, sanads, coins etc. mostly *nasta'liq*.





## Introduction

Muslims entertained a very high regard for the Qur'ān. They paid special attention not only to its recitation but were meticulously careful about its script. They lavished as much care as they could to everything that pertained to the Qur'ān, its binding, its cover and above all the writing of its text. Illuminated copies of the Qur'ān were greatly valued not only by kings but also by nobles and by those who could acquire them. This gave a great impetus to the development of calligraphy. Some of the kings and emperors considered it a religious duty. Among them the name of Aurangzeb is outstanding.<sup>1</sup> The Bahmanī ruler, Mahmūd Shāh, was also a fine calligraphist and the inscription below the parapet of Sharza Darwāzah at Bidar bears testimony to his attainment.<sup>2</sup>

The art of calligraphy must have reached the Deccan long before the Khaljī invasion. At present it is difficult to determine the exact date but the Muslim contacts with the Deccan are definitely much earlier than their political advent. The early Muslim travellers have described many Muslim settlements all along the Western and Eastern coasts and there were quite a few such settlements in the interior as well. Further evidence of this is gradually coming to light, and treasure troves of Abbasid and even Umayyad Caliphs have been reported, ten gold coins of the Umayyads have been reported from Madurai,<sup>3</sup> Twenty nine gold coins of the Umayyads have been reported from South Arcot,<sup>4</sup> and two Umayyad and 13 Abbasid coins from Ganjam district.<sup>5</sup> Sixty seven full coins and nine broken coins of the Abbasids have been reported from Malabar district.<sup>6</sup> All these coins bear the names of Caliphs and are mostly in *Kufic* script of ornamental type. Unfortunately other specimens of calligraphy contemporary with these coins have not been discovered so far.

## The Khaljīs

With the establishment of Khaljī rule in the Deccan in 1318 cultural contact between the Muslims and the people of the Deccan developed on a very large scale and calligraphy automatically became more and more prevalent in the Deccan. The Khaljī kings ruled more or less up to Cape Comorin

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1 Salar Jung Museum and Hyderabad Museum have a copy each of the Qur'ān written by Aurangzeb

2 *EIM*, 1925-26, Pl II

3 *Madras Museum Administration Report*, 1952-53, Accession No 843

4 *Ibid*, 1958-59, 874

5 *Ibid*, 1933, 346

6 *Ibid*, 1952-53, 841

Like other Muslim kings they also believed that the recitation of the name of king in the Friday prayer and striking the coins in the name of ruling monarch are indispensable adjuncts of sovereignty. It appears that they carried with them artisans necessary for striking coins. This is corroborated by a number of coins issued from the **Khajji** mints of the Deccan.

**Khajji** calligraphy in the Deccan is seen in their coins minted in this region from 1314 onwards though artistically it cannot be compared with the specimens issued in the North. In addition to the coins, specimens of calligraphy are found on the monuments raised by them. The style of calligraphy is nearly the same as that found in the **Khajji** inscriptions in the North. The letters are elongated and represent a compromise between *Kūfī* and *Thulth* script.

### *The Tughluqs*

After the **Khajjis** the **Tughluq** kings endeavoured to retain Deccan under their rule. Their inscriptions are comparatively more numerous. They have been found at Rajahmundry,<sup>7</sup> Gōgi,<sup>8</sup> Kālyani,<sup>9</sup> Bodhan<sup>10</sup> and at a number of other places. Muhammad bin **Tughluq** temporarily shifted his headquarters to Daulatābād which brought many scholars and artisans to the Deccan. That is why we find a good number of **Tughluq** inscriptions at **Khuldābād** and elsewhere. The **Tughluqs** also struck coins at their mints in the Deccan. Coins issued from Warangal under the names Warangal and Sultānpūr, and those from Daulatābād under the names Dēvagiri and Daulatābād are comparatively numerous,<sup>11</sup> and some of them are good specimens of calligraphy.

### *Sultānate of Ma'bar*

The resentment against Muhammad bin **Tughluq** in the Deccan found its first expression at Madurāi. A petty Muslim kingdom came into being at this place in 735/1334. The rulers of this kingdom are popularly known as the Sultāns of Ma'bar. The coins issued by them are not many, and some of them are fine examples of calligraphic excellence.

### **Khāndēsh**

The monuments raised by the **Fārūqī** rulers of **Khāndēsh** at Burhānpūr, Āsir and elsewhere are adorned with inscriptions of considerable significance.

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7 *EIM*, 1923 24

8 *Ibid*, 1931 32.

9 *Ibid*, 1935 36

10 *Ibid*, 1919 20

11 (a) British Museum Catalogue of Coins (Sultāns of Delhi)  
(b) Indian Museum Catalogue of Coins, Volume II

There are four guns of the Fārūqīs with inscriptions in the *Naskh* script. One of them is at Kalyānī,<sup>12</sup> the second is preserved in the Town Hall, Aurangābād and the third and fourth are in the Sālār Jung Museum. Generally the Fārūqī inscriptions are either in *naskh* script or *thulth* of a high order having their own individuality. A special feature of the Fārūqī inscriptions is that some of them are bi-lingual. The gist of the inscriptions is given in Sanskrit language written in Devanagari script. A notable example of it is located in the interior on the western wall of the Jāmi' Masjid at Burhānpūr and the other in the Jāmi' Masjid of Āsir fort.<sup>13</sup> It is surprising that no coins of this dynasty have been found so far. They patronised learning and arts. After the conquest of their kingdom by the Mughals in 1009/1601, their library was removed to the Mughal Court.

### *The Bahmanis of Ahsanābād-Gulbarga*

The revolt against Muhammad bin Tughluq was raised first by Ismā'il Mukh at Daulatābād, but he soon resigned the kingship in favour of Hasan who ascended the throne with the title of 'Alā'ud-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh, in 748/1347. After some time he shifted his capital to Gulbarga and gave it the name of Ahsanābād. The eighth Bahmanī king popularly known as Ahmad Shāh Walī Al-Bahmanī shifted the capital to Bidar after his accession to throne about 827/1424, and renamed it Muhammadābād. The calligraphy under the Bahmanīs can be divided into two main phases, the first, the Gulbarga phase and the second the Bidar phase. The calligraphy at Gulbarga had a marked impact of the Delhi style in the beginning but gradually it developed its own individuality partly due to the innovations of local artists and partly to the direct contact with Persia, Arabia and other countries. The inscription of the period of Bahman Shāh now preserved in Hyderabad Museum had been removed from Gulbarga. It has a striking affinity with the style of writing found in Tughluq inscriptions of the Deccan. The tombs of the Bahmanīs at Gulbarga contain some very good specimens of calligraphy. The interior of nearly all the Bahmanī tombs is decorated with inscriptions in stucco. Unfortunately the art of these inscriptions has not yet been subjected to the study they deserve, but generally speaking it represents a happy mingling of *naskh* and *thulth* styles of writing, and some of them represent superb art. The production of embossed or incised inscriptions representing good art in stone is not so difficult as their production in cut plaster. There are innumerable inscriptions of the first seven Bahmanī kings in stone at Gulbarga and also at several other places ruled by the Bahmanīs. Some of them represent a very high standard of *thulth* and *naskh* scripts. The early Bahmanī kings including Fīrōz Shāh struck coins only at Gulbarga under the mint name

12 *EIM*, 1935-36

13 *Ibid*, 1925 26

hsanābād excepting Muhammad I who struck coins at Fathābād also which as been identified as a mint town near Daulatābād \* These coins generally present *thulth* style of writing which fluctuated in its standard under various mings No important manuscript book that can be attributed to the early bahmanī period has yet come to light

The art of calligraphy displayed in the tomb of Hazrat Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz at Gulbarga represents the later phase of Bahmanī calligraphy and is more akin to the art of later than to that of early Bahmanī phase The same may be said of the inscriptions at Gulbarga subsequent to the inscriptions in the tomb of Hazrat Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz

Unfortunately no writings of the early Bahmanīs on paper have been noticed so far excepting the solitary farmān of Firōz Shāh Bahmanī (800 825/1397-1422) A facsimile of this farmān has been published by the State Archives in the monographs brought out under the name *Farmāns and Sanads of the Deccan Sultāns* This *sanad* which is dated in 25 Dhīqa'dah 308/14 May, 1406 throws a flood of light on the calligraphy that was prevalent in the official correspondence particularly at the Bahmanī court It demands a rather detailed notice The *sanad* bears the monogram of Firōz Shāh with his titles in Tughra style and for this a thick pen has been used The text on the *sanad* is inscribed in running *thulth* Sufficient space has been left after every two lines up to the ninth line From the ninth up to the end of 14th or the last line, no space has been left The style may be designated as *shikasta thulth* It is evident that no attempt in the *sanad* has been made to display the artistic merits of penmanship However, it is a product of a firm and mature hand The right margin of the *sanad* has several endorsements, which display considerable variety in the style of writing According to one endorsement this document was prepared in the office of the Minister Another endorsement is neither fully legible nor in good hand The other two endorsements are more fragmentary and do not appear to be of great consequence In the space provided between the 2nd line and 3rd line an endorsement has been added during the reign of Firōz Shāh's successor, Ahmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī This endorsement was made at least 25 years after the writing of the original text because it records the renewal of the grant with effect from the beginning of 835 Shuhūr San \*\* This endorsement represents nearly the same style of writing as that of the original Farmān, but represents a different penmanship The Farmān also bears three seals which are not

\*(For the identification of the Fathābād mint, see Sherwani, *Mahmūd Gawān the Great Bahmanī Wazīr*, 58, and the article on "The discovery of Fathābād mint," *JNSI*, December 1946, 177 where a reference has been made to *Burhān*, 17, that Fathābād was the name given to Daulatābād itself by the first Bahmanī Sultān *Ed*)

\*\* (For Shuhūr San see Nazim, *Byapur Inscriptions*, Appendix I, "Notes on Shuhūr San," 93 ff *Ed*)

legible and as such it is difficult to express any opinion about them. This is the earliest farmān of an Indian monarch on paper discovered in original.

The coins of the Bahmanī kings who ruled from Gulbarga are of considerable interest. The coins of 'Alāu'd dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh represent more or less the same calligraphy as that of the Tughluqs. But the coins of subsequent kings more and more asserted an individuality in the style of calligraphy. By the time of Fīrōz Shāh Bahmanī we can clearly say that the type of coins and the calligraphy on them is altogether different from the coins of the Sultāns of Delhi. This is obviously partly due to the fact that local calligraphers asserted their genius, and partly to the influence of foreign calligraphers.

### *The Bahmanis of Muhammadābād-Bidar*

Fīrōz Shāh's successor Ahmad Shāh known as Walī Al-Bahmanī was a highly cultured monarch and possessed good tastes. Naturally he must have wished to make his new capital as beautiful and attractive as possible. He had invited scholars and artists from outside. A material proof of this is to be found in the construction and the decoration of his tomb. The interior of the tomb contains superb specimens of calligraphy and floral designs. The happy contrast of brilliant colours, the sense of proportion and the genius of the artists leave the visitor bewildered. The walls of the lower square structure contain a whole tract of Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh inscribed on them. The letters are of such a size that they can be easily read from a distance. The niches and squiches have been tastefully filled in with calligraphic designs. The astonishment of the visitor reaches its climax as he raises his eye towards the dome. The genius of the artist in the matching of colours, his sense of proportion, the effort to make the inscription legible and attractive, extract highest praise from the connoisseur. The setting of the text in the concentric rings of the dome without damaging the standard and the high quality of the art is simply marvellous. Many calligraphic styles of scripts are represented in this tomb, such as *kūfic*, *tughra*, *thulth* and *naskh*. In the concentric rings of the dome the name of the king has been mentioned, besides him the name of Shukru'l-lāh of Qazvīn accompanied with the epithet 'Naqqāsh' (Illuminator) has also been mentioned as being responsible for this work. Shukru'l-lāh must have been a very good calligrapher. In those days it was necessary for good calligraphers to be an excellent illuminators. The colours used for letters and designs were gold, vermilion, lapis-lazuli, pearl white and wherever necessary black.<sup>14</sup>

Ahmad Shāh Walī's reign marks the beginning of the second phase of calligraphy during the Bahmanī period. The inscriptions of Ahmad Shāh and his successors are found in the forts and cities within their dominion. Several

14 Yazdani *History and Antiquities of Bidar*, Pls LXX IV

of these inscriptions may be regarded as masterpieces of calligraphic art. The Persian artists brought with them the industry of encaustic tiles with which most of the monuments were decorated and some completely covered. This tile work also contained inscriptions representing a high watermark of calligraphy. An excellent example of this is to be found on the façades of Mahmūd Gāwān's Madrasah<sup>15</sup>. This three storied building the facade of which was flanked with a tall minaret on each side was once completely covered with enamelled tiles. Unfortunately the entrance and the left wing of the facade has completely disappeared and only northern wing of the facade is now standing. An inscription roughly 50 ft. in length runs in the form of a horizontal band just below the turreted parapet. It represents calligraphic art of a very high standard in mosaic tile work. The script is *thulth*, and pieces of yellow letters have been inlaid in blue background. The letters are large and are legible even from a considerable distance. The text of the inscription consists of an extract from the Holy Qur'ān (Ch XXXIX—verses 73-4). Fortunately at the end of the inscription the name of the scribe has been mentioned and is still well preserved as 'Alī a's-Sūfī.

Penmanship and fencing were considered to be essential requisites of Muslim royalty and nobility. It appears that Bahmanī rulers had also great regard for them and some of them attained remarkable proficiency in these arts. The inscription on Sharzah Darwāzah which represents *thulth* script of a very high order mentions Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī (887-924/1482-1518) as the scribe<sup>16</sup>.

At least two specimens of writing on paper belonging to the period of the Bahmanīs of Bidar have come to notice. One of them is dated 870/1465. A facsimile of it has been produced by Sherwanī in his book *Mahmūd Gāwān the Great Bahmanī Wazir*. The calligraphy of the document is in running *thulth*. Throughout in this paper, after every two lines some space has been left but not so much as in the farmān of Firōz Shāh. The calligraphy of this document does not call for any notice. The two seals, one of Mahmūd Gāwān and the other of a dignitary, represent a high watermark of calligraphy. The seal of Mahmūd Gāwān is in *naskh* script and the other seal represents *thulth* type.

The Bahmanī Sultāns who ruled at Bidar issued coins only from Bidar under the mint name Muhammadābād. The calligraphy of these coins is definite improvement on that of the coins of the earlier Bahmanīs, particularly the copper coins of the last king Kalīmu'l-lāh, and represent a great variety of styles and scripts, some of them representing a high standard of art.

15 *Ibid*, Pl LII

16 *EIM*, 1925-26, Pl VIII

So far only one gun has been discovered at Bidar bearing the name of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī accompanied with the name of Qāsim Barīd. It will be more appropriate to consider it as a piece of Barīdī art, as the early Barīdīs were *de facto* rulers without using regal titles.

Towards the end of fifteenth century the Bahmanī Kingdom began to show signs of disintegration. The Prime Minister at Bidar and the four Governors of Bijapur, Golkonda, Elichpūr and Junnār assumed quasi-royal powers and within a short period became hereditary *de facto* rulers although for about half a century they did not assume royal titles\*. Probably it was after the death of the last Bahmanī king that they began to style themselves as kings. It is also quite possible that some of them might have done this earlier.

### *The 'Imād Shāhīs*

The Elichpūr kings known as 'Imād Shāhīs had a very short span of rule. Their kingdom was annexed by Murtaẓā Nīẓām Shāh of Ahmadnagar in 1574. The specimens of calligraphy produced under their aegis are rare. However, some copper coins bearing Elichpūr as mint name have been attributed to them.

### *The Nīẓām Shāhīs*

The Nīẓām Shāhīs of Ahmadnagar ruled for a comparatively longer period. They were highly cultured and possessed great taste for art, not neglecting calligraphy. The contacts with Persia and other countries helped them to develop various arts under their patronage. Innumerable inscriptions of the Nīẓām Shāhīs are to be found at Ahmadnagar and other forts and towns that were under their control. *Thulth* and *naskh* scripts are more common in their inscriptions but *nasta'liq* script is also represented in some of their inscriptions<sup>17</sup>. Copper coins of this dynasty are to be found in abundance. They mostly represent *thulth* script. Some of them, particularly those bearing the mint name Murtaẓānagar, represent a high water-mark of *thulth* script. Endorsements and some manuscripts produced under these kings have been noted and they generally represent *thulth* and *naskh* styles or writing. The Nīẓām Shāhī kingdom was annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1633.

### *The Barīd Shāhīs*

The Barīd Shāhī rulers inherited the Bahmanī art traditions and at the same time evolved a style of their own. It can be easily distinguished from Bahmanī art as well as from that of the other kingdoms of the Deccan. Their

\*[See Sherwānī's article, "Independence of Bahmanī Governors, *IHC*, 1945, 159-62 Ed.]

17 *EIM*, 1929-30, Pl. XII

inscriptions have only recently come to light. Some of them display a high standard of art. Those in Rangin Mahal in the Bidar fort, executed in mother o' pearl work on the base of a highly polished basalt, offer a treat to the eye of a lover of art. One of them is in *naskh* style of writing of a high standard while another in *nasta'liq* is equally striking <sup>18</sup>

About five Barid guns have been discovered in Bidar fort each bearing a number of panels containing inscriptions in a variety of scripts. The text of the inscriptions was first incised deep and then an alloy, said to contain a certain percentage of gold, was beaten hard into the incised cavities. The inlay is so strong that in spite of repeated efforts of the vandals, a considerable portion of the inlaid alloy is still intact on most of the guns.

The inscriptions in the tomb of 'Alī Barīd deserve special mention, particularly those which are on enamel tiles. The letters are in pearl white on a bluish background. The *nasta'liq* script represented on these tiles is not particularly graceful, but is eloquent about the efficiency attained by the calligrapher in his art <sup>19</sup>

### *The 'Adil Shāhis*

The 'Adil Shāhis, who ruled Bijapur, were strong rulers and their contribution to art and culture is magnificent. Calligraphy flourished under their patronage. Their inscriptions are numerous and are found in considerable abundance in the towns and forts ruled by them. Some of them represent superb art. An inscription which belonged to the Qādiriya bastion of Rāichūr Fort has now been preserved in Hyderabad Museum (No 2642) <sup>20</sup> It is a product of Syed Husain son of Fazlu'l-lāh and is dated 1039 that is during the reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shah. The inscription is a superb specimen of calligrapher's art and represents *thulth* script. The letters are in bold relief and are in the same level as the margins. The letters and the margins have been given such high polish that they represent the effect of a mirror. Another inscription which once belonged to *Khusrō* Burj of Rāichūr has also been preserved in Hyderabad Museum <sup>21</sup> This is also a very good specimen of calligraphy in *thulth* script. The surface of the letters and the floral scroll running along the margin has been painted with some shining black substance making it attractive to the eye. The paint is so durable that even today it appears to be fresh.

The inscriptions at Ibrāhīm Rauza at Bijapur represent another variety. They have been artistically cut into the stone tablets removing the whole of the

18 Yazdani, *op cit*, Pl xiii

19 Yazdani, *op cit*, Pl xcv

20 *EIM*, 1939-40, Pl xi

21 *EIM*, 1939 40, Pl xii a



space unoccupied by letters and have been fixed in the walls of the tomb to serve the purpose of attractive and perforated ventilators

Manuscripts produced at the court of the 'Ādil Shāhī kings are not rare. A copy of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's famous *Kitāb-i Nauras* prepared by his court calligraphist 'Ismatū'l-lāh is in the Hyderabad Museum. It has been written in *thulth* and *naskh* scripts. *Qit'at* by 'Ādil Shāhī calligraphists are also common. A *qit'ah* by Ibrāhīm II himself is preserved in the Hyderabad Museum.

Farmāns of the 'Ādil Shāhī kings, many of them in the *nasta'liq*, are also common.

Copper coins of the 'Ādil Shāhī kings are plentiful and their legends represent a high order of *thulth* and *naskh* scripts. The calligraphy on the silver larns of the 'Ādil Shāhs does not call for special notice but their gold coins though less than a centimetre in diameter are rare and deserve mention. They contain a complete verse in good *naskh* script.

جہاں اریں دو محمد گزشت و نیست و حاض — یکے محمد مرسل دوم محمد شاہ

(The world has received its glory and grandeur from two Muhammads, one of them is Muhammad the Prophet and the other is Muhammad Shāh). The 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom was annexed by Aurangzeb to his empire in 1097/1686.

### *The Qutb Shāhis*

During the Qutb Shāhī period we find a great variety of scripts practised by calligraphers. An excellent specimen of *kūfī* script containing Chapter CXII of the Holy Qur'ān in pleasing *tughra* style is to be found on the sarcophagus in Muhammad Amīn's tomb<sup>22</sup>. From the beginning of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty to the end *thulth*, *naskh* and even *raihān* scripts were popular. Most of the inscriptions represent a very high standard of art. The earliest *nasta'liq* inscription of the Qutb Shāhī period representing high art is to be found on the original entrance to the Jāmi' Masjid of Hyderabad city situated in the neighbourhood of the famous Chārmīnār. The inscription is dated 1006/1597 and preserves the name of the scribe as Bābā Khān. Another *nasta'liq* inscription representing a high standard of art is to be found on two loose slabs in the Tōlī Masjid, Hyderabad. This inscription is in embossed letters with floral designs carved in the background on the slabs. It is dated 1043/1633. The scribe is Luṭfu'l-lāh Al-Husamī of Tabriz several of whose works are preserved on Qutb Shāhī monuments. An inscription in *riqa'* is to be found on the eastern entrance of Miyyān Mishk's tomb. It is a copy

<sup>22</sup> *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Hyderabad Art, Archaeology and Handicrafts, held at Hyderabad House, New Delhi, 1952* 17

of a *farmān* of Abu'l-Hasan and is suggestive of the fact that the *riqā'* style which subsequently developed into *shikasta*, was prevalent in ordinary official correspondence at least during Abu'l-Hasan's reign. Tughras representing innumerable and attractive varieties are to be found on Qutb Shāhī monuments.

The Qutb Shāhīs were also very fond of the use of enamelled tiles. Thévenot, who visited Golkonda during the Qutb Shāhī period, records that the tombs at Golkonda were covered with enamelled tiles of variegated colours. Mostly due to the inclemencies of natural agencies and partly to human vandalism they have disappeared, excepting in small fragments at some places. The fragments on the western wall on Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh's tomb are sufficiently large. The enamelled tiles also contained panels of calligraphy, and this is evidenced in the upper portions of the minarets flanking the sides of the façade of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh's tomb. Other inscriptions in enamelled tiles can be seen in the Bādshāhī 'Āshūr Khānā. The western, northern and southern walls of the interior were once completely covered with enamelled tiles. The flood of the Mūsi in 1908 caused irreparable damage to these walls, particularly to their lower portions. All the three walls are even still adorned with many calligraphic panels. The western wall, which is different in the style of work, has got an inscription bearing the date 1003/1594 and the name of Muhammad-Qulī Qutb Shāh, while the northern and southern walls have got monograms of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh. A special feature of these inscriptions is that the letters and the background are not in one piece. The letters were prepared separately so also the pieces of the background and subsequently they were set in their respective places on the wall giving the whole design the effect of *pietra dura* or mosaic work. An inscription representing the same kind of work and in variegated colours is to be found in Bēgam's mosque opposite Mecca Masjid<sup>23</sup>. The inscription which runs horizontally in the mihrāb of the mosque bears testimony to the high merit of Muhammad bin Husain a famous Qutb Shāhī calligrapher. His full name was Jamālu'd-dīn Husain son of Jalālu'd-dīn Muhammad. One of his masterpieces of *thulth* script is dated 1006/1597-8 and is to be found around the mihrāb of the Jāmi' Masjid. Many calligraphers copied this style but they could not reach his excellence. Thus Sālīh Al Bahrānī reproduced in 1077/1666 the same text in the same style on the mihrāb of the great mosque of Golkonda near Hayāt Bakshī Bēgam's tomb but failed to equal Jamālu'd-dīn Husain in calligraphic achievement.

Sanads of the Qutb Shāhī kings are also common. More than a dozen have been noticed in the monograph brought out by the Andhra Pradesh Archives Department on the *Farmāns* and *Sanads* of Deccan Sultāns. These sanads represent a variety of scripts mostly *nasta'liq*, *riqā'* and *shikasta*.

Abu'l-Hasan's sanad, reproduced in the *Sringaramanjari* of the saint Akbar Shāh<sup>24</sup> is on a highly illuminated paper in *nasta'liq* script of a high order. Many manuscripts by master calligraphists produced at Quṭb Shāhī court including *Qit'at* have been preserved in the Hyderabad Museum, Sālār Jung Museum, other Museums, Libraries and private collections. Some *Qit'at* in Hyderabad Museum prepared at Quṭb Shāhī court present the same text reproduced by different calligraphers. This is suggestive of competitive spirit and also of the encouragement given to it by the Quṭb Shāhīs.

Copper coins of Quṭb Shāhī Kings from Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh down to Abu'l-Hasan are quite common. They represent *naskh* and *thulth* scripts. Some of them are specimen of excellent calligraphy.

In 1687 Aurangzeb conquered Golkonda and removed the last Quṭb Shāhī king Abu'l-Hasan Tānā Shāh to Daulatābād as a State prisoner. With the fall of Golkonda, the last Deccan Kingdoms disappeared from the field and the whole of the Deccan fell under the sway of the Delhi rulers.

### *The Mughals*

From the time of Akbar the Mughals began to make encroachments on the dominions of the Deccan kings. Akbar annexed the kingdom of *Khān-dēsh*. Jahangir and Shah Jahan annexed Ahmadnagar and Daulatābād. Aurangzeb annexed not only Bijapur and Golkonda but practically the whole of the Peninsula. Akbar's inscriptions recording his victory and conquest are numerous. They are found in the Āsīr Fort, Burhānpūr Jāmī' Masjid and at other places. The text of these inscriptions was composed by his court scholars Ma'sūm of Bhakkar, who was also a good calligrapher and the scribe of some of his inscriptions.<sup>25</sup> The inscriptions of the period of Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb are numerous and usually represent a very high standard of *nasta'liq* script. Inscriptions of Shah Jahan's reign in the Udgīr Fort and Bagh-i Husām at Udgīr deserve special mention.<sup>26</sup> Aurangzeb's inscriptions are to be found throughout the Peninsula and they represent *nasta'liq* script of a high order. The Mughals had also established mints in the territory conquered by them. Akbar carried all the paraphernalia of a mint with his army and the coins struck in the camp bear the mint name *Urdu Zafar Qarīn*. The location of the mint or of the camp of the army at the time of the minting of the coin can be determined by the year on the coin. Usually Mughal coins minted in the Deccan are in the *nasta'liq* script. Coins of Jahangir and Shah Jahan are known from Burhānpūr, Ahmadnagar, Daulat-

24 *Sringaramanjari of Saint Akbar Shāh*, Hyderabad Archaeological Department Publication, 1951.

25 *EIM*, 1925-26, Pl. II.

26 *EIM*, 1929-30.

ābād and other mints. Aurangzeb's coins were minted at innumerable places in the Deccan, even as far south as Chinnapaṭan (Madras).

### *Sanads*

The Mughals issued their farmāns in *nasta'liq* script of a high order but the name of the king was usually inscribed at the top in *naskh* or *thulth tughra*. A farmān, renovating the grant to the descendents of Ḥazrat Shāh Rājū of Hyderabad issued by Aurangzeb has been reproduced in *Sringaramanjari*. After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 his successors were weak and the signs of disintegration rapidly developed in the Mughal Empire. By 1724 the disintegration reached its climax and the Deccan became autonomous for all practical purposes.

## CHAPTER VII

### COINAGE

*by* DR. P. L. GUPTA

#### *Synopsis*

1. Vijayanagar Coins.
2. Coins of the Delhi Sultāns currents in the Deccan.
3. Coins of the Bahmanis.
4. Coins of the Bahmanī Succession States.
  - (i) Nizām Shāhī Coins.
  - (ii) 'Ādil Shāhī Coins.
  - (iii) Quṭb Shāhī Coins.
  - (iv) Barīd Shāhī Coins.



## *The coinage of the Deccan*

The four main powers of the Deccan—the Yādavas of Dēvagrī, the Kākatīyas of Warangal, the Pāndyas of Madura and the Hoysalas of Dwārasamudram—at the beginning of the fourteenth century collapsed with the expeditions of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī and those of Muhammad bin Tughluq. But neither the Khaljis nor the Tughluqs stayed there long. Consequently, on the ruins of these dynasties arose two independent and equally powerful kingdoms—the kingdoms of Vijayanagar and of the Bahmanis. The kingdom of Vijayanagar included the entire southern and south eastern part of the Deccan, while the Bahmanis occupied central Deccan, which had been in the direct control of the Delhi Sultāns.

### 1 *Vijayanagar*

The standard coin of the South, in those days, was of gold and was known as *varāha*. The name had been derived from the boar, which appeared on the coins of the early Chālukyas. But the weight of this coin was not uniform. It varied from state to state between 52 and 60 grains<sup>1</sup>. The kings of Vijayanagar preferred the lowest weight of 52 grains for their coins and retained it uniformly for nearly three centuries, while Mysore and other states followed it later. The smaller denominations in gold were half *varāha* or *pratāp* of about 26 grains, quarter *varāha* or half-*pratāp* of about 13 grains and *fānams* of about 5.5 grains. 'Abdu'r-Razzāq has called the latter one-tenth of *pratāp*, but as the weight shows, it was one-tenth of a *varāha*.

Silver coins, though not unknown in the South Indian tradition, were scarce. No silver coin of the Vijayanagar ruler are known except that of Dēvarāya II (1422-1446). It was a tiny coin called *tār* and was valued at sixty for a *varāha*. The weight of the solitary existing specimen in the British Museum is four grains. According to M. H. Krishna, *tār* was a Muslim innovation and it was followed only in some administrative accounts<sup>2</sup>. But we are inclined to think that such tiny silver coins were not unknown to South India even in the pre-Muslim period. Large numbers of silver coins of this tiny nature were issued by Rājādhirāja Chōḷa,<sup>3</sup> the existing specimen of Dēvarāya's coin follows the same pattern, viz., Chōḷa tiger is replaced by

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1 It is believed that these coins were based on the ancient southern scale of the Kalanju seed or Mollucca bean (*Imperial Gazetteer*, II, 151, also Thomas, *Ancient Indian Weights*).

2 *Studies in Deccan Numismatics* (D. Litt. thesis, London University, unpublished), 233.

3 *JNSI*, XXIV, 183 ff.

an elephant on the obverse and the Nāgarī legend is inscribed on the reverse in the same way as is found on the Chōla coins. It seems that it was originally *tāra* meaning star, which is often used for tiny objects.

Copper was the common currency of the South Indian rulers and the Vijayanagar rulers followed them in their copper issues. But unfortunately, we know little about their denominations and metrology. 'Abdu'r-Razzāq has called the Vijayanagar copper coins by the name of *jital*. But this would not have been their original name. *Jital* was used for the copper coins of the Delhi Sultānate, being unaware of the local name of these coins, he has perhaps used this name. Whatever might be the fact, according to him, *jital* was the one hundredth part of a *varāha*. Half *varāha* was also issued. A copper coin of thrice the weight of the *jital* is also mentioned by him by the name of copper *tār*. But nowhere the actual weight of any of these coins is mentioned. The existing specimens of the coins have also not been subjected to the study of weights, so we are unable to say much about them.

Harihara, the first ruler of the Sangama dynasty and the founder of the kingdom (1336-1356) used Hanumān and Gaṇḍa (Garūḍa) on his coins. It is suggested that the site of Vijayanagar and the Anegondī bank of the Tungabhadra river opposite, are identified in the local traditions with the city of Kishkindhā, the hill-fortress of the *Vānaras*—Wālī and Sugrīva of the *Rāmāyana*, and Hanumān was associated with it. So, quite likely Harihara took Hanumān as the symbol of the land and represented him on his coins.<sup>4</sup> But those who suggest this do not ascribe any reason for the adoption of Garūḍa on the coins. In fact, neither Hanumān nor Garūḍa were the innovations of Harihara I. Garūḍa was known earlier on the coins of the Pāndyas, and Hanumān appeared on the coins of the Kadambas, the Yādavas and the Kalachurya Rāya Murārī Soyī of Kalyāṇī.<sup>5</sup>

That Hanumān on the gold coins of Harihara I was copied from the coins of Rāya Murārī Soyī is the opinion of M. H. Krishna. He points out that the weight of the coins of both the rulers is the same.<sup>6</sup> But then it is pointed out by some others that the presence of Hanumān on Kadamba coins lends support to the theory that the Sangama dynasty had the Kadamba origin. In either of these suggestions, the presence of Garūḍa on some other coins of Harihara I is ignored. The occurrence of Garūḍa and Hanumān on his coins seems to lend better support to the view that the Sangamas belonged to the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. Apart from the presence of Hanumān on the Yādava coins, Yādavas had Hanumān on their crest and Garūḍa on their banner and they held the title of *Hanumatgaruda*.

<sup>4</sup> *Studies in Deccan Numismatics*, 235-37

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 232-33



But Hanumān is known only on the coins of Harihara I and Bukka I (1356-1377). He is seen again only on some very late local coins. Similarly Garūda is not seen on any coin after Harihara I till the time of Krishṇadēvarāya (1509-1529). In the reign of Harihara II (1377-1404) altogether new devices of Umā-Mahēśvara, Lakṣmī-Nārayaṇa and Lakṣmī-Narasimha were introduced on the gold coins, and standing bull on the copper ones. Probably the *Smārta* influence had led Harihara II to adopt the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava deities side by side on his coins. Dēvarāya II retained only Umā Mahēśvara on his gold coins and introduced an altogether new device of elephant for his copper ones, which was followed by one or two of his successors.

No coins are known of the Sāḷuva dynasty (1485-1506). The kings of Tuḷuva dynasty (1506-1570) retained Umā-Mahēśvara on their coins and reintroduced Bull and Garūda types, but at the same time they also included Venkatēśa and Bālakrīṣṇa for their new types. Achyutarāya (1530-1542) had Gandabherunda, and Sadāśivārāya (1542-1570) Lakṣmī Narayana and Garūda on their coins.

The rulers of the post-1565 period seem to have been much influenced with Vaiṣṇavism. Venkatēśa is seen prominently on their coins. The *sankha* and *chakra*, the two āyudhas of Viṣṇu, his vehicle Garūda and his incarnations Rāma and Varāha are found on the coins of Tirumala (1570-73). Bull on the copper coins is the only device that may be said to exist on the Vijayanagar coins in a continued tradition. During the last thirty years of the declining days of the kingdom, Vaiṣṇavism dominated not only at the capital but the local centre also. During this period Viṣṇu, in almost all the forms of his incarnations, appeared on the local coins, while Venkatēśa appeared on the gold coins of the powerless rulers and their imitators. The Śaiva devices were confined only to a few local areas. Animals like lion, bull, elephant, tiger, deer, peacock, are also seen on some of the local coins.

The Vijayanagar rulers used Nāgarī, Kannada and Telugu scripts for their coin legends. The earliest coins bear the old Kannada script, allied to the Western Chāḷukya and the Hoysala style. Nandī-Nāgarī was used under Harihara II (1377-1404) and Bukka II (1404-1406). Dēva-Nāgarī was employed on the gold and Kannada on the copper coins under the two Dēvarāyas (1406-1422, 1422-1446). Modern Kannada found a place on the coins of the successor of Dēvarāya II (1446) and Mallikārjuna (1447-1465). From the time of Krishṇadēvarāya Kannada was retained only on bull type copper coins and Nāgarī was used for all the other coins. Then, only a line in Kannada along with Nāgarī is found on the coins of Venkatarāya I (1542). The Telugu legend is found on the bull type coins of Chikkarāya (1614-1615).

Irrespective of the script, generally Sanskrit forms of the words are found in the legends. At times Kannada nominative termination 'ru' is found or the Kannada word 'Immadi' is used. But this happened only during the period when the capital was located at Vijayanagar in the Kannada country. When the capital moved to Penukonda, Telugu influenced the legend. Then we have 'lu' termination in place of the Kannada 'ru'.

The legends on the Vijayanagar coins may be distinguished in the following forms

- (i) Only the name of the king, such as *Harihara*
- (ii) The king's name with a short title, such as *Pratāpa Dēvarāya*
- (iii) Distinctive title of the king only, such as *Rāya gajaganda-bherunda*
- (iv) The name of the presiding deity of the family, such as *Śrī Venkatēśa*

Usually the legends begin with *Śrī* and the king's name ends in *Rāya*. The first two rulers were satisfied with the simple title of *Vīra* (hero), but Harihara II (1377-1404) preferred the title of *Pratāpa* (glory). And since then the new title continued on the coins for nearly two centuries. The Karnata dynasty some time used the title *Vīra* or *Chelma*. On a type of coin, *Chikka Ravalu* is found which indicates that it was the title of the crown-prince, who very often was crowned in the lifetime of his predecessor and acted with him as co-regent.

The Vijayanagar coins thus reflect the religious influences that were working at the court from time to time more than the political activities of the kingdom.

## 2 Coins of the Delhi Sultāns current in the Deccan

With the intrusion of the Sultāns of Delhi, a new numismatic tradition was introduced in Central Deccan. 'Alāu'd-dīn *Khaljī* opened a mint at the fort of Dēvagiri in 714/1314 and issued his gold and silver coins. His issues were followed by those of his successors Quṭbu'd-dīn Mubārak and Nāṣiru'd-dīn *Khusrō*. All these coins were of the Delhi pattern and differed only in the name of the mint. While the coins of 'Alāu'd dīn *Khaljī* and Nāṣiru'd-dīn *Khusrō* bear the name *Qil'ah Dēogir*, the coins of Quṭbu'd-dīn Mubārak have *Qil'ah Qutbābād*. He preferred to call the place by his own name.

Both gold and silver coins were then called *Tanka* and were one *tōla* in weight. Thomas believed that these coins were struck to the standard of 100 *rattis*, and he converted the weight standard of these coins in grain troy

at 175 grains taking 1 75 grains for a *ratti* <sup>7</sup> Nelson Wright disagreed with him and fixed the weight standard of 96 *rattis* and converted it into 172 8 grains troy taking 1 8 grains for a *ratti* <sup>8</sup> But the views of either of these scholars, who were being followed so far in the matter of the metrology of the Delhi coins, have now proved erroneous beyond doubt The *Dravya Parikshā*, a treatise from the pen of Thākkura Phērū, a mint master in the services of 'Alāu'd-dīn *Khajī* and his successors, described in detail all the contemporary issues of the coins and the workings of the mint Nowhere the term *ratti* is used in the weight of the coins Only *tōla*, *tanka* (one-third of a *tōla*) and *māsha* (one-twelfth of a *tōla* or one-fourth of a *tanka*) are referred to <sup>9</sup> In the light of this work, there is now no reason to speculate the standard weight of the *tanka* coins in terms of *rattis*

Certain coins of the *Khajī* rulers weighed one *tanka* according to Thākkura Phērū, and the maximum weight of the existing specimens of these coins is 56 7 grains Thus according to these coins, the weight of a *tōla* would not have been more than 170 1 grains And no existing gold coins of *Khajī*s, which were a *tōla* in weight, are found weighing more than 170 grains Similarly, the silver coins hardly ever exceed 170 3 grains These show that the standard weight of a *tōla*, and for the reason of that, the weight of the gold and silver *tanka* was in the proximity of 170 grains <sup>10</sup>

Again, there were divergent views on the value of the silver *tanka* Thomas suggested that the silver *tanka* was divided into 64 parts and each part was known as *kāni* <sup>11</sup> or *jital*, <sup>12</sup> Nelson Wright equated 48 *jitals* to a *tanka* <sup>13</sup> But Thākkura Phērū tells us, in unambiguous terms, that the *tanka* of 'Alāu'd-dīn *Khajī* and Quṭbu'd-dīn were valued at 60 *eggānis* (ēk-gānī), and the *eggāni* was the unit for accounting in treasuries and public transactions <sup>14</sup>

It is not possible to say if fractional coins of the *Khajī*s in silver, billon or copper were ever issued in the Deccan All such coins are mintless i.e. they do not bear the mint name However, a few words about such coins are necessary to facilitate the study of the subsequent development in the metrology of the Deccan coins

7 Thomas *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 224

8 Wright *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 402

9 *JNSI*, XIX, 39

10 *Ibid*, 39 40 [See Agarwala, "A unique Treatise on Medieval Indian Coins," *Ghulam Yazdani Commemoration Volume*, 87-101 *Ed*]

11 In Telugu and Canarese *kāni* is a word which means 1/64th part Thomas adopted this spelling accordingly But in Persian the word is *gāni* and not *kāni*

12 Wright, *op cit*, 160-161

13 *Ibid*, 395

14 *JNSI*, XIX, 41

According to Ṭhākkura Phērū, besides the *ṭanka*, the silver coins were half, one third, one-sixth and one-twelfth of a *ṭanka* <sup>15</sup> The billon issues were one, two, four, six, eight, twelve, twenty four and forty-eight *gānis* <sup>16</sup> The copper coins were fractions of *gāni* and were called *paila* (one-fourth *gāni*), *Adhvā* (one-eighth *gāni*), *sava biswā* (one sixteenth of *gāni*) and *biswā* (one-twentieth of *gāni*) <sup>17</sup> These show that the lowest denominations in copper were reckoned by fours and the silver fractions by threes and the billon fractions were the multiples of two but did not represent the quaternary system They had a complex gamut Some denominations went by fives or were related to the decimal system i.e. they were one-fifth, one-tenth, one-fifteenth, one-thirtieth and one-sixtieth of a *tanka* The other was related to forty-eight *gāni*, which was three-fourth of a *tanka* and were its half, quarter, and one-sixth The *Khaljī* coinage was thus quite variegated and fulfilled the needs of reckoning by two, four, six and also by five and ten

When the Tughluqs succeeded the *Khaljis*, Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq (1320-1325) and his successor Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-1351) continued the mint at Dēvagiri But its name was frequently changed Nāsiru'd-dīn *Khusrō* had discarded the name of Quṭbābād, given to Dēvagiri by Quṭbu'd-dīn Mubārak *Khaljī*, and preferred to call it by its old name Dēvagiri The name Dēvagiri continued in the time of Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq But Muhammad bin Tughluq went back to the name of Quṭbābād and issued coins under this name during 725-27/1325-27 Then in 727/1327 the name Dēvagiri was reintroduced for a short period In 728/1328 it was given an altogether new name of Daulatābād As Quṭbābād it was called *balda*, as Dēvagiris it was honoured as *Hazrat* and as Daulatābād it was elevated to *Dāru'l-Mulk* But this was only till 730/1329-30 In that year, the epithet *hazrat* was reused On the coins dated 744-745/1342-1345, it bears the simple title *shahr*

Another mint was opened at Sultānpūr (Warangal) during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq It worked only till about 731/1330-31 During the first four years, it was called *shahr*, in 730/1330 when Daulatābād was called *hazrat*, Sultānpūr was given the title of *Dāru'l-Mulk* Apparently, both the epithets were used for Delhi, which was the capital of the Sultānate

Coins, both in gold and silver, were issued by the first two Tughluqs But while the gold coins are known in profusion, the silver coins are scarce The silver coins are unknown after the year 727/1326-27, the gold coins

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15 *Ibid*, 41

16 *Ibid*, 42-46

17 *Ibid*, 47

continued till 730/1329-30. Then after a long gap, gold is known again in the years 744-745/1343-46. During the early years, till 727/1327, gold and silver coins had the standard weight of 170 grains that prevailed from the time of the Khaljis. The coins of both metals call themselves as *tanka*, wrongly read by Nelson Wright as *sikka*.<sup>18</sup> A gold coin of Sulṭānpūr mint dated 726 A. H. is said to have the name *dinār*,<sup>19</sup> but we have doubts about this reading. The name *dinār* was applied in this period to another gold coin, which was 197 grains in weight i.e. one-sixth heavier than the standard *tanka* of 170 grains. This heavy weight coin was introduced at Delhi at the very beginning of the reign in 725/1325 and was current along with the *tanka* of the standard weight. The name *dinār* was given to this heavy weight coin at Delhi in 726/1326 and it continued throughout the empire till 735/1335. But in the Deccan it was issued only during the year 727/1327.

In 728/1327-28 another gold *tanka* was introduced in the Deccan, which weighed 141 grains i.e. one sixth lighter than the standard *tanka*. Its counterpart in silver was called '*adli*'. '*Adli*' originated at Delhi in the very beginning of the reign in 725 A. H., but in the Deccan it is known only during the year 727/1327. After this year it ceased to exist throughout the Sulṭānate. The '*adli*' coin, being one sixth less than the standard silver *tanka*, was valued at fifty *gānis*. This is supported from the forced currency, which was issued during 730-31/1329-31 and was ordered by Muhammad bin Tughluq to be honoured in transactions as the current (silver) *tanka*. It was of the same weight as the lighter silver *tanka* i.e. 141 grains, and one of the variety bears the word *pinjāh-gāni* (fifty *gāni*).<sup>20</sup> Besides *tanka*, the forced currency was also issued in smaller denominations. They were *nisfi*, *dirham shara'i*, *rub'i*, *hasht gāni* and *dō-gāni*. But their weights do not bear any relation to the weight of *tanka*. *Nisfi* weighed 108 grains, *dirham shara'i* 80 grains, *rub'i* 67 grains, *hasht-gāni* 58 grains and *dō-gāni* 25 grains. Apart from the forced currency, copper coins issued by Tughluqs from the Deccan mints are not known.

No Tughluq coins in any metal after 732/1332 are known in the Deccan till 744/1343-4. In that year gold and billon coins in the name of Khalifa Al-Mustakfī were issued from Daulatābād. The silver coins now resumed the old standard weight of 170 grains. The billon coins were called *nisfi*. The known specimens weigh 141 and 146 grains. They were, in all probability, halves of the silver *tanka* of the same weight, but no assay is available of them to substantiate the assumption.

Deccan became independent of Delhi in 747/1346. In that year Ismā'īl Mukh assumed royal authority over it and assumed the title of Nāsiru'd-dīn

18 *Ibid*, 110, 116

19 *Ibid*, 118, coin 482

20 *Ibid*, 141, coin 587

Ismā'il Shāh He enjoyed authority only for a short period of about a year Then he abdicated in favour of Zafar **Khān**, who founded the Bahmanī dynasty, which lasted for about two centuries During the short period of his reign Ismā'il Shāh issued only a few copper coins with the simple legend *Abu'l-Fath Nāsiru'd-din Ismā'il Shāh* These coins weighed in the proximity of 54 grains, and in all probability, they were in the follow of those copper coins of Muhammad bin Tughluq which do not bear the mint name Copper coins of this weight were known in the time of the **Khālīs**, they approximated with the *tanka* weight and were probably four *biswās* (1/5th *gāni*), in value

### 3 Coins of the Bahmanis

The early coins of the Bahmanī dynasty, belonging to the first ruler Zafar **Khān**, who assumed the title of 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh (1347-1358), and his successor Muhammad Shāh I (1358-1375), till the year 761/1360 do not reveal the mint name A silver coin of Bahman Shāh, however bears the traces of a marginal legend, where the reading *bi Hazrat Ahsanābād* is suggested<sup>21</sup> But the reading is by no means certain In all probability the mint at Dēvagiri (Daulatābād) continued to work during this period This finds support from the silver coins of Muhammad Shāh I that were issued between 761 and 766 A.H. and bear the name Fathābād,<sup>22</sup> the name given to Dēvagiri (Daulatābād) in the reign of Bahman Shāh<sup>23</sup>

In or about 761/1360 a mint at Gulbarga, called Ahsanābād, was opened by Muhammad Shāh I, both the mints at Fathābād and Ahsanābād continued to work simultaneously In or about 766/1364-5 the former ceased to work and thence onward Ahsanābād alone issued coins till 825/1422 In 827/1424 Ahmad Shāh I shifted his capital to Bidar and named it Muhammadābād, now onward the new capital issued coins for the dynasty The Ahsanābād mint continued to issue coins for a year or two *i.e.* till 827/1424<sup>24</sup>

The Bahmanī rulers issued coins in all the three metals—gold, silver and copper While gold coins are scarce, copper coins are available in large numbers The gold coins are known only of Muhammad Shāh I (1358-1375), Mujāhid Shāh (1375-1378), Muhammad Shāh II (1378-1397), Fīrōz Shāh (1397/1422), Ahmad Shāh II (1435-1457), Humāyūn Shāh (1457-1461), Ahmad Shāh III (1461-1463), Muhammad Shāh III (1463-1482) and Mahmūd Shāh (1482-1518) \* Barring Mujāhid Shāh and Fīrōz Shāh, the coins of

21 *Abdul Wali Khan, Bahmani Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, 9, coin 1

22 *Ibid*, 24 coin 40 and onward

23 *Burhan*, 17

24 The whole problem of the change of capital has been discussed in *Bahmanis*, 180-84

\* [In May 1960 as many as 11 gold coins (one cut into half) of 'Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad II (1436-58) were found with a large treasure trove discovered at Yeoti, district Nander. See P. M. Joshi, "The Yeoti Hoard of Bahmani Coins and Vijayanagar Pagodās," *Satavada Kaumudi* (Centenary Volume), Nagpur Central Museum, Nagpur, 1964, 139-44 Ed.]

all the other rulers follow the standard weight of the *tanka* of the Sultāns of Delhi i.e. 170 grains Mujāhid Shāh,<sup>25</sup> Fīrōz Shāh<sup>26</sup> and a ruler who calls himself Muhammad-i Hasan Bahmanī on the coins,<sup>27</sup> adopted the weight of the *dinār* of Muhammad bin Tughluq i.e. 197 grains for their gold coins. Why these rulers fancied for this shortlived heavy weight, is not known and is a problem for the numismatists.

Silver coins were issued by all the rulers, except the last two—Walīyu'l-lāh and Kalīmu'l-lāh. All of them uniformly adopted the standard *tanka* of 170 grains weight in the continued tradition. The numismatic traditions of the time of Khaljīs for the fractions also continued in this period. Muhammad Shāh I issued a few coins that weighed about 110 grains. They are suggested to be *half-tanka*,<sup>28</sup> but as the weight indicates, they were two-third of a *tanka*. One-third of a *tanka* weighing 56 grains was issued by Mujāhid Shāh and Muhammad Shāh II, still smaller coins weighing about 27 and 17 grains were issued by Bahman Shāh and Muhammad Shāh I. They were respectively one-sixth and one-tenth of a *tanka*.

The Bahmanī copper coins are varied in their legends and denominations. Bahman Shāh the founder, issued copper coins in three denominations bearing the same legend. They weighed 57, 28 and 15 grains and were  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  *tanka* respectively. The unit coin *tanka*, similar to the one that was current in time of Khaljīs, was later adopted by Nāsiru'd-dīn Ismā'il Shāh, and it valued four *biswās* (15th *gānī*). Accordingly, these coins were *chau-biswā* (1/5 *gānī*), *do biswā* (1/10 *gānī*) and *biswā* (1/20 *gānī*) and were in the division of five.

The next ruler Muhammad Shāh I also issued coins in three denominations, but his coins were different in their weights. They weighed 77, 57 and 37 grains. While 57 grains coin was the same as *chaubiswā* (1/5 *gānī*) the other two were new denominations, 77 grains coin was the double of the coin of 37 grains. The former appears to be  $\frac{1}{4}$  *gānī* coin, though it is a little heavier than the weight of *pāika* ( $\frac{1}{4}$  *gānī*) coin of the Khaljīs, which weighed 52 grains, the latter was the *adhvā* ( $\frac{1}{8}$  *gānī*). 57 grains coins had two types of legends, one of them appeared also on the coins of 77 grains. The coins of 37 grains had a quite different legend.

25 NS, XXXVII, 26

26 *Ibid*, 28

27 *Ibid*, 24, *Bahmanī Coins* 16, coin 4711 [Muhammad-i Hasan means Muhammad son of Hasan i.e. Muhammad, (Shāh) son of (Alāu'd dīn) Hasan (Bahman Shāh) *Ed*]

28 *Bahmanī Coins*, 2

The coins of the third ruler Mujāhid Shāh was exclusively *chaubiswā* ( $1/5$  *gāni*) and of the next rulers Muhammad Shāh II, Tahamtan Shāh (1397) and Dāwūd Shāh (1397) were *chaubiswā* ( $1/5$  *gāni*) and *pāika* ( $1/4$  *gāni*). They weighed 57 and 77 grains respectively. A few coins of Muhammad Shāh II are heavier than 77 grains and go up to 82.5 grains, but it is unlikely that they constituted any new denomination, however, a coin weighing 84 grains was issued in the next ruler's reign.

The copper coins of Fīrōz Shāh (1397-1422) do not bear any uniformity of weight. A set of his coins weigh as high as 58 grains and as low as 32 grains, and in another set weigh as high as 84 grains and as low as 62 grains. If these heavy fluctuations in weight are any indications of their being coins of more than one denomination, it is by no means certain. They might be due to heavy wearage during currency, or they might be the results of careless handling of the metal at the mint. It is also not unlikely that there might have been some deliberate subtle attempts to reduce the weight of the coins to stabilise the dwindling exchequer as the result of frequent campaigns that took place during this reign. The coins having the highest weight of 57 grains may be *chaubiswā* ( $1/5$  *gāni*). The coins of 64 grains apparently are one and half times of the former and may be *chhē-biswā*, and as such they represent a new denomination, not known earlier in the history of the dynasty.

The copper coinage of the Bahmanīs after Fīrōz Shāh went into a radical change. A large coin, weighing about 255 grains was introduced in the reign of Ahmad Shāh I, its weight increased to 260 – 270 grains during the reigns of the last two rulers—Waliyu'l-lāh and Kalimu'l-lāh. These coins might be a *gāni*. Originally a *gāni* coin in copper, according to the weight scale of the Khaljī coinage, would be 284 grains. But these coins weigh much less. They, not unlikely, were produced on a reduced weight, the trend of which is seen in the coins of the earlier reign.

During this period, besides this unit coin, at least six fractional coins appear to be current, though not all of them were issued by every ruler. The weights vary so much from coin to coin that it is difficult to fix any standard weight and to suggest their value. However, they may tentatively be identified as follows:

4 <i>biswā</i> ( $1/5$ <i>gāni</i> )	51 to 38 grains
6 <i>biswā</i> ( $3/10$ <i>gāni</i> )	88 to 76 grains
10 <i>biswā</i> (half <i>gāni</i> )	127 grains
12 <i>biswā</i> ( $3/5$ <i>gāni</i> )	148-153 grains
14 <i>biswā</i> ( $7/10$ <i>gāni</i> )	178-165 grains
16 <i>biswā</i> ( $4/5$ <i>gāni</i> )	203 grains



The first two denominations were current during the early reigns, others were introduced later. These fractional coins, though are the multiples of 2 with *biṣṣā* as the lowest unit, of which no coin is available in the series, are quite unrealistic when placed along with the *gānī*, the highest unit in copper.

Now coming to legends, generally early rulers of a succeeding dynasty adopt the patterns of their predecessors for their own coins at the start. The same is reflected in the coins of Bahman Shāh, the first ruler. His silver and copper coins are very much similar to the *Khaljī* and *Tughluq* coins in their form and execution. He adopted the *Khaljī* legends word for word for both the sides of his coins, only the name Bahman Shāh was substituted. Bahman Shāh ignored the legends of Muhammad bin Tughluq, who was his almost immediate predecessor in his own territory and contemporary in other parts and he adopted legends from the coins of a distant predecessor. This is a matter of some surprise. Whatever might be the reasons for this preference, no historical conclusions may be adduced from it.\*

His son Muhammad Shāh I, gave altogether new legends to his coins, wherein he called himself *سلطان العهد و الرحمان حامى صلة رسول الرحمان* ("King of the land and the period, supporter of the followers of the Apostle of the Merciful") The only other titles that he used are *al-muwayyid bi-nasr-i'l-lāh* ("Helper of the cause of God") and *Abu'l-Muzaffar* ("the Father of Victory"). The latter was retained invariably by all the rulers of the dynasty.

Mujāhid Shāh, the next ruler, appears to have reverted to the Delhi coinage for the legends of his coins. He adopted the title *al muwayyid bi-nasr-i'l-lāh*, the title of his father, and added to it *yamin'ul-khilāfat Nāsir-i-amir-al Mu'minin* (Right Hand of the *Khilāfat*, Helper of the commander of the Faithful), the titles of the *Khaljis*, which is seen on the coins of his grandfather. Whether this was merely an imitation of the earlier coins or it had to do with the sanction obtained by his grandmother from the Abbassid *Khalifa* al-Mu'tazid bi'l-lāh, while she was on a pilgrimage to Mecca in 761-62/1360-61, is not possible to say. If this sanction had any value, it ought to have been used by his father, during whose time it was obtained. Mujāhid Shah called himself *Abu'l-Maghāzī* (Father of the Wars).

On the coins of subsequent kings no such epithets are found that could show that they believed in the institution of the *khilāfat*. However almost all of them proclaimed themselves on their coins the Supporters of the Religion of Islam and used grandiloquent, high sounding and awe-inspiring epithets to that effect. Their epithets, while signify their religiosity, also indicate the temporal and spiritual combination in their kingship.

\* [For the affinity of the new dynasty with the *Khaljis*, see *Bahmans* 48-50. We should remember that the dynasty was set up after a rebellion against the *Tughluq* rule. Ed.]

The title *Sultān* is found added to the name of the rulers on the coins, but at times it is seen without it. The rulers' names generally end with *Shāh*, but on some coins it is also found missing. Occasionally the name of the father of the ruler along with his own is seen. It helps in their proper identification in the chronology and genealogy of the dynasty. Where the name of the father is given, the relationship of father and son is expressed by the word *ibn* or *bin* meaning 'son of'\*. But in a few cases, the two names are given without indicating the relationship, e.g., *Muhammad Mahmūd* is found on the coins of Muhammad Shāh II.<sup>29</sup>

Fīrōz Shāh, for the first time, added the word *Bahmanī* on some of his copper coins to show that he belonged to the family of Bahman Shāh,<sup>30</sup> and this surname found favour with all the subsequent rulers. On some of their coins Ahmad Shāh I and II and Humāyūn Shāh placed the name of their grandfather also along with the name of their father and their own. Ahmad Shāh I introduces himself on his coins as *Sultān Ahmad Shāh bin Ahmad Shāh bin al-Hasan al-Bahmanī*,<sup>31</sup> Ahmad Shāh II calls himself *Ahmad Shāh bin Ahmad Shāh Bahman Shāh*,<sup>32</sup> Humāyūn Shāh bin Ahmad Shāh bin Ahmad Shāh al-walī al-Bahmanī is found on the coins of Humāyūn Shāh.<sup>33</sup> Of these, the legend on the coins of Ahmad Shāh I is extraordinary in its contents. Hasan is said to be the original name (*ism*) of Bahman Shāh, but it is never found on any coin except there and on two rare gold coins that bear the legend *Muhammad Hasan Bahmanī*.<sup>34</sup> These gold coins bear the date 763 and 778 A.H. and fall within the reign of Muhammad I, thus they are attributable to him. Coins, being the royal issues, invariably bear the name adopted by the ruler at the time of ascending the throne, no instances are known where the original name (*ism*) is found on the coins. Bahman Shāh himself never used 'Hasan' on any coins, his son Muhammad Shāh I also used the name 'Bahman Shāh' for his father, Ahmad Shāh II also used the same name. As such, the use of the original name (*ism*) Hasan on these coins is quite unusual. Muhammad Shāh I had no reason to call himself Muhammad Hasan Bahmanī on the two rare gold coins. It was enough for him to call himself *Muhammad Bahman Shāh* or *Muhammad Shāh bin Bahman Shāh*, as we find on all his other coins. Similarly Ahmad Shāh I could well have announced himself as *Ahmad Shāh*

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\*[This is not necessary as the coins of Muhammad II bear the legend *Muhammad-i Mahmūd* meaning Muhammad son of Mahmūd (who was the second son of Bahman Shāh) and at least one of the coins of Muhammad I bears the legend *Muhammad-i Bahman Shāh* meaning Muhammad son of Bahman Shāh. Ed.]

29 *Ibid*, 45 coin 60

30 *Ibid*, 73 coins 105 and onward

31 *Ibid*, 79 coin 3

32 *Ibid*, 100 coin 67

33 *Ibid*, 112 coin 1

34 *Ibid*, 16 coin 4711, NS XXXVII, 24

*bin Ahmad Shāh bin Bahman Shāh*, and it would have conveyed what he wanted to convey by *al-Hasan al-Bahmanī* i.e. his grandfather was Hasan and he belonged to Bahmanī family. But when *Hasan* and *Bahmanī* both are used together, they create doubt if 'Hasan' and 'Bahman Shāh' were the names of one and the same person. The doubt finds strength when we see that the regular use of the word *Bahmanī* began only with *Firōz Shāh*, who was not in the direct lines of the rulers preceding him, but was in the line of their cousins. If it could be realised that Bahman Shāh and Hasan were two different persons and perhaps brothers, then the legend on the coins of Ahmad Shāh I is well explained, without creating any confusion in history. Had not the dates on the two rare gold coins been there, it was easy to suggest in the light of these observations that there were two Muhammads, one was the son of Bahman Shāh and the other of Hasan. But with the dates, these gold coins create some problems and they deserve serious attention of the historians and the numismatists.

Some small copper coins of the Bahmanī series have the name *Mahmūd Shāh* on the obverse and *bin Muhammad Shāh* on the reverse (*bin* is written either above or below *Muhammad Shāh*). Some other coins of the same type bear Muhammad on the obverse and *bin Mahmūd Shāh* on the reverse (*bin* written above *Mahmūd Shāh*). Since only one Mahmūd Shāh, who was the son of Muhammad III, is known in the dynasty, all these coins are attributed to him. It is not realised that by convention the word *bin* or *ibn* goes with the name of the father. So, the two types of the coins could not be attributed to one and the same king. Only those coins which have the word *bin* with the name *Muhammad Shāh* should be attributed to Mahmūd Shāh. The other coins bearing the reverse legend, *bin Mahmūd Shāh*, are undoubtedly not his own but of his son, called Muhammad on the coins.<sup>35</sup> According to known history, after Mahmūd Shāh his two sons had ascended the throne. These coins show that one of his sons that ascended the throne had adopted the name Muhammad Shāh IV.

The accession titles of some of the rulers are unknown in the chronicles, in such cases the coins reveal them and at the same time support or clarify the names given in the chronicles for the others. The coins reveal that 'Alāu'd dīn was the title of Mujāhid, Ahmad Shāh II and Humāyūn Shāh, Dāwūd was known as Shamsu'd-dīn, Tahamtan Shāh as Ghiyāthu'd-dīn and Firōz Shāh as Tāju'd-dīn. The sainthood of Ahmad I, which is recognised by a large number of the people of Deccan, is supported from the coins of Ahmad Shāh I, where he has called his father *Ahmad al-walī*. Mahmūd Shāh also refers to his father Muhammad Shāh as *al-walī*, but about his sainthood, we are unaware.

The Bahmanī coins are valuable for the verification of the statements made by the chroniclers of the Bahmanī dynasty. They show that Syed 'Alī Tabāṭabā, the author of *Burhān-i Ma'āthir*, was more veracious than any other chronicler and Ferishta was the most unreliable. The latter's statements were based more on hearsay than on any reliable sources. For instance, he declares that no coins were issued in Bahmanī Deccan till the reign of the second ruler Muhammad Shāh, but we possess coins not only of his father Bahman Shāh but also of his predecessor Nāsiru'd-dīn Ismā'il. Likewise, Ferishta had the boldness to describe the legends on Muhammad's coins, without actually knowing what they contained. It appears that he had seen some coins of Muhammad bin Tughluq, which bear the *Kalimah* on one side and the name of the ruler along with the names of the four apostolic *Khalifās* on the other, and then fancied that the Bahmanī Muhammad's coins had the *Kalimah* and the names of *Khalifās* on one side and the name of the ruler on the other. Again Ferishta has given the name of the fifth ruler as Mahmūd while it was Muhammad, according to the clear legends on the coins.

The Bahmanī coins are equally important for the verification of the dates given in the chronicles. *Sikka* or the right to coin money, was regarded as one of the royal privileges, and in any dynasty, each claimant to throne and every one who tried to carve out a kingdom for himself, lost no time in issuing at least a few coins after he came to power. So, the dates on the coins are more reliable than anything else, and they should be given the utmost consideration before finding faults with them. The death of Bahman Shāh took place according to certain historians in 759 A. H., but some of his coins bear the date 760 A. H. and no coins of his successor Muhammad Shāh I are known dated earlier than that year. These leave no doubt that Bahman Shāh was alive for some time during the year 760 A. H. Again, according to *Ferishta* and *Zafaru'l-Wāliḥ*, Ahmad Shāh II died on 10th Sha'bān 862 A. H. and his successor Humāyūn Shāh ruled for three years six months and six days, while *Burhān* mentions that he reigned for six years and five days but gives the date of his death as 25 *Dhu'l-qa'dah* 865 A. H., which roughly agrees with 28 Muharram 865 A. H. of *Ferishta* and *Zafaru'l-Wāliḥ*. But we have the coins of Humāyūn Shāh which distinctly bear the date 866 A. H. Sherwānī thinks that the date is an error<sup>36</sup>. But no coins of Humayun's successor Ahmad Shāh III are known earlier than 866 A. H. The chroniclers might be wrong in their dates, but there is no reason to disbelieve the coins. There is a difference of just a few weeks between the dates given by the chroniclers and the beginning of the year 866 A. H.

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36 See Sherwānī's article "Bahmanī Coinage as a Source of Deccan History" *D V Poidar Commemoration Volume*, 204-18, see 114 for the error in Humāyūn's coin.

The beginning of the reign of Ahmad Shāh I is generally reckoned from 825 A H, when his army entered Gulbarga routing the forces of Fīrōz Shāh. That Fīrōz Shāh ruled till 825 A H is supported from his coins. But at the same time, Ahmad Shāh I's coins are known dated as early as 822 A H<sup>37</sup>. Thus they show that Ahmad Shāh I had asserted himself as ruler before the abdication of Fīrōz Shāh in 825 A H. The coins confirm the story that Ahmad Shāh I was crowned by his associates and followers at Khānāpūr, when Fīrōz Shāh had tried to get rid of him and he had to flee from the capital<sup>38</sup>. This event had taken place just after Fīrōz Shāh's defeat at the hands of Dēvarāya, the ruler of Vijayanagar, at Panagal in 822 A H.

The Bahmanī kingdom was practically extinct in 895/1490. By then the sovereign power was seized either by four provincial governors—Fathu'l-lāh 'Imādu'l-Mulk, Ahmad Nizāmu'l-Mulk, Yūsuf 'Adil Khān and Sultān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk, and Amīr Barīd, the minister of the central government. Yet the coins show that the shadow of the kingship, to which the rulers were reduced, was held in high esteem in the eyes of the subjects. The governors, who were virtually independent rulers in their respective provinces, did not dare for a long time to issue coins in their own name. Coins continued to be issued in the names of the puppet rulers, and such coins were current not only during the life time of those Bahmanī rulers but they were also issued for some years in the name of Kalīmu'l-lāh when he had ceased to function as a ruler.

According to Ferishta, Kalīmu'l-lāh left his capital in 934 A H and took asylum at Ahmadnagar, where he died soon after. But coins dated 942, 950, 951 and 952 A H are known to have been issued in his name. Sherwānī has tried to show, on the basis of some inscriptions, that this Bahmanī Sultān was actually alive in 943 A H and he might have died in or just before 945 A H<sup>39</sup>. Even if we take that Kalīmu'l-lāh was alive till 945 A H, the fact remains that some coins were issued posthumously in his name. They undoubtedly indicate that the Bahmanīs held their prestige even after their total extinction, and it is a most interesting phenomenon of history though not unrivalled. In a later period, coins were issued in the name of Mughal ruler Shāh 'Ālam II by the East India Company and others for a long time after his death.

#### 4 *Coins of the Bahmanī Succession States*

##### (i) *The Nizām Shāhī Coins*

Fathu'l-lāh 'Imādu'l-Mulk, the governor of Berār, was the first to sever connections from the Bahmanī kingdom and became autonomous in 892/1487.

37 Ahmad Shāh's coin dated 822 has been published in *JNSI*, XXII, 218 and that for 823 in *JNSI*, II, 127.

38 *Silsila i Āsafiya*, III (i), 141-143.

39 *Potdar Commemoration Volume*, 217-218, *Bahmanis*, 417-19.

But so far very few coins have come to light that may be attributed to 'Imād Shāhī rulers nor it is known from any other sources if they ever issued any coin

Ahmad Nizāmu'l-Mulk Bahri, the governor of Ahmadnagar became autonomous in the Maharashtra region in 896/1491, but his attempt to invest himself with the title of *Shāh* met with vehement resistance from all quarters and the resentment forced him to retrace his steps. His successor Burhān I called himself *Shāh* only after he was encouraged by Bahādur Shāh the Sultān of Gujarat. He was the first to have issued coins in the dynasty

The Nizām Shāhī coins are known only in copper, but so far not much is known about them. In 1905 a small note was published on these coins by Framji Jamsaji<sup>40</sup> and only recently A H Siddiqui<sup>41</sup> appended some new information to that note. According to these notes, so far five types of Nizām Shāhī coins are known. They bear the following legends

1	Obverse	<i>Zuriba Nagar</i>
	Reverse	<i>Fī Shuhūr sanh 929</i>
2	Obverse	<i>Ẓuriba Murtazānagar</i>
	Reverse	<i>Fī Shuhūr sanh 993</i>
3	Obverse	<i>Ẓuriba Dārū'l-saltanat Burhānābād</i>
	Reverse	<i>Fī sanh ihda wa alf</i>
4	Obverse	<i>Ẓuriba Ahmadnagar Murtazā</i>
	Reverse	<i>Fī Shuhūr sanh</i>
5	Obverse	<i>Burhān Nizām Shāh Ghāzī Ẓuriba</i>
	Reverse	<i>Daulatābād fī Shuhūr</i>

As appears from the legends, the coins of the first three types are anonymous *i.e.*, they do not bear the name of the issuing ruler. It is only from the date and the names of the mint that one may surmise that they belonged to Nizām Shāhī rulers and might be the coins of Burhān I, Murtazā I and Burhān II respectively. During the reign of all these three rulers Ahmadnagar was the capital. As it appears from the name *Nagar* on the coins of the first type, Ahmadnagar remained to be called so during the reign of Burhān I. But in subsequent reigns, it appears from the coins that the name was changed first to Murtazānagar in the reign of Murtazā I and then to Burhānābād in the reign of Burhān II. But we have yet to find literary support for these changes in the name.

The coins of the fourth type disclose the name of its issuer as Murtazā and the dates known on these coins are 1009, 1011, 1012, 1013, and 1017 A H which relate to the

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<sup>40</sup> NS, VII, 51-52

<sup>41</sup> JNSI, XXVI, 262-267, XXVIII, 84-86

be attributed to him. But then during this period Ahmadnagar was not under his control. It was captured by prince Dānyāl, the son of the Mughal emperor Akbar in 1009/1600. The seat of the Nizām Shāhī government was shifted first to Junnār, and then to Daulatābād in the year 1016/1607. It was only in 1019/1610 that Ahmadnagar was reoccupied by the Nizām Shāhī ruler and remained under his rule up to 1026/1617. Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh II was dethroned in 1019/1610 and was replaced by his son Burhān III. These historical facts show that during the regime of Murtaẓā II Ahmadnagar was never under his control. Therefore, these coins could not be the legal issue unless we presume that the Nizām Shāhī administration continued to consider Ahmadnagar as its capital, though it was beyond their control. Siddiqui presumes that these coins were not struck under any royal authority but were issued by local *sarrāfs*, who defied the Mughal occupation of Ahmadnagar and remained loyal to their old rulers.<sup>42</sup> These speculations, need support before they are accepted or rejected.

The last type was issued by Burhān Nizām Shāh, the date on most of these coins are found off the flank. On one specimen it may be read as 1018 A H. Thus the coins may be attributed to Burhān III. As has been said above, during this period the Nizām Shāhī capital was at Daulatābād, and the same is the place of issue of these coins.

Framji Jamasji, in his note, did not mention the weight of the coins. According to Siddiqui, the coins of Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh II are known of four weights, 222 grains, 214 grains, 51.8 to 66.5 grains and 28.3 grains. Dinkar Rao has mentioned 230 grains and 154 to 145 grains as the weight of the coins of Burhān Nizām Shāh III.<sup>43</sup> These data are not enough to suggest the metrology of these coins, but not unlikely, the Nizām Shāhī rulers issued their coins in the continued tradition of Bahmanī coins. They may be *gāni*, half *gāni*, quarter *gāni* and eighth *gāni*.

#### (u) *The 'Ādil Shāhī coins*

Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, the governor of Bijapur, disassociated himself from the Bahmanī capital by degrees and became autonomous in 895/1499 by ordering the *khutbah* to be read in his name. But it seems that he did not issue any coin (*sikka*) on this occasion according to the Muslim traditions. Not only of him but also of his three successors, Ismā'il I, Mallū and Ibrāhīm I coins are not known. It is only Alī I whose coins are the earliest. He and all his successors issued copper coins of three denominations weighing about

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, XXVII, 267

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, XXVI, 262-67, XXVIII, 84-86

But so far very few coins have come to light that may be attributed to 'Imād Shāhī rulers nor it is known from any other sources if they ever issued any coin

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As appears from the legends, the coins of the first three types are anonymous *i.e.*, they do not bear the name of the issuing ruler. It is only from the date and the names of the mint that one may surmise that they belonged to Nizām Shāhī rulers and might be the coins of Burhān I, Murtazā I and Burhān II respectively. During the reign of all these three rulers Ahmadnagar was the capital. As it appears from the name *Nagar* on the coins of the first type, Ahmadnagar remained to be called so during the reign of Burhān I. But in subsequent reigns, it appears from the coins that the name was changed first to Murtazānagar in the reign of Murtazā I and then to Burhānābād in the reign of Burhān II. But we have yet to find literary support for these changes in the name.

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<sup>40</sup> NS, VII, 51-52

<sup>41</sup> JNSI, XXVI, 262-267, XXVIII, 84-86



It would be interesting to note that *Basātinu's-Salātin*, the standard chronicle of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty, mentions that the *fulūs* which were current from that date (i.e. from the time of Ibrāhīm II) onwards are known as *fulūs-i nauras* <sup>45</sup> It is hardly necessary to say that the king was very much enamoured of the word "nauras" and used it for a number of emblems \*

Silver coins of the type of copper, issued by 'Ādil Shāhī rulers, are not known so far. A silver currency of quite a different, and indeed of foreign pattern, was however, issued by them. It was the curious *lārin* currency, which originated in the district of Lār at the head of Persian Gulf and thence deriving its name. That the 'Ādil Shāhī *lārins* were at any time current over the whole extent of their dominion is extremely doubtful. Since their territory embraced a large portion of the Konkan littoral, it is quite likely that the 'Ādil Shāhī rulers caused *lārins* to be struck in their own name to meet the local demand for this strange coast money.

The *lārins*, being merely a piece of silver wire or slender rod doubled on its middle, affords but a scanty surface for receiving an inscription. Hence it is not easy to read the inscription on them. However, most of the *lārins* known so far, bear "*Sultān 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh*" on one side and *Zurība Lāri Dabulī* (or *Dābulī sanh*). The dates on them are rarely found clear, but some of them show the date 1071 or 1077. They suggest that the *lārins* were issued by 'Alī II, Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh is also said to have issued *lārins*, <sup>46</sup> but no specimens have come to our knowledge.

The other 'Ādil Shāhī ruler who issued coins in gold, was Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh. His gold coins are exactly of the weight of the *pagodās* or *huns* (i.e. 51 grains) which was the popular coin of South India. From a *farmān* issued by him, it appears that the bankers, merchants and the village people were reluctant to accept his *huns*. According to that *farmān*, the gold coins were made of 43 *ayars* or *kas* (i.e. 82.69% fineness) <sup>47</sup> These coins have the same legends as known of the copper coins.

45 Basātin, 250

\*[For the connotation of the word "Nauras" see Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's II, *Kitāb-i Nauras*, edited by Nazir Ahmad. Intr. 56-57. Ed.]

46 NS, XXXIX, 46 (NS stands for *Numismatic Supplement*)

47 JNSI, XVI, 130-131

[Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II also issued gold coins (hons) as evidenced by many state documents of his time. Following Akbar's large issues Ibrāhīm seems to have issued a large gold coin called *Nauras* made up of nine hons. Asad Bēg, Akbar's envoy who visited Bijapur in 1603-04 took among other items, one *Piece of nine* and he quotes the legend on this,

دورس مہر عادلشاہی حکمت گرو داد الہی

Asad Bēg also mentions that besides this *Hun-i-Nauras* he brought from Bijapur nine other huns, one piece of nine Ibrāhīmī and nine lāris. The *hun* was a gold coin and it is possible that the nine coins of this variety were Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's issues. See P. M. Joshi's article, 'Asad Beg's Mission to Bijapur', *Potdar Commemoration Volume*, 195. The Gadag Desai *farmāns* of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II also mention the *Nauras*. *Āthihasik Farsi Sahitya* III, 45 (Bharat Itihas Sanshodaka Mandala, Poona. Ed.]

(iii) *Qutb Shāhi Coins*

Sultān-Qulī Qutbu'l-Mulk, governor of Tilangana (which included Golkonda and Warangal), remained loyal to the Bahmanī kings till the beginning of the 16th century. According to Ferishta, he declared his independence in 918/1512, but historians believe in his unswerving loyalty to his patron at least till the latter's death. If that was the case, he would have become autonomous soon after the death of Mahmūd Shāh in 924/1518. Even after that date, however, it is believed that Sultān-Qulī neither mentioned his name in the *Khutbah* nor struck any coin in his name.

The coins of his successors are known. They all are of copper and are of a number of weights. The coins of two weights—one weighing in the proximity of 164-166 grains and the other in the proximity of 104-110 grains are known of Jamshīd Qutb Shāh. The coins of his successor Subhān Qulī are extremely rare. The only known specimen conforms to the heavy weight coins of his predecessor\*. The coins of the next ruler Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh are of three denominations. Besides the coins of the above two weights, he issued coins of a third weight in the proximity of 315 grains. This was most probably double of the heavy weight coins of his predecessors and triple of their light weight. These weights seem to have been abandoned by Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh. He issued square and round coins of two varieties. The first variety was issued in five denominations weighing (i) 203-232 grains, (ii) 97-112 grains, (iii) 168-185 grains, (iv) 135-148 grains and (v) 67-73 grains. The second variety had four denominations weighing (i) 267-274 grains, (ii) 132-134 grains, (iii) 169-186 grains, and (iv) 87 grains. Thus his coins had the following four pairs of denominations, with one nearly double the other

- (i) 267-274 grains and 132-134 grains
- (ii) 135 148 grains and 67-73 grains
- (iii) 203 232 grains and 97-112 grains
- (iv) 168-185 grains and 87 grains

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\*[It is doubtful whether the coins attributed to Jamshīd and Subhān (see Abdul Walī Khan, *Qutub Shahi Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Museum*, p 1) are genuine. The following points may be considered in this context —(a) Jamshīd's father, Sultān Qulī Qutb'l-Mulk is not known to have coined money in his name at all, (b) the name of Jamshīd on the four coins listed is spelt 'Janbshid,' a spelling which is not found elsewhere, (c) the year (*sanh*) is left blank in all these coins, (d) when Burhān Nizām Shāh offered the insignia and title of royalty to Jamshīd he refused by saying that he was quite content to have the power and did not hanker after titles (*TQI*, fol 28 b, *QS*, fol 113), (e) the boy Subhān's 'reign' of just six months was too full of internal turmoil to allow his guardians to coin money in his name, (f) of all the Qutb Shāhi rulers only Jamshīd's and Subhān's graves have no inscribed tombstones, which perhaps denotes their inferior status. *Ed*]

How these weights were inter-related in the value of coins is not possible to explain

The next ruler Muhammad Quṭb Shāh issued coins of only three denominations (i) 263-270 grains, (ii) 95 grains and (iii) 285 grains. The coins of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh are of two varieties. One variety is known in six denominations (i) 370 grains, (ii) 199-206 grains, (iii) 184-165 grains, (iv) 130-141 grains, (v) 107-121 grains and (vi) 93-99 grains. The other is of four denominations (i) 169-188 grains, (ii) 114-126 grains, (iii) 107 grains and (iv) 45 grains. The coins of this second variety were issued mostly towards the end of the reign, and they show that the weights of the coins were reduced. The coins of the reduced weight continued in the reign of the next ruler Abu'l-Hasan Quṭb Shāh, whose coins are known only of 152-166 and 103-108 grains.

The Quṭb Shāhī rulers were the least fastidious about the legends of their coins. It is only Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh and Muhammad Quṭb Shāh who used the epithet *Abu'l-Muzaffar*, all the others contented with the simple title of *Sultān*. Their coins bear the name on the obverse as *Sultān Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh*, *Sultān Subhān Qulī Quṭb Shāh*, *Abu'l-Muzaffar Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh*, *Abu'l-Muzaffar Sultān Muhammad Quṭb Shāh Sultān 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh* or *Sultān 'Abdu'l-lāh Bādshāh Ghāzī*. The coins of 'Abdu'l-lāh appear to have been issued after the attack by Aurangzeb, as they bear resemblance to the Mughal coins. Reverse of the coins bear the mint name with or without date \*

Besides these common coins, Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh had issued a type, which had the couplet

دَیْمِیْرْدَدَ دِلْوَسِ شَاهِی      پِیُو سَتَمِ دِلْعَتِ اِلَهِی

(God's curse be on him who finds fault with the royal *fulūs*) Some of these coins do not bear the king's name and have a hemistich on each side, on others the entire couplet is seen on one side and the legend '*Adl Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh* with the mint name *Dāru's-Saltanat Kalkundah* and date 991 or 992 on the other. It appears that as his coins were not popular he had recourse to such a course, otherwise there was no reason for such an unusual legend.

Another extraordinary legend is found on the coins of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh and his son-in-law and successor Abu'l-Hasan Quṭb Shāh. Their

\*[It should be noted that under the Instrument of Submission signed by 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh in 1635 he was forced to coin rupees in Shah Jahan's name in the Golkonda mint. These coins were brought before the Emperor in January 1636. See *Lahōri*, II, 130, 145. For specimens of these coins see Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum*, Lahore, II, 200. These rupees conform to the usual Imperial Mughal issues. Ed.]

coins read **حتم بالصير والسعادة** (It came to an end well and auspiciously) It shows that they were issued as a sigh of relief from some calamities that overshadowed the kingdom These coins bear the date 1068 and 1095 A H

The capital, Golkonda was named Muhammadnagar by Sultān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk, so, the coins bear the mint name as *Muhammadnagar Kalkundah* or *Dāru's-Saltanat Kalkundah*, during the early period From 1012 A H, in the reign of Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, the coins bear the name *Dāru's-Saltanat Hydarābād* In the time of 'Abdu'l lāh Quṭb Shāh, some coins are known to have been issued from Muhammadnagar along with Hydarābād

#### (iv) *Barīd Shāhi coins*

Qāsim Barīd, who, rising from the post of *sarnaubat*, had made himself chief minister at the Bahmanī capital, became *de facto* ruler of the province of Bīdar about 896/1490-91 But he and his successor wielded their power under the cover of the weak Bahmanī rulers Ahmad Shāh IV, 'Alāu'd-dīn, Waliyu'l-lāh and Kalīmu'l lāh It is not known from any source whether Qāsim Barīd issued any coin, but for his successor Amīr Barīd I, Ferishta has used the epithet *Sāhib ı sikkā*, which suggests that he did strike coins But no coins of his reign are yet known Most likely he and his predecessor had continued to issue Bahmanī coins in the names of the puppet Sultāns The third ruler, 'Alī Barīd I, calls himself *Shāh* in his inscriptions, yet he also refrained from issuing his own coins In all probability, the coins of Kalīmu'l-lāh bearing the dates 942-952/1535-1545 were issued by him

The fourth ruler Ibrāhīm Barīd, 987-994/1579-1586, issued his own coins but that too only towards the end of his reign He at first retained the name of the Bahmanī ruler Kalīmu'l-lāh on one side and incised on the reverse the name, *Sultān Amīr Barīd Shāh* with the date 993/1585 But soon after, he dispensed with this unreality and issued exclusively his own coins

The coins of Ibrāhīm Barīd Shāh and his successors are anonymous They have uniformly the name *Sultān Amīr Barīd Shāh*, which was befitting only for the coins of the second ruler Amīr Barīd I The continued issue of coins in a predecessor's name, is an unknown phenomenon in Indian numismatics

Two varieties of coins of Ibrāhīm Barīd Shāh are known one bears the legend *Bī-nasr Allāh al-'Ālī* on one side and *Al-sultān Amīr Barīd Shāh Bānī* on the other The other variety omits the word *al-'Ālī* on the obverse The coins of the latter type bears the date 993 A H His successor Qāsim Barīd Shāh II (994-1000/1587-1592) issued coins with *Al-muayyid bī nasr Allāh Sultānī* on one side and *al-Sultān Amīr Barīd Shāh* on the other The date 997 A H. is traceable on his coins The unusual feature of the coins is the use

of the word *Sultānī* on the obverse. It is suggested to be the denomination of the coin.<sup>48</sup> No coins are known which could be attributed to next two rulers. The eighth ruler Amīr Barīd III issued coins with the legend *Al-muayyid bi nasr Allāh al-Mulūk al-Qawī al-Ghanī* on the obverse and *Al-Sultān al-‘Ādil Amīr Barīd Shāh bārak\** on the reverse. He issued another coin, where *al Malūk al-Qawī* of the obverse legend and *Bārak* of the reverse legend of the above coins are omitted. The dates on these coins are 1017, 1018 and 1020 A H.

The Barīd Shāhī coins are exclusively of copper and were in the proximity of 280, 180, 125 and 90 grains. They do not bear the mint name.

48 *Ibid*, XXI, 61

[The word *Bārak* is rather enigmatic. Abdul Hameed Siddiqui, in his article on 'Some Copper Coins of the Barīd Shāhī Dynasty of Bīdar', *JNSI*, XXI, Part II, 58 ff. says on 60: 'The word *Bārīk* is an Arabic word, which means 'let him be blessed or auspicious'. The word *Bārīka* in a Turkish word meaning lightning. The word *Bārak* is an old Persian word which means one who carries or rider'. The word *asi-bārak* was meant as horse rider. *Bārak* along with the word *Barīd* means 'post rider or messenger'. If the word *Amīr* is joined with the words *Barīd Bārak* it will mean 'Royal Courier'."

Likewise Siddiqui says on p. 62 that the word *Bānī* is a Persian word which means 'The Builder'. It seems that this was the title assumed by Ibrāhīm Barīd. It may, however, be pointed out that *Bānī* is not a Persian but an Arabic word, and is the nominative form of *Binā* meaning foundation, establishment. If Siddiqui's reading is correct it appears that Ibrāhīm arrogated to himself the dignity of the foundation of the Barīdī dynasty, although according to Ferishta the title of 'Shāh' had already been affixed by his father 'Alī Barīd to his name. *Ed*]



## APPENDIX

### COINS OF KONDAVIDU REDDI KINGS

by DR A H SIDDIQUI

Elliot<sup>1</sup>, in his book *Coins of South India*, attributed one gold *fānam* and two copper coins to the rulers of Kākatīya dynasty. The copper coin contained on the obverse a bull couchant to the right along with “lingam” on the back and on the reverse a legend in Telugu. The gold coin also contained a bull couchant on the obverse. He also referred to another copper coin which was subsequently lost, and mentioned that it contained bull couchant on the obverse and had the reverse legend as—Śrīmad Kā Kakatī Pratāpa Ra ya kātaka Saka. The copper coins, bearing the above-mentioned legend ‘Śrīmad Kākatīya Pratāparudra’ and containing no figure on either side, was the subject of controversy for a long time. Dinkar Rao<sup>2</sup> attributed these coins to the last Rāshtrakūta King, Kakka II (972-73). Subsequently, Mahadevan,<sup>3</sup> Sarkar,<sup>4</sup> Ramaya,<sup>5</sup> and Amjad Ali<sup>6</sup> assigned these coins to the Kākatīya ruler, Pratāparudra II. Venkataramanayya<sup>7</sup> correctly assigned these coins to Gajapati Pratāparudra on the basis of the inscription of the copper-plate grant<sup>8</sup> wherein Gajapati Pratāparudra assumed the title ‘Kākatī’. With this attribution copper coins with bull couchant and the above mentioned legend may be assigned to Gajapati Pratāparudra. While searching for more coins with bull couchant, two coins of Kondavidu Reddi Kings were discovered. One of the coins has reading not fully legible and its facsimile is therefore not given here. The description of these coins is as follows:

Coin No 1 Metal Copper Shape Circular, Size 1.8 cm Wt 3.61 grm

#### *Obverse*

Bull couchant facing right  
and a symbol on the back

#### *Reverse*

Legend in Telugu-Kannada script  
First line Śrī Vēma

- 
- 1 Elliot, *Coins of South India*, Pl III, Nos 93 to 95
  - 2 *JNSI*, XXI Pt I, 37-38
  - 3 *Hindu*, January 28, 1959
  - 4 *JNSI*, XXI, Pt II, 97
  - 5 *Ibid*, XXI, Pt II, 181
  - 6 *Ibid*, XXIX, Pt II, 85-88
  - 7 *Ibid*, XXX, 213-214
  - 8 *Nellore Inscriptions*, I, Copper-plate No 22, 184-185

*Obverse*

of the animal

*Reverse*

Middle line Symbols, shank, sword and chakra

Lower line a na

Coin No 2 Metal Copper Shape Circular , Size 1 6 cm Wt 3 427 grm

*Obverse*

Bull couchant facing left and the symbols Sun and Moon on the back of the animal

*Reverse*

Legend in Telugu-Kannada script partly visible

First line Ve

Middle line Symbols shank, sword and chakra

There were six Kondavīdu Reddī Kings, who ruled the coastal Andhra area for about one century—Prōlaya Vēma (1325-53), Anavōta (1354-64), Anavēma (1364-86), Kumāragiri (1386-1404), Pēda Kōmatī Vēma (1402-20) and Rācha Vēma (1420-24). Coin (1) can be ascribed to Anavēma. As these Reddī Kings were Śaivaites, they used on the obverse Nandin as their bīruda and other Śaivaitic symbols, shank, chakra on the reverse of the coin. One noteworthy peculiarity of the coin is that the name of the king Ana is inscribed at the lower part of the coin.

The second coin also pertains to the same dynasty as it has bull couchant and has the same symbols, shank, sword and chakra. But the bull is facing left whereas the coin of Ana Vēma has bull facing right. Hence it may pertain to some other ruler of this dynasty, and as the letters are blurred, it eludes correct decipherment. Both of these coins were found in Hyderabad city. As copper coins have no wide circulation, this provenance of these coins is significant. After the extinction of Kākātīya dynasty in the 1323 by Muhammad bin Tughluq, the Tīlangana area was under the governor of the Delhi Sultān, Malīk Nabī. However within fifteen years four dynasties emerged namely, Bahmanīs at Gulbarga, Vijayanagar Kingdom at Anēgondī, Kondavīdu Reddīs and Rācherla Nāyaks. The latter two dynasties had sway over coastal Andhra area and eastern Tīlangana respectively. During the initial years of the reign of Ana Vēma a part of his territory was lost to Vijayanagar Kings. Ana Vēma conquered many fort towns of the Coastal area and advanced up to Simhāchalam. He appeared to have gained victory over the Racherla chief and annexed a part of the territory north of river Krishna and also recovered the territory lost to Vijayanagar Kings. The provenance of the present coin establishes that Ana Vēma perhaps held sway over Nalgonda and Hyderabad regions of eastern Tīlangana.



CHAPTER VIII  
POSTAL COMMUNICATIONS

by DR. M. A. NAYEEM

*Synopsis*

- I. Under the Delhi Sultānates:
  - (i) Jalālu'd-dīn **Kh**alji;
  - (ii) 'Alāu'd-dīn **Kh**alji;
  - (iii) The Tughluqs.
- II. Under the Deccan Rulers:
  - (i) The Yādavas and the Kākatiyas;
  - (ii) The Quṭb Shāhīs of Golkonda-Hydarabad;
  - (iii) The 'Adil Shāhīs of Bijapur;
  - (iv) The Maratha Rulers.
- III. Mughal Postal System in the Deccan:
  - (i) Relay System of Akbar;
  - (ii) Categories of News Reporters;
  - (iii) *Nalwah Dāk* ;
  - (iv) Postal Contract System of the Mughals;
  - (v) Mughal Military Post in the Deccan;
  - (vi) Postal staff of the Mughal;
  - (vii) Public Post under the Mughals.
- IV. Parallel Postal Systems in the Deccan:
  - (i) Operation of Mughal and local Postal Systems—Golkonda and Bi
  - (ii) Europeans in the Deccan and their Post.
- V. Foreign Mail Service in the Deccan.



Early Indian rulers were impelled by the need for a regular supply of information regarding the conduct of their officers, the daily occurrences in the country and the movement of their enemies. Postal system owes its origin to the news-letters and news-reporters, which formed an important part of the administrative machinery in the early days. The system of news-letters was based on the conception of the monarch as the embodiment of benevolent vigilance. A big empire in those days of meagre communications had to invest its local officials with considerable powers which could be misused. Therefore it was essential that an institution be devised to keep the centre informed of all that was happening in the provinces and in remote places of far-flung empires.

Even before the medieval period, there existed a postal system of a different type in the Deccan, and "Postal system had from time immemorial existed in India"<sup>1</sup> But a new type of postal system evolved in the Deccan when it came under the suzerainty of the Delhi Sultānate. The evolution of postal communications in Medieval Deccan can be classified as follows —

- 1 Under the Delhi Sultānate, 695 741/1296-1340
- 2 Under the Deccan Rulers, 741-1137/1340-1724
- 3 Under the Mughals, 968-1137/1561-1724
- 4 Parallel Postal Systems along with those of Deccan Rulers
  - (a) of the Mughals, 1048-1098/1637-1687
  - (b) of the Europeans, 907-1137/1500 1724

## I Under the Delhi Sultānates

### (i) *Jalālu'd dīn Khālji*

In the Deccan, the system of news-letters and regular postal communications originated in the thirteenth century when the governor of Karā, 'Alāu'd dīn Khālji (nephew of Sultān Jalālu'd-dīn) led the expedition into the Deccan against the Yādava Ruler of Dēvagiri in 695/1296 and coerced him to cede Elichpūr, after which he marched to Dēvagiri. With this expedition the foundation of regular postal communications for sending news-letters were laid in the Deccan. According to the *Tārīkh-i Firōz Shāhi*<sup>2</sup> "It was the practice of the Sultān (Jalālu'd-dīn Khālji), whenever he sent an army on an expedition, to establish posts on the roads wherever posts could be maintained, beginning

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1 *CHI*, III, 129

2. *ED*, III, 203

at Tilpat (near Delhi) which is the first stage At every post relays of horses were stationed, at every half or quarter *kos* runners were posted, and in every town or place wherever horses were posted officers and report-writers were appointed Every day or every two or three days news came to the Sultān reporting the progress of the army and intelligence of the health of the sovereign was carried to the army”

(ii) ‘Alāu’-d-dīn *Khaljī*

‘Alāu’-d-dīn *Khaljī* succeeded Sultān Jalālu’-d-dīn *Khaljī* in 695/1296, and in the same year he sent an expedition to Dēvagrī His first expedition was despatched in 703/1303 against the Kākatīyas of Warangal With these expeditions, we find further extension of postal system in the Deccan

‘Alāu’-d-dīn *Khaljī* had good means of communications for his large empire The Sultāns’ *barīds*<sup>3</sup>, distributed all over the empire, furnished him with news A minister with great importance called *Barīd-ī Mumālīk*,<sup>4</sup> was the head of the State News Agency It was his duty to keep himself informed of all that was happening in the Empire, and agents spread all over the Empire reported all news which had any significance or importance<sup>5</sup> The headquarters of every administrative sub-division had a local *barīd* who sent regular news-letters to the Central Office<sup>6</sup> Men of known probity and honesty were appointed to this post, sometimes learned men with an outstanding reputation for piety and impartiality were made to accept it against their will as a matter of public duty<sup>7</sup> So great was the responsibility that if a *barīd* failed to report a misdeed or some act of gross injustice committed by a well-placed official, he sometimes paid for his shortcomings with his life<sup>8</sup> Nothing was outside the cognizance of a *barīd*, he was the confidential agent of the Central Government to report on every aspect of public administration He kept his informers everywhere and let nothing escape his argus-eyed vigilance Having gathered all the information he could, he classified it and put it in the reports so that each document could be referred to separate departments concerned by the

3 *Barīd* According to *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, it means a ‘Post animal’, ‘Post horse,’ ‘Courier’, the institution of ‘post’ and finally the distance between two post stations But, the Arabic word *Barīd* was generally adopted by the Delhi Sultānates for the News-Reports, according to *Kulturgeschichte des Orient*, translated by Khuda Bakhsh, *Orients under the Caliphs* But Professor Muhammad Habib and Dr Afsar Bēgam use “Intelligence Officers’ for *Barīd* in their translation of *Fatāwa-ī Jahāndārī* (*Political Theory of the Delhi Sultānate*, 30)

4 *Barīd-ī Mumālīk*, Minister of the News Agency

5 *Fakhr-ī Mudabbir Ādābu’l Mulūk wa Kifāyatul Mamlūk*, 41, 42 Qurēshī *Administration of Sultānate of Delhi*, 89

6 Khuda Bakhsh *The Orient Under the Caliphs*, 230 31

7 *Baranī*, 45

8 *ED*, III, 101, Qurēshī, *op cit*, 89

Central Office or personally to the Sultān<sup>9</sup> A well-organised news-agency was a prime necessity for the successful administration of justice in the realm, since in this way the monarch got prompt news of the deeds of his servants, hence the department was compared to 'the windows in a house which admit light from outside'<sup>10</sup> The *barīds* were required to report "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth"<sup>11</sup> The post was well-paid, for it was wisely considered to keep the *barīd* immune from the temptation of accepting bribes<sup>12</sup>

It is doubtful if the Sultān's post carried private letters, it is certain, however, that the soldiers on expeditions were able to communicate with their families by this method<sup>13</sup>

When Sultān 'Alāu'd-dīn sent Malik Kāfūr against Warangal in 710/1310 'the Sultān was anxiously following the progress of the expedition to Warangal by the daily news-despatches by the *post* which had been established all along the route from Delhi to Warangal'<sup>14</sup> Finally, by the year 718/1318, the postal system of the Delhi Sultānates was fully extended throughout the Deccan

### (iii) *The Tughluqs*

The House of Tughluq succeeded the *Khālji* Sultāns in 725/1325 Great improvement in the development of the postal system was made during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq specially when he made Dēvagiri, renamed Daulatābād, his second capital Eloquent tributes have been paid by the Moorish traveller Ibn-i Baṭūṭah regarding the transmission of news and the postal system during the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq

Ibn-i Baṭūṭah arrived in India on 1 Muḥarram 734/12 September 1333 He says<sup>15</sup> "The *Barīd* in India are of two types *The Barīd-ī Khāl*,<sup>16</sup> they are generally called *Elwulaq*<sup>17</sup> (The first letter 'Wāv' is to be accentuated with 'Pēsh' and the last letter of the word is 'Qaf') The horse courier, which is a part of the Sultān's cavalry, is stationed at a distance of every four *Kroh*<sup>18</sup> The *Barīd-ī Ryālah*<sup>19</sup> is thus arranged, each *Kroh* was

9 *Khudā Bakhsh op cit*, 232, Qureshi *op cit*, 90

10 Jalālu'd dīn Muhammad Tabātabā *Tauqī at-ī Kīra* (Bod M S 135, fol 31b)

11 Fakhr ī Mudabbir *op cit*, n at 42 a

12 Abu 'Alī Hasan *Siyāsat Nāma* 68, 69 ed Charles Scheffer, Paris, 1897, 68, 69

13 'Afīf *Tārīkh ī Fīrōz Shāhī*, ed Wilayat Husain, 182 83

14 Kishori Saran Lal *History of the Khāljis*, 241 *Barani*, 330 32

15 *Rihlah*, translated by Defremez and Sanguinetti, Paris, III, 95

16 *Barīd ī Khāl*, Horse post

17 *Wulaq* the horsemen who carried letters Ibn Baṭūṭah writes *Elwulaq* The root of this Arabic word is *Walaqa* .

18 *Kroh*, About two miles

19 *Barīd ī Ryālah* Foot-post

divided into three equal parts called *Dāvah*<sup>20</sup> which signifies one-third of a *Kroh*. At each third of a *Kroh* there is an inhabited village on the outskirts of which there are three *Qibbāb*<sup>21</sup> in which the couriers sit, ready to move off with their loins girded. In the hands of each is a rod about two cubits long tipped with *Jalājil ı Nahās*<sup>22</sup> tied at the end held upside. When a courier leaves the villages, he takes the letters in one hand, in the other the rod with jinglers. In this manner, he proceeds to the nearest foot courier, running with all his might, and, as he approaches he shakes his rod. When the men in the *Qibbāb* hear the sound of the jinglers, they prepare to receive him. When he arrives one of them takes the letter and sets off with all speed. He keeps on cracking his rod until he reaches the next *dāvah*. Thus, these courier proceeds until the letter reaches its destination.”

## II Under the Deccan Rulers

### (1) *The Yādavas and the Kākatīyas*

The rulers of the Yādava and Kākatīya dynasties of the Deccan used to employ special messengers to communicate with one another and to send orders to their officers.

Ferishta<sup>23</sup> records that “Ram Dev, in a state of utmost perplexity<sup>24</sup> sent expresses to hasten the succour which he expected from the Rajas of

20 *Dāvah* Ibn ı Batūtah, 95, states that the distance between two postal stations was called *El Dāvah* or simply *Dāvah*. It was actually a third of a *Kroh*. But it has been used in different senses on different occasions. Ibn ı Batūtah himself uses it to mean a ‘Post’, when he writes—“So he wrote to the Sulṭān to announce our arrival and sent his letter by the *dāvah* which is the foot-post” (Lee *Travels of Ibn ı Batūtah* 145). Again he uses the same word in the sense of postal stations or stages when he writes—“At every *kroh* or *coss* from Delhi to Daulatabād, there were three *dāvah* or posts” (Lee 191 2). But Sir Wolseley Haig is of the opinion that “Ibn ı Battūtā mistranslates the word *dāwat* (*dāvah*), properly *dhāwat*, as ‘the third of a *Kurūh*’, but it means simply ‘a runner’” (CHI, III, 129-30).

21 *Qibāb* Plural of *Qubbat* meaning a dome, whereas Lee (p 102) in his translation calls them “Sentry boxes”, (ED, III, 587), while Gibbs, *Travels of Ibn Batūtah*, 186, translates the word as ‘tents’. But *Qubbat* is never a ‘tent’ nor a ‘sentry-box’. It has a circular, semi spherical or conical top. According to the definition of the word, it is a *dome*, made of brick, stone and lime or mud. The conception of a ‘sentry-box’ is alien and has nothing to do with the medieval administration and culture of India.

22 *Jalājil-ı Nahās* Brass *Jinglers* or *Ginglers*. M. A. Nayeem, ‘Ghungru Postal System of Hyderabad’ *India’s Stamp Journal*, Bombay, March-July 1964. Ibn ı Batūtah saw the *Ghungrūs* on the rod of the couriers in India and referred in his text to its most appropriate Arabic equivalent “*Jalājil ı Nahās*” or Brass *Jinglers*. “*Ghungrūs*” were generally popular in India, it is denotative of a jingling sound effect.

23 Briggs I, 309

24 When ‘Alāu’d dīn Khaljī attacked Devagiri in 695/1296

Koolburg, Tulingana, Malwa and Kandesh” These messengers of the Raja Ram Dev were called *Basiths*, according to the *Khazānu’l Futūh*,<sup>25</sup> in which the author Amīr Khusrō uses this word for the messengers of Rām Dev. Likewise similar system might have been adopted by the Rajas of other Deccan Kingdoms. Greater details are not known so far.

(ii) *The Quṭb Shāhīs of Golkonda-Hydarābād*

With the break up of the Delhi Sultānates, the postal system was also disorganised. It is quite possible that a similar system of postal communications was followed by the Bahmanī and other Kingdoms of the Deccan for their news-letters, for controlling the provincial administration of their empires. The Bahmanīs even maintained the *Munhiyān* or secret service agents at Delhi.<sup>26</sup> For the proper functioning of this intelligence service the Bahmanīs probably had a regular postal system, but precise details are not known. What is mentioned here are details of the Quṭb Shāhī and ‘Ādil Shāhī kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur respectively, which emerged after the dissolution of the Bahmanī kingdom along with three other kingdoms of the Deccan.

Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh (957-988/1550-80), the fourth Ruler of the Quṭb Shāhī Kingdom, introduced a new intelligence service to keep the king in touch with the subjects and officers of local units. A large number of reporters were posted throughout the kingdom for conveying local news to the capital, Golkonda. It is related that the department worked efficiently.<sup>27</sup>

The existence of good and efficient postal system under the Quṭb Shāhīs is given in an interesting account of Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who visited Golkonda several times in the seventeenth century. Tavernier describes the system when he met Muhammad Sa’id Mīr Jumlā, Prime Minister of the Kingdom, at Gandikōta on 23 Zīqā’dah 1062/15 September 1652, as follows —

“After his (Mīr Jumlā’s) secretaries had written the answers, he caused them to read them and then took the letters and sealed them himself, giving some to *foot-messengers*, others to *horsemen*. For you must know that all those letters which are sent by the *foot-posts* all over India, go with more speed than those letters which are carried by horsemen. The reason is that at end of every *two leagues*<sup>28</sup> there are little huts where there are men always ready, who are engaged to run immediately, so that when one of these men who carry the letters, comes to one of these huts, he throws the letters into the hut and then he who is appointed runs with them to the next stage. They look upon it as ill-omen to give the letters into the messenger’s hands but they must be

25 Amīr Khusrō, *Khazānu’l Futūh*, E & D, III, 83

26 Sherwānī, *The Bahmanīs of the Deccan*, 85

27 Siddiqui, *History of Golconda*, 65

28 An English league equals nearly 3 miles

thrown at his feet and he must gather them up. It is to be observed also that the highways in most parts of India are like walks of trees, and if there are no trees, at every five hundred paces distance there are set up little heaps of stones, which the inhabitants of the next village are bound to whitewash from time to time, so that those letter-carriers may not miss their way in dark and rainy nights”<sup>29</sup>

Tavernier has described the postal system between Golkonda and Gandikōta, established immediately after it was conquered by Mīr Jumla, and according to Jagdish Narayan Sarkar—“For facility in transmission of news Mīr Jumla set up *dāk chaukis*<sup>30</sup> from Hyderabad to Karnatak”<sup>31</sup>

The effectiveness of the system is evident from the following statement of Tavernier—“When we perceived him (Mīr Jumla) at a little leisure, we asked him whether he had any commands to lay upon us and whether he thought our commodities fitting to be shown to the King. He answered that we might go to Golkonda and that he would write to his son in our behalf and that his letters would be there (at Golkonda) sooner than we”<sup>32</sup>

The elaborate postal system which the Quṭb Shāhī rulers were maintaining can be imagined from the amount of Budget of Rs 7501 for the salaries of postal *harkāras*<sup>33</sup> allotted for the year 1097/1685-6 only for what became later the Sūba of Hyderabad<sup>34</sup>

After the defection of Mīr Jumla to the Mughal side as wazīr of Aurangzeb, Karnatak was conferred by the Emperor Shah Jahan, in Ramaṣān 1066/July 1656, on Mīr Jumla as a personal *jāgīr* under the Mughal Empire<sup>35</sup>. Thus, with this grant the *dāk chaukis* in the Karnatak, which had been established earlier by Mīr Jumla under the Quṭb Shāhīs of Golkonda, became the private

29 Tavernier, *Travels in India* (Calcutta), 223-24

30 *Dāk chaukis*, *Dāk* or *Dawk* is a Hindi word meaning ‘post’, i.e. proper transport by relays of men and horses, and thence the ‘mail’ or letter post, while *chauki* is another Hindi word meaning here a stage. According to *A’in-i Akbarī*, I, 257 “Mounting guard is called in Hindi *Chauki*” But *Dāk Chauki* means a postal station where runners or mounted men or horses were stationed.

31 Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *Life of Mīr Jumla*, 41

32 Tavernier, 228

33 *Harkāra* Generally means one employed to do every type of work. It is a Hindi word. It originally meant “men employed by merchants for supplying them information,” later, it came to mean ‘spies’. When employed at the *dāk chaukiyāt* they were called ‘courier’ or ‘postal-runners’. But, Aurangzeb, in a letter to his son Muḥammad Aṣlam, uses it for ‘reporter’, when he writes ‘why do the *harkārah* not supply you with information? They must be screening their friends. Appoint now *harkārah*s and warn them against this.” *Ruqqa’āt-i ‘Ālamgiri* tr. by Jamshīd H. Billimoria, 37

34 Girdharilal Ahqar, *Tārīkh-i Zafarāh*, 173-5

35 Sarkar, *op cit*, 92, 93



property of Mīr Jumlā, this can be noted from the following passage—" He (Quṭb Shāh) instructed his general, 'Abdu'l-Jabbār, to hinder the *dāk chaukī* of Mīr Jumlā and to pick up a quarrel with his agents, causing considerable disorders in the internal administration of the Karnatak "36

In the absence of Mīr Jumlā from Karnatak, Aurangzeb took all necessary and possible measures to guard Mīr Jumlā's Karnatak dominion. Aurangzeb gave adequate instructions to Qubād Bēg, Mughal *hājib* at Golkonda, "to see to the setting up of the *dākchaukīs* from Hyderabad to Sidhout "37 So great was the importance attached to the Mīr Jumlā's *dāk chaukīs* that "at Mīr Jumlā's request, Aurangzeb dismissed Qubād, who was held responsible for the delays in the working of the *dāk chaukīs* from his post of *hājib*, and appointed in his place Ahmad Bēg Najmsanī "38

Thus, we see that for some years there was *simultaneous operation* of Quṭb Shāh's and Mīr Jumlā's postal system within the territories of Golkonda Kingdom, as the postal routes of Mīr Jumla between Hyderabad and Karnatak,<sup>39</sup> Hyderabad and Sidhout,<sup>40</sup> Hyderabad-Indūr-Burhānpūr,<sup>41</sup> etc, were all within the territories of the Golkonda Kingdom

### (iii) The 'Ādil Shāhis of Bijapur

The 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom of Bijapur had an elaborate postal system for the communication of news and news-letters. During the reign of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I, (965/1558-80), the king maintained an army of 300 Brahman *harkāras* and 700 *jāsūs*<sup>42</sup> for news-reporting and conveying news-letters.<sup>43</sup> Though these reporters were under the direct supervision of the Prime Minister, they had no restriction in approaching the King directly for reporting.<sup>44</sup>

The nature of duties of the *jāsūs* under 'Ādil Shāhis were similar to those of the *barīds* of the Delhi Sultanates. They were appointed exclusively to report day and night to the king all the happenings in different parts of the kingdom and the *harkāras* conveyed letters from the Capital to the officers of the Government at various places in the kingdom and vice-versa.<sup>45</sup>

36 *Ibid*, 95

37 *Ibid*, 99

38 *Ibid*, 100

39 Abu'l Fath, *Ādāb ı Ālamgiri*, Or Public Library, Patna, 67 a b

40 Sarkar, *op cit*, 99

41 Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1655 60, 91

42 *Jasūs* An Arabic word meaning 'a spy'. The word was used both in a sense of news reporters and a spy by the 'Ādil Shāhī rulers of Bijapur and by the Maratha rulers

43 *Basātin*, 131

44 P M Joshi, 'Ādil Shāhī Administration', *IHC*, 1940, 235

45 *Tadhkira*, 93 a

According to Ferishta,<sup>46</sup> the 'Ādil Shāhī Rulers studied the daily news-reports brought by special messengers from different parts of the kingdom in the open darbār, held every day except on Fridays. Official orders were passed by the king on these news-reports

#### iv The Maratha Rulers

Shivaji too organised an 'Intelligence Department'<sup>47</sup> for the efficient operation of his army and an elaborate postal system, "Postal system did not occupy any recognised position under the Maratha rule. Special agencies were employed on particular occasions, when the armies went to Hindustan or to the Karnatak. These special agencies consisted of special *Jāsuds*<sup>48</sup> or *Kāssids* i.e., runners, who apparently took 18 days to go to Delhi from Thalner, and 13 days from Mahēśwar, and they were paid handsomely, 3 rupees a day, the amount being regulated inversely according to the number of days they took for the journey"<sup>49</sup>

From the Marathi sources<sup>50</sup> it is noted that the *dāk* system in Maharashtra came into existence chiefly to serve the needs of the Maratha Government. For the public post no difficulty was felt by the people who went on pilgrimage, as a person named "Athawla" established a *dāk* which carried letters between Benaras and Poona. Subsequently, two systems of *dāk* came into existence in Maharashtra<sup>51</sup>—the *Sarkārī Dāk*<sup>52</sup> and the *Śāhūkārī Dāk*<sup>53</sup>. The Maratha *Dāk* system operated between all the principal towns of Maharashtra and also between Kalyān and Kāshī (Benaras), Kalyān and Bombay, Poona and Nāsik, Gwālior and Satārā.<sup>54</sup>

The Maratha Rulers employed 'Machwē'<sup>55</sup> along the Konkan coast for the dispatch and receipt of *Batmī*<sup>56</sup> while *Azurdārs*<sup>57</sup> and *Jasuaads* were employed across Maharashtra.<sup>58</sup> According to the Marathi Encyclopaedia<sup>59</sup> the

46 Fer, I, 536, *Basāṭm*, 357

47 Sen, Surender Nath *Administrative System of the Marathas*, 125

48 "Jasūd", same as *Jasūs*

49 General Introduction to *Shahu Chatrapati and the Peshwa Dairies*, 22

50 *Pēshwā Rooznishi*, VIII, 219-220

51 N G Chapekar, *Pēshwāchyā Savaleet*, 41

52 *Sarkārī Dāk* Government post, for conveyance the Maratha Government employed *Sāndmī sawārs* (Camel riders)

53 *Śāhūkārī Dāk* Merchants' Post, for this usually *Labbēs* (Muslim Tamils) were employed

54 *Pēshwā Rooznishi*, *op cit*, 220

55 Machwē, locally constructed boats

56 *Batmī*, or news

57 *Azurdārs* or postal runners

58 Chapekar, *op cit*, 41

59 Ketkar, S V *Danyanakosha*, XVII, 218

*Sarkārī Dāk* was despatched daily in normal times and twice or thrice a day during war times by means of *sawārs*, and *kāssids*

### III Mughal Postal System in the Deccan

#### (i) *Relay System of Akbar*

The organisation of relay system by Mughal Emperors in the Deccan dates back from 1596 when Akbar annexed the 'Imād Shāhī Kingdom of Berar Akbar organised his conquest of the Deccan into three sūbās and made over their government to Prince Dāniyāl It was now that the Mughal postal system, which was a copy of a well-organised system of postal service which had come into existence in Akbar's reign, was introduced News and news-letters were the nuclei for the development of postal services According to Ferishta "Akbar established posts throughout his dominion, having 2 horses and a set of footmen stationed at every five *kōs* The establishment was called *Dāk Chowkī* The men stationed at the *Dāk Chowkī* were employed to convey letters on ordinary business or expresses to and from the Court The footmen would travel fifty *kōs* within twenty four hours And when especial messengers are required to go quickly, they avail themselves of the post horses to proceed in the same way Four thousand runners were in permanent pay, some of whom on extraordinary occasions (where there were no posts) have performed a journey of seven hundred *kos*, in ten days (1400 miles in 10 days with post-horses)"<sup>60</sup>

Though Ferishta records that 1400 miles were covered in ten days, the news of the death of Jahangir in 1037/1627, from the borders of Kashmīr to Shah Jahan at Junnar in the Deccan, was conveyed by a messenger named Banārsī, in twenty days, covering a distance of a thousand miles <sup>61</sup> Probably, this efficiency might have decreased after Akbar's reign During Jahāngīr's time the letters used to travel "80 *kōs* between day and night", while during Aurangzeb's times the efficiency of postal communications seems to have increased, as from the dates mentioned in the letters collected in the *Ādab-ī 'Ālamgīrī* we find that in Aurangzeb's time it took only six days for a letter to reach Hyderabad from Delhi and vice versa <sup>62</sup> Ferishta does not mention how the letters were carried, Alexander Hamilton, a European traveller who visited India during the seventeenth century, gives a description of the Mughal post and writes "the letters are enclosed in a *gilded box*, which he carries held over his head"<sup>63</sup>

60 Briggs, II, 280 1

61 Mu tamad Kh ān, *Iqbāl Nāmā Jahāngīrī*, 295, 298

62 Zahīru d dīn Fārūqī, *Aurangzeb and his Times*, 436

63 Pinkerton, 'Hamilton's Account of East India' in *Voyages and Travels*, VIII, 316

(ii) *Categories of News-Reporters*

The agency by which Akbar learnt the news of the country consisted of (1) the *Waqāi' Navis* or *Waqāi' Nigār*, (2) the *Sawānih Nigār* (3) the *Khufia Navis*<sup>64</sup> and the (4) the *Harkārā*

A *Waqāi' Navis* was originally appointed as a regular and public reporter of the news of the provincial occurrences, but owing to the suspicion of their possible entering into collusion with the local offices, *Sawānih Nigārs*, who were called *Khufia Navis*, were appointed to reside secretly in the *sūbās* and report news. Later on, the *Sawānih Nigārs* were also entrusted with the duty of supervising the postal arrangements<sup>65</sup>. All these categories of reporters were called *Akhbār Navis*<sup>66</sup>.

The provincial *Waqāi' Navis* appointed his agents in every *sarkār* and *pargana* to send him news-reports of important happenings in the locality. After making a selection out of the detailed reports received from his agents, he drafted his own news-letter, which was first communicated to the *Sūbēdār* of the province before being despatched to the *Dārōghā* of *dāk chaukī*<sup>67</sup>. But the reports of the *Sawānih Nigār* were sent direct to the Court without communicating to the local authorities. On receipt of all the news-letters the *Dārōghā* of *Dak chaukī* handed them unopened to *Mir Bakhshī*, who submitted them to the Emperor. According to Munucci these news-letters were commonly read in the Kings' presence by a lady of the Palace at about nine o'clock in the evening<sup>68</sup>.

(iii) *Nalwāh Dāk*

A peculiar system of sending post in the *Nalwah*<sup>69</sup> is mentioned in *Mirat-i Ahmadi*<sup>70</sup>. The reference is made in an advice to a newly appointed *Waqāi' Navis* which reads *Waqāi'* should be sent once a week, *Sawānih*, twice a week, and the *Akhbār* of the *Harkārās* once a week, and the despatch of *Nalwāh Dāk* from the *Nāzim* and *Diwān* twice every month, in addition to the urgent matters which have to be reported immediately."

The existence of *Nalwah Dāk* is also noted in several documents of the Deccan in the State Archives, Hyderabad. Thus in a *Rōznāmcha* of Udgir<sup>71</sup>

64 *Waqāi' Navis*, News writer, *Sawānih Nigār*, News reporter, *Khufia Navis*, Secret-writer

65 Mirzā Muḥammad Hasan, *Mirat i Ahmadi*, II, 117

66 *Akhbār Navis*, News writers

67 *Dārōghā Dāk Chaukī*, Head of the Postal Department

68 Munucci, *Storia do Mogor*, II, 331-34

69 *Nalwah*, from *Nalu* meaning a joint of bamboo to convey letters in it. *Nalwah Dāk*, letters which were conveyed in the *Nalu*."

70 Mirzā Muḥammad Hasan, *op cit*, Supplement, 175

71 *Rōznāmcha*, published by Daftar Diwānī, Māl wā Mulkī, Hyderabad, 1357 H, 229

Fort dated 25 Safar 1073/29 September 1662, it is mentioned that letters were dispatched by the *Nalwah Dāk Chaukī* for Shāhjahānābād (Delhi) <sup>72</sup>

(iv) *Postal Contract System of the Mughals*

From a unique document of Shah Jahan's reign now in the Hyderabad State Archives, it is noted that postal services were given to private persons on a contract basis. The document is *Sīyāha Huzūr*<sup>73</sup> describing the proceedings at the court of Prince Aurangzeb, then Sūbēdār of the Deccan, held on 13 Rajab 1047/21 November 1637 at Aurangābād. The relevant passage in the last line of the document in Persian may be translated "Kamal **Kh**idmatīyya obtained Ijārā of 'Dāk Chaukīyāt' (from Prince Aurangzeb) for the sum of ten thousand rupees" <sup>74</sup>

(v) *Mughal Military Post in Deccan*

Apart from the regular system, separate postal arrangements were made when the Mughal army went on expeditions, and separate postal staff was appointed. From a document, Dastak<sup>75</sup> dated 12 Rabi' I, 1094/1 March 1683, it is noted that Syed Tāju'd-dīn, son of Syed Muhammad 'Arif was appointed a person in charge of *Ihtimām Dāk Chaukīyāt Lashkar*<sup>76</sup> in the Deccan, under 'Umdatul-Mulk **Kh**ān-ī Jahān Bahādūr Ja'far Jang Kokaltāsh. The document gives in detail the advice given to the newly-appointed Superintendent of Posts. He was advised to take along with him all other staff, like *Mēwrahā*<sup>77</sup>, and after taking charge to perform the duties regularly, punctually

72 *Ibid*, 229

73 Andhra Pradesh Archives, *Mughal Record of Shah Jahan's 11th Regnal year*

74 *Ijārā*, monopoly, contract

75 Andhra Pradesh Archives, Document No 164, (see Plate at the end)

76 *Ihtimām Dāk Chaukī Lashkar*, Management of Military Postal Stations

77 *Mēwrah* means a native of Mewat in Rajasthan, well known for its fast running, who could fetch and convey loads across long distances. They were excellent spies and performed most intricate duties. According to *ML*, I 243 Akbar was the first to introduce a regular service of *Dāk Mēwrahs*. According to *Āin-ī Akbarī*, 243 the *Mēwrahs* are chiefly postmen. Father Monserrate gives a very interesting account of these *Mēwrahs*, as follows —

'Amongst the dispatch runners are certain couriers (*Mewras*) who in one day can run on foot as far as a horsemen can ride at full speed. They are said to have their livers removed in infancy in order to prevent their suffering from shortness of breath. They practice running in shoes made of lead, or train themselves by repeatedly lifting their feet and moving their legs (whilst remaining standing still in one place) till their heels touch their buttocks. When their leaden shoes are removed, they are seen to be magnificent runners, by the help of whose swiftness the King can very rapidly and regularly obtain news or send orders on army matters touching the peace of his realm.' *The Commentary of Father Monsarrate on his Journey to the Court of Akbar*, edited by J S Hoyland, 212

and efficiently He was to keep the Government well-informed of the conditions of the people, villages, fields, etc., of the places wherever he went, by sending his news-letters through the *Nalwāh*” He was further advised to send strictly only Government letters in the “*Nuluha*” and not to enclose any private letters in it He was instructed to deliver personally all the Royal *Farmāns* and other letters from the Emperor to the officials of the army on the expedition and to dispatch all the letters, ‘*Arzi Waqaim*, etc., from the military officials to the Court in his presence He was further directed to see that the *Mewrahhā* conveyed the “*Nalwāh Dāk*” punctually at three *Gharī* per *Kroh* without any delay Lastly, he was advised to write only facts, truth and nothing else, without prejudice to any one <sup>78</sup>

(vi) *Postal staff of the Mughals*

The department of the Post and Intelligence was one of the chief departments of the Mughal Government and it was placed under the *Dārōghā* of *Dāk Chaukī*, who was the Head of the Department

Since the Mughal Government retained its military character to the last, every officer of the Mughal Government was enrolled as a Commander of some Horse and a *mansab* was given This title was only a convenient means of calculating the salary and status and it did not mean that one had actually to maintain the horsemen in one’s service <sup>79</sup> Likewise, the *Dārōghā* of *Dāk Chaukī*, *Waqā’ Navis*, *Sawānih Nigār*, etc., were all ranked as *mansabdars* Their names were arranged in the gradation list of the army, they were paid by the *Bakhshī* (Paymaster) and their promotion or demotion took the form of an increase or decrease in their nominal command This is noticeable in a *Dastak*<sup>80</sup> dated 6 Jamādī I, 1082/31 August 1671, in the name of Mīr ‘Azīzu’d-dīn, conveying Imperial orders for his appointment as a *Waqā’ Navis* of Islāmgarh, on the recommendation of ‘Umdatul-Mulk Wazīr *Khān*, and he was granted “a *Mansab* of 200 *dhāt* and 10 *sawār*”

A higher rank was given when the posts of *Bakhshī* and *Waqā’ Navis* were combined in one post Sometimes these two posts were also combined with a third post of *Amīn* This is noted from a *Yaddāsh* dated 15 Shawwāl 1087/16 December 1676, according to which Muhammad Ayyūb, on the recommendation of ‘Umdatul-Mulk *Khān*-i Jahān Bahādur, was appointed *Bakhshī*, *Waqā’ Navis*, and Amīr of the Branding and Verification Department at Gulbarga and was granted a *mansab* of 250 *dhāt* and 20 *Sawār* <sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Though it is mentioned that the *Mēwrahs* were to go at the rate of three *gharī* per *kroh*, according to *Mīrāt-i Ahmadī*, “the Couriers are enjoined to go one *kōs* per *gharī*” (one *gharī* was equal to 24 minutes)

<sup>79</sup> Sarkar, *op cit*, 10, 11, 33

<sup>80</sup> Andhra Pradesh Archives, Document No 4961

<sup>81</sup> Archives, Document No 4952

Besides *Mansab* and Rank, the *Waqāi' Navis* was also given a *jāgīr*. It is mentioned in the *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb* that "the punishment of the report-writer (*Waqāi' Navis*) for his wrong conception is that (though) he is retained at his post, his rank is decreased by 50 and his *jāgīr* reduced to the same extent"<sup>82</sup>

#### (vii) *Public Post under the Mughals*

In the opinion of P. Saran, "it cannot be ascertained whether the Mughal Government made any arrangements for the transmission of private letters of the public from one place to another. But this much is certain that side by side with the official post, private post (*dak*) was also carried with equal facility, regularity and speed"<sup>83</sup>

### IV Parallel Postal Systems in the Deccan

#### (i) *Operation of Mughal and Local Postal Systems in Golkonda and Bijapur Kingdoms*

On 8 Ramazān 1045/15 February 1636, Shah Jahan sent *Khān-i Daurān*, *Shāista Khān* and *Khān-i Zamān* to Bijapur, Golkonda and Ahmadnagar to complete the subjection of the Deccan. Ahmadnagar was annexed to the Mughal Empire, while Bijapur and Golkonda submitted to the Mughal Emperor. According to H. K. Sherwani, Golkonda became a "Protectorate" of Mughals when 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh signed the Treaty called *Inqiyād Nāma*,<sup>84</sup> while Gribble mentions that the kings of Bijapur and Golkonda were 'nominally' independent and Emperor Shah Jahan appointed an officer to reside at the court of each of the kings of Bijapur and Golkonda, who kept the Emperor informed of what was going on in these kingdoms.<sup>85</sup> For this purpose Shah Jahan appointed news-reporters and secret agents at various places in the Golkonda and Bijapur kingdoms and they were required to maintain regular transmission of news-letters by *dāk chaukiyāt*. This is evident from several documents at the Andhra Pradesh State Archives, extracts of some of which are given below.

From a "*Siyāha Huzūr*" dated 6 Jāmādī I 1054/10 November 1644, it is noted that "Sundar Dās who was posted at Hyderabad wrote a letter to Diyānat Khān, the Dīwān and to Udāji Rām" (at Delhi)<sup>86</sup>

82 Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb* 134

83 P. Saran, *The Provincial Administration of the Mughals*, 421

84 Sherwani, 'The Reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh, (Political and Military Aspects),' *JIH*, April 1967, 121-23

85 Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, I, 263

86 Yusuf Husain, *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, 130

From a news-letter dated 14 Muharram 1072/30 August 1661, it is noted that the Mughal agent at Masulipatam sent his news-report to the *Waqāi' Navis* at Hyderabad, who in turn, after screening, rewrote the news-report and dispatched it to Aurangābād for onward transmission to the Emperor at Delhi <sup>87</sup>

The functioning of Mughal postal system within the territories of Bijapur Kingdom is noted from several documents of Aurangzeb's reign at State Archives, extracts from two of which are given below

From a *Dastak* dated 22 Muharram 1076/25 July 1665 issued to Sital Singh, the Treasurer of the Mughal's Army, it is noted that the payment of monthly salary was made to Nāgojī and others, the Mēwrāha, "for maintaining the mail service between Bijapur and Poona" <sup>88</sup>

From a *Qabzul-Wāsīl*, dated 19 Zilhijja, 1081/19 April 1671, it is noted that orders were given regarding the payment of monthly salary to "Saroter and others, posted at the mail stations between the cities of Aurangābād and Bijapur" <sup>89</sup>

Also, the *dāk chaukiyāt*, which were operating from Karnatak to Delhi, traversing through the Golkonda kingdom, is another example of simultaneous operation of Mughal Postal System in the Deccan, as, "towards the end of 1067/1656 Aurangzeb declared the *dāk chauki* of Mīr Jumla to be a part of the Imperial System as being the best way to safeguard communications" <sup>90</sup>

The operation of regular postal system of the Mughals within the territories of Bijapur and Golkonda-Hyderabad simultaneously with the systems of their rulers, long before these kingdoms were conquered by Aurangzeb in 1686 and 1687 respectively, was one of the characteristic features of the Mughal Administration

The Mughal postal system was firmly established throughout the Deccan when Aurangzeb brought under his sway the whole of the Deccan by conquering Bijapur and Golkonda and the territories south of river Krishna which had been dependent on these two kingdoms, save the territories of the palāigars in the extreme south of India

#### (u) *Europeans in the Deccan and their Post*

Europeans—the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English—came to South India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With the establishment of their trading agencies and factories, we find that they were maintaining postal communications between their centres in the Deccan. They

87 Yūsuf Husain, *Selected Waqāi' of the Deccan*, 6

88 Andhra Pradesh Archives, Document No 4962

89 *Ibid*, Document No 4963

90 Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *op cit*, 100



were engaging special couriers for the conveyance of their official letters as well as the letters of their employees. The earliest reference to the postal courier engaged as "*Pattamār*"<sup>91</sup> by the Europeans is given in the Portuguese Records of 1552 and, a detailed reference is made by Abbé Carré, who visited the Deccan in 1082-3/1672-4. He mentions that "It is a most remarkable thing in this country (India) that the *Paṭṭamārs*, that is couriers who carry only letters and urgent dispatches, travel more quickly than men on horseback or in carts or other conveyances, because they go on foot day and night, resting only an hour or two under a tree or by a tank or river bank. For food they have some thin pancakes, folded like paper in a little packet, or a little cooked rice, which they carry with them, and for desert they smoke tobacco while on their way, this being their greatest treat and support"<sup>92</sup>

The *paṭṭamārs* were not only employed for conveying letters, but the Europeans maintained them for getting news daily from their trading agencies or factories in the Deccan. Thus a link of daily news-service between Masulipatam and Golkonda was maintained by the Dutch.<sup>93</sup>

The practice of employing *pattamārs*, *qāśids* or *harkāras* continued until 1688, when the English East India Company directed its officers at Madras and Bombay to establish post offices for the convenience of merchants and for augmenting the company's revenues. The instructions of the company to Bombay ran as follows:<sup>94</sup>

"We likewise require you to erect a post office for all letters to be brought to and delivered at, setting such rates upon each single letter and so proportionately upon double or treble letters as may in a few years bring in sensibly a vast revenue to the Company and a much greater convenience to merchants and trade in general than ever they yet had or understood. For which purpose you (must) order fitting stages and passage boat to go off and return on certain days and proper stages by land to Surrat and other places to convey letters with great security and speed." Thus on the land routes, the

91 *Paṭṭamār* The Portuguese in the Deccan called their postal runners "*Pattamār*" The word is 'perhaps the Konkani—*Path-mar*, a courier (*Hobson-Johnson's Glossary*, 687). In 1007/1598, the Dutchman Linschoten (*Itinerarie Voyage after Schipvarert Van Jan Huvgen Van Linschoten*) wrote "There are others called Pattamars, which serve onlie for messengers or posts to carie letters from place to place by land in winter time when men cannot travaile by sea." The *Paṭṭamārs* have also been referred in the English Records (William Foster *Letters received by the East India Company*, 174, 200, 219, 227, etc.), while John Fryer in *East India & Persia*, 1672-81, I, 278-9, uses the word *Paṭṭamār* for "Foot post".

92 Lady C Fawcett, *The Travels of Abbé Carré in India and the Near East*, 1672-74, I, 273.

93 *Ibid.*, II, 345.

94 Love *Vestiges of old Madras* (Indian Record Series), I, 544.

company appointed "Tappy Peons"<sup>95</sup> at convenient stages, and part of the expenditure of postal runners was borne by private merchants

The rates of postage was fixed accordingly But, "the rates originally fixed are not given,"<sup>96</sup> while those revised in 1132/1720 are as follows

From Fort St George to Vizagapatam, 4 Fānams

From Fort St George to Bengal 6 Fānams

From Fort St George to Bombay or Surat 9 Fānams<sup>97</sup>

Thus we see that the Europeans maintained a parallel postal system of their own, established post offices, and laid down postal rates, (alongside of similar systems of the Deccanī Rulers) between various places in the Deccan, traversing the territories of different kingdoms As could be noted from an earlier letter of East India Company dated 7th July 1663, emanating from Madras and destined for Surat, "A post script advises that any future letters from Surat should be sent by way of Golkonda instead of via Masulipatam as this would save ten days"<sup>98</sup> That is, the courier would have traversed through Golkonda, Bijapur and Ahmadnagar kingdoms, and probably through the Mughal Empire as well

## V Foreign Mail Service of the Deccan

Deccan had commercial relations with the Arabs from the seventh century onwards and the Arabs controlled the sea-borne trades in the Indian ocean and the Red Sea They carried letters of merchants, etc., along with goods in their vessels in both direction During the period under consideration Persia was admittedly a major centre of Asiatic civilization, and she naturally sent many of her sons to India to play conspicuous roles in Indian History The Iranians who settled down in the Deccan had to maintain a link of correspondence with their country both by the overland route via Khyber Pass and Kābul across Afghānistān, and by the sea-route from various ports in South India Similar necessity might have been felt by the Turks and Afghans residing in the Deccan for communications with the lands of their birth

Further, in the Deccan, where there was a community of faith and friendship between its Sultānates and Persia, they exchanged letters frequently The collection of *Golkonda Letters*<sup>99</sup> written by 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh to the 'Shāh of Irān, the *Ruqqa'āt-i Shāh 'Abbās thāni*,<sup>100</sup> of Persia to the Kings of

95 *Tappy* From *Tappa* (*Thappa*) meaning stamp seal *Tappal* (letter post) *Tappa+alaya* = Stamping-house, connecting it radically with *ṭapa*, *ṭapna* (to tap)

96 Love, *op cit*

97 *Ibid*, II, 136 A fānam was equal to about 1 anna or 8 paise

98 *English Factories*, 1637-41, 147

99 Hājī 'Abdu'l Alī Tabrizī, *Golkonda letters*, BM, MS Addl, 6600

100 Wāḥid, Tāhūr, *Ruqqa'āt i Shāh 'Abbās Thāni*, Andhra Pradesh Archives

Bijapur and Golkonda and letters of Mīr Jumla to rulers of Persia<sup>101</sup> are some of the examples of foreign postal service of Deccan during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There were similar exchanges of letters from the Deccan to several other neighbouring countries and vice versa.

The advent of Vasco da Gama brought Portugal in contact with the Deccan, and then Dutch, the French and the English followed, thus starting the mail service from Europe to the Deccan and vice versa. The East India Company's enormous trade, coupled with its diplomatic, military and naval responsibilities, necessitated a correspondingly heavy mail in both directions by sea route between the Deccan and England<sup>102</sup>. Endeavours were also made by the East India Company to establish a more or less regular route for its urgent correspondences overland across Persia *via* Aleppo and Basra on the Persian Gulf. The English and the Dutch had their agents in Turkey, 'Iraq, Persia, Syria, etc., for the conveyance of Indian Mail, and Arab messengers were employed for the same,<sup>103</sup> as is evident from the following passage:

"A *Shatter*, which is a Courier in Persian, arrived at Carmelite Father's Convent (at Bander 'Abbās) in the morning with dispatch sent from India *via* Persia to the Governors of the East India Company in France. Without losing any time, the Fathers sent an Arab with this dispatch by the desert route to Aleppo. This *shatter* was in the service of our Company and a servant of our office in Persia at Bandar Abbasy."<sup>104</sup>

The Postmaster-General of England allowed direct receipt of all official mail of the East India Company and private letters of its servants in India to England and vice versa under certain conditions in special boxes carried by the Company ships, as early as 1663<sup>105</sup>.

Thus we see that mail communications with foreign countries, and more particularly with Great Britain, were developed, so that the East India Company and British officers could be in constant touch with the British Government and their people at home. Even the policies for the development of the Indian post office were governed by the concepts and forms from the British postal system<sup>106</sup>.

It was this background of the evolution of postal communications during the medieval period that gave a dynamic momentum for its development in the modern times.

101 Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, Mīr Jumla-Irān Correspondence, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, June 1942

102 John K. Sidebottom, *The Overland Mail*, 3

103 Fawcett, *op cit*, III, 859

104 *Ibid*, I, 88

105 Sidebottom, *op cit*, 3

106 Mulk Raj Anand, *Story of the Indian Post Office*, Government of India Publication, Delhi, 1952, Introduction, xiv



## CHAPTER IX

### LAWS

#### (i) THE DECCAN SULTĀNATES AND MUSLIM LAW

by DR. M. A. MUTTALIB

#### *Synopsis*

- (1) General Laws
  - (i) Legal Sovereignty
  - (ii) Theory of Kingship
  - (iii) Laws :
    1. Socio-Political Background
    2. Classification of Laws
      - (a) Qawānīn-i Shari'at
      - (b) Farāmīn-i Shāhi
      - (c) Qawānīn-i 'Urf
    - (iv) Ratification and Implementation of Laws
    - (v) The King's position
    - (vi) Rigour of Law
    - (vii) State versus the Subjects
    - (viii) Rights of non-Muslims
    - (ix) The position of Women
    - (x) The institution of Slavery
- (2) The Judicial System
  1. Central Administration
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  - (A) The Central Judiciary
    - (i) The Sultān
    - (ii) Judicial personnel
      - (a) *Şadr-i Shari'ah*
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      - (c) Muftī
  - (B) Provincial Judiciary
  - (C) Selection of Judicial Officers
  - (D) Remuneration and Terms of Officers
  - (E) The Image of the Judicial personnel
5. Procedure
  - (i) Interpretation of Laws
  - (ii) Rules of Evidence
  - (iii) The Court House
6. Police Administration
7. Punishment
8. Prison system
9. Conclusion



## (1) General Laws

### (i) *Legal Sovereignty*

The political systems under the Sultāns and the Rājas of the Deccan displayed very similar behaviour. Although the Islamic theory of government is said to be constitutional and democratic in character, kingship in the Deccan was in the nature of benevolent despotism and a kind of paternal rule. This may be largely attributed to a strong centralising tendency consequent to a number of factors, viz, the mutual hostilities of the kingdoms, the constant fear of invasion from the north, and the harmony between the state and the religious-minded masses who tended to have a belief in the divine right theory of kings and who looked to a strong monarch as the only hope for peace and stability of the State. The Muslim masses were under a supposed religious obligation to comply with the command of the ruler next only to God and the Prophet. But the rulers were made answerable to God and this entailed them to promote the welfare of the ruled.<sup>1</sup>

Further, a prudent monarch was conscious of his limitations. He knew that he was surrounded by different élite groups and his every action was watched by them. He would have owed to at least some of them for his nomination or selection as monarch,<sup>2</sup> and to others for the continuance of his rule. He was required to be constantly alert. For any act of omission and commission could provide a source of encouragement for intrigues against him. The élite groups who, as the lobbying force, generally exercised great influence with the Sultān, entered deeply into court intrigues in case of regency or incompetence of the Sultān, fortified by marital relations with the royal family. The persuasion of the learned divines had a great impact on the Sultān and the royal family. Some of the Sultāns were converted to the persuasion of the learned divines. This was particularly true of the Nizām Shāhī and the 'Ādil Shāhī rulers. The most notable instance was of Burhān Nizām Shāh who accepted the Shī'ah cult under the impact of Shāh Tahīr, although Burhān Nizām Shāh's father was an ardent follower of Sunnī cult.<sup>3</sup>

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1 Also compare *IA*, 1922, sec LXXXV for conversation between the learned divines and Murtazā Nizām Shāh

2 *Burhān*, 30, 31, 36

3 Briggs, III, 23

The Muslim and Hindu kingdoms offered a close resemblance in certain respects. Both derived inspiration from books believed by their respective followers to be divinely inspired, namely, the Qur'ān and the Vēdas. Kings adhering to the legal system based on their respective religious code of conduct always commanded great respect among their communities. Whenever the rulers were not regarded as legitimate monarchs they tried to strengthen their claims by prevailing upon the people and the learned divines through a skilful display of their deference to their respective divine laws. Those who were not monarchs of orthodox taste, were careful to exhibit their reverence for religion.<sup>4</sup>

The politico-administrative institutions of the Deccan developed on northern lines. The overlordship of the Delhi Sultāns and later, the direct assumption of administration by their governors for about half a century, enabled political administrative and judicial institutions to strike their roots on the Delhi Sultānate pattern in the Deccan. These institutions received maturity at the hands of the immigrants from north India and other centres of Muslim culture and civilization, with common educational and religious background.<sup>5</sup> Further, once the political connection with Delhi had been severed, some of the kings of the Deccan looked to the 'Abbasid Khalifas as their spiritual overlords.<sup>6</sup>

Their sovereignty received institutional expression as elsewhere. One of the first changes that was incorporated immediately after the assumption of the throne by a ruler, was that Khutbah<sup>7</sup> was read, and coins struck in his name.

The principle of sovereignty was mainly based on force, physical and moral, as illustrated in the origin of the Bahmanīs and the succeeding five kingdoms. The Bahmanī kingdom originated in a revolt by the Deccanī amīrs against the Tughluq rule with the moral support of the Hindu rulers.<sup>8</sup> Ahmad Nizām Shāh, who became autonomous, agreed to withdraw his name from the Khutbah during the life-time of Sultān Mahmūd Bahmanī, because of lack of moral support from the different élite groups comprising spiritual

4 Cf. Firōz Shāh Bahmanī's conversation with his courtiers, Briggs, II, 364-5

5 *Fer*, and *Burhān*, contain several instances of scholars who came from northern India and other Muslim centres of civilization and who held important administrative and judicial positions.

6 *Fer*, I, 344

7 The principal congregational service of the week which is held only in a Jāmi' Masjid, is the afternoon prayer on Friday, when, in addition to the usual prayers, the official preacher of the mosque delivers from the pulpit a formal Khutbah or allocation, containing *inter alia* prayers for the reigning ruler, preceded by a sermon. Similar services are held on the two great festival days, i.e. 'Idu'l Fitr and 'Idu'z-Zuhā

8 *Fer*, I, 348



and temporal magnates, judicial, military and civil functionaries<sup>9</sup> For, in order to obtain compliance for its policies, the political system had to be widely accepted as legitimate when the policies of its ruler were regarded as morally binding on citizens

The élite groups assumed great significance under the later Bahmanīs and the subsequent dynasties of the Deccan Malik Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī, the first *Wakīl-ı Saltanat* of the Bahmanīs, who continued in that position for about half a century almost uninterruptedly, visualised similar role of the élite groups which he bifurcated into *Ahl-ı qalam* (Men of the Pen) and *Ahl-ı saif* (Men of the Sword) in his small brochure supposed to have been written by him for the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty Ghōrī held that their services were indispensable for managing the state affairs<sup>10</sup> Where a society was bound up with a religious system, the expounder of doctrine, the arbiter on points of law inevitably establishes a moral predominance over his more ignorant fellows, although the religious system of Islām excludes the concept of clergy Since it devolved upon the community as a whole to ensure the observance of the *Shari'ah*, the learned divines soon found that they could use their influence to mould public opinion and create of it a weapon to intimidate law-breakers and to obtain tacit compliance from the ruler It was rare that even the most despotic ruler ventured to brave the disapproval of the learned divines

In the political field also their influence was felt Some of them were held in greater respect than even the members of the royal family, while some of them seem to have entered deeply into court intrigues<sup>11</sup>

Under the Bahmanī rulers the influence of the learned divines, however, tended to be eroded by a new class, namely, the *Sūfis*, the mystics who despised the theologian, for his formalism and cult of the letter Some of the hostility felt by a theologian was due to his competition for popular and royal favour and support This may be traced to the *Sūfis'* prognostications about Hasan's founding a kingdom in the Deccan<sup>12</sup> The *Sūfis* received unreserved reverence from the Bahmanī Sultāns<sup>13</sup> The coronation ceremony of the Bahmanī

9 *Ibid*, II, 101

10 'Abdu'l Jabbar Malkāpūrī writes that Ghōrī's brochure was revised and renamed as *Dastūr ı Jahān Kūsha'ı* by Maulānā Khairu'l-lāh (*Mahbubu'l-Waṭan, Tadhkira-ı Salāṭin ı Dakan*, 75-84)

11 Cf. Habibullāh's role in a rebellion against Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī and Mir Fazlu'l lāh Injū's role in securing the throne for Firōz Shāh, and of Shāh Tāhir under Burhān Nizām Shāh

12 Briggs, II, It is said that the first Bahmanī's future destiny was foretold by the celebrated Shaikh Nizamu'd-dīn Aulia and one or two other *sūfis*

13 *Burhān*, 44

Sultāns was marked by the practice of installation of the Sultān by the *sūfis* in the presence of learned divines, nobles and State officers <sup>14</sup>

The popular and royal support of the *Sūfis* forced the theologians, however, unwillingly, to terms in the matter of cult of saints. However, the learned divines, together with the *sūfis*, were on the one hand, a source of strength for the Sultāns in fulfilling their obligations and on the other, a limitation by mitigating the rigours of absolute monarchy. Yet another factor that had a direct bearing on the exercise of royal authority was the role of State officials, who were directly involved in politics.

If politics was personality-based under the early Bahmanīs, the subsequent Sultāns of the Deccan faced faction-based politics <sup>15</sup>. There had been almost perpetual strife between the Dakhnī and the Āfāqī nobles. These āfāqīs with their origins in Persia, Arabia and Central Asia were energetic and enterprising, and were employed as a rule in all difficult enterprises. Several of them rose to the highest offices in the State, sometimes to the prejudice of the Dakhnī element who found himself outstripped by them at the council meeting as well as in the field. Thus many of the courtiers, palace officials, ministers of state, judges and relatives of the Sultān by marriage were Āfāqīs. Their position was however increasingly challenged by some of the equally competent and clever Dakhnīs <sup>16</sup>. This development may be traced to one of the characteristics of the Indian Muslim society which Ibn-i Baṭūṭa also stressed <sup>17</sup>. He says that a man was honoured according to what might be seen of his actions, conduct, and zeal for no one could know anything of his family.

With the decline of the Bahmanī dynasty and the rise of *Shi'ah* dynasties, the numbers of foreigners of *Shi'ah* persuasion grew. The strife between these two groups one of which was nativity-based, assumed communal colour. The ill-feeling between them was accentuated by religious differences. For, a large numbers of Āfāqīs were of the *Shi'ah* sect, while the Dakhnīs were generally orthodox *Sunnīs* <sup>18</sup>. On several occasions the antagonism between them gave rise to serious law and order situation, sometimes resulting in the death of innocent and noble persons, like Khalāf Hasan, Mahmūd Gāwān and Khawāja Mirak Chengēz Khān. When Burhān Nizām Shāh accepted the *Shi'ah* faith and started persecuting *Sunni* doctors, Maulānā Pīr Muhammad

14 *Fer*, I, 468 for the coronation ceremony of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī, *Burhān*, 74-5 for that of 'Alā'u'd dīn Shāh Bahmanī II.

15 Compare Haig, T. W., *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, 4, 5, 116. Gibb, H. A. R., *Ibn-i Baṭūṭa Travels in Asia and Africa*, *Fer* II, 166.

16 There are several instances of Dakhnīs like that of Ṣalābat Khān, wakīl and pēshwā of Murtazā Nizām Shāh, who rose from the position of slavery. *IA*, 1922, LXXXV.

17 Gibb, *op cit*.

18 Vide *IA*, 1920, XXXVII for the reaction of the *Sunni* mobility to Nizām Shāh's conversion to *Shi'ah* faith.

Shirwānī led a revolt to dethrone the Sultān by raising the young prince, Mīrān 'Abdu'l-Qādir to the throne

In short, the body politic was based on an élite system, with the Sultān at its apex. Once a Sultān gained sovereignty in the State, the Muslim and Hindu population accepted his rule as a pre ordained fact. When the Hindus accepted the Muslim rule, like the Muslims they looked upon the Sultān in the light of their own conception of a king, viz, the king as the ruler by divine decree<sup>19</sup>

### (ii) *The Theory of Kingship*

During three and half centuries of the Deccan kingdoms, the idea of kingship passed through several stages. In spite of breaks and occasional confusions some definite opinions regarding kingship gradually settled down.

As sovereignty under Islām belonged to God,<sup>20</sup> the theory of Muslim kingship was naturally related to God. Several learned divines implored Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh to give up his intention of abdication by explaining the Divine right of king. Thus they pleaded that God had created him to rule the kingdom, that the regulation of the affairs of all its inhabitants depended on him, that to forego so great a task was reprehensible in the eyes both of God and of the people, and that as the happiness of the world depended on the due exercise of authority, no greater act of worship than this could be conceived.<sup>21</sup>

The Qur'ānic concept was that the king was only a trustee of God, and therefore answerable to God for his acts on the Day of Judgment. This was avowed from time to time by the Sultāns. Thus Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī II<sup>22</sup> who, while a youth, was fond of gaudy apparel, upon his accession to the throne always wore plain white robes. He frequently observed that kings were only trustees of the treasury of God and that it would be a breach of trust to expend more on themselves than necessity required.<sup>23</sup> The author of *Burhān-ı Ma'āthir* writes that 'Alī 'Adil Shāh's humility and hatred of pomp were such that he usually slept on the ground without a bed or bedding, and he would often in his meekness say "If God in His Mercy

19 P M Joshi, "Position of the Hindus in the 'Adil Shāhī Kingdom of Bijapur," *Proceedings of the Deccan History Conference*, 1945, 309

20 Cf M B Ahmad, *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, 1941 Appendix 4, for the copy of Farmān of Muhammad 'Adil Shāh, 1068, which contains a copy of the seal, on the top of which is written 'Al Mulku li'l-lah (The country is for God)

21 *IA*, 1922, LXXXV

22 Ferishta wrongly styles him as Mahmūd. See Sherwānī *Bahmans*, Ch 5, n 34

23 *Fer*, I, 382, 283, also compare *IA*, 1922, sec LXXXV, for conversation between Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh and the learned divines

had not made me a king what should I have done in my fickleness and how should I, in my unworthiness, have gained a living?"<sup>24</sup> Fīrōz Shāh Bahmanī who, in spite of his libertinism wished to adhere to *Shari'ah*, did not allow his private life to come in conflict with his public life. In his assembly of learned divines, poets etc., he met them freely and wished to be treated as a private individual without form or ceremony. However, he forbade discussions of any subject in these parties that might prejudice the performance of his public duties. He felt his guilt in drinking wine and listening to music, but he hoped he should obtain pardon from the merciful God. Similarly, at the investiture ceremony of Qāzī Bēg as *Wakīl* and *Pēshwā*,<sup>25</sup> Murtaẓā Nīẓām Shāh reminded him the answerability of kings to God on the Day of Judgment.<sup>26</sup>

Murtaẓā Nīẓām Shāh also believed<sup>27</sup> that delegation of authority to his officers would not mean abdication of his responsibility. On Changīz Khān's death, he delegated the charge of governance to Qāzī Bēg with a desire to spend the rest of his life in seclusion. But he did not hesitate to depose and arrest Qāzī Bēg when he was charged with embezzlement.

It was not therefore surprising that the ceremony of coronation was not merely a legal function, but had a religious tinge about it as well. 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh was installed by the *Sadr-i Shari'ah* and other learned divines.<sup>28</sup> This practice was maintained more or less by the subsequent sultāns of the Deccan. Some of the sultāns considered imperative to seek the consent of the Sūfīs.<sup>29</sup> Sometimes the will of the Sultāns regarding his successor was countersigned by the qāzīs, the nobles and the divines. Elaborating the coronation ceremony of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī II Ferīshṭa writes that the *Takht-i Fīrōzā* was placed in the grand hall of audience and on each side of it was kept a chair of silver. Shāh Muḥibbu'l-lāh and Syed-Hanīf, the two most celebrated divines of the period, offered prayers for the king's prosperity and placed the crown on his head, then each supporting one arm, they assisted him to ascend the throne. After this the holy men seated themselves on either side on the silver chairs placed for them. Then

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24 *IA*, 1922, Sec LXXXVII

25 Briggs II, 364-5. Under the Nīẓām Shāhīs, the *Wakīl-i Salṭanat* was designated as *Wakīl* and *Pēshwā*.

26 Briggs, III, 260

27 *Fer*, II, 162

28 *Fer*, I, 344. Also compare *Burhān*, 74-5 for the coronation of 'Alāu'd-dīn Shāh Bahmanī II when Shāh Burhānu d-dīn Khālīlu l-lāh was also present.

29 *Ibid*, 370, 373

the principal officers including the Wakīl-i Saltanat took the usual oath of allegiance and made propitiatory offerings <sup>30</sup>

Medieval Deccan also witnessed that the foundation of kingship was the strongest either on racial superiority or religious affinity. There were kingmakers without aspiring to arrogate to themselves kingship, for the choice of kingship was restricted to the members of royal family <sup>31</sup>. But the theory did not operate in two or three instances, particularly when a kingmaker was able to strengthen his claim to kingship by long perpetuation of his *de facto* rule. This was evident from the events leading to the establishment of the Barīd Shāhī and the Nizām Shāhī dynasties and the eclipse of the 'Imād Shāhī dynasty. The bases of race and religious persuasion could not remain undisturbed as is evident from the assumption of autonomy by the five Bahmanī governors who not only professed two different sects of religion, viz, the Shī'ah and the Sunnī, but also belonged to different racial affinities, viz, Dakhnī, Turk, Afghān, etc. But once a dynasty was firmly established, racial and religious factors started operating normally as decisive factors in the selection of the Sultāns. In short, they could operate unchallenged without resort to force.

So far as the selection of the Sultān was necessary, generally a form of his election was maintained in which the different élite groups had direct or indirect participation. Thus when Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh was grieved and vexed after the death of Sāhib Khān and wished to retire from public business, he suggested to the learned divines to elect whom they would like to be the king <sup>32</sup>. Without participation of the principal officers, particularly the *Taraf-dārs*<sup>33</sup> and principal divines<sup>34</sup> in the coronation, the installation of the Sultān

30 *Fer*, I, 468. Also see *Burhān*, 74-5, for the coronation ceremony of Alāu d dīn Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī II. More or less in similar manner Alāu'd dīn Shāh Bahmanī's coronation ceremony took place. While the nobles, State officers, the Sayyids, learned divines and Maliku'l-Ulamā Sadr-i Jahān Qāzī Qubūl Ahmad were present, Maliku'l-Mashā'ikh Shāh Burhānu'd-dīn Khālīlu'l-lāh and Syed Hanīf each supporting one arm conducted the Sultān to the throne and sat on either side of the Sultān.

31 Cf. Taghalchīn, one of the principal Turkish slaves of the royal house, who blinded Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Shāh Bahmanī and placed Shamsu d-dīn the latter king's brother, on the throne. See Briggs, II, 354-5. Mallū Ādil Shāh was deposed and blinded by Yūsuf Khān, a Turkish nobleman and Prince. Ibrāhīm was seated on the throne. Briggs, III, 76-7, *Burhān*, 39. Also compare the circumstances leading to the enthroning of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh.

32 *IA*, 1922, LXXXV.

33 *Fer*, I, 468.

34 *Fer*, I, 370, 373. Also see *IA*, 1923, 251, 253 for similar practice among the Nizām Shāhīs and the Qutb Shāhīs. When Dāwūd Khān had Mujāhid Shāh assassinated the capital was divided into two groups. But because of Wakīl i Saltānat's persuasion, all including the higher officers, the holy men and the Ṣadr agreed to receive Dāwūd Khān as their Sultān. See, *Fer*, I, 380.

was considered incomplete. If the coronation or installation took place in their absence, it was considered necessary to repeat it or formal allegiance obtained. It is said that on his accession to the throne Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I obtained a declaration of allegiance from all the holy men with the exception only of Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn. The Shaikh refused to do so because, he argued, the Sultān took wine, and was guilty of excesses forbidden by the *Shari'ah*, particularly because he was regarded as its guardian. The Sultān ordered the Shaikh to his presence and required him either to take the oath of allegiance or give an assurance of his fidelity. But when the Shaikh neither went into his presence nor acknowledged allegiance to him, the Sultān got enraged and commanded the Shaikh to quit the city. The Shaikh repaired to the tomb of Shaikh Burhānu'd-dīn and exclaimed "Where is the man who dares to drive me hence?" The Sultān admiring his resolution repented of his conduct. The Shaikh reiterated his condition for tendering allegiance. He, however, added if the Sultān, like his father, promoted the observance of the holy ordinances by discouraging vice, and abstaining from wine in public, and by permitting the qāzis to execute the laws against those who offended in these instances, no one would be dearer to him. The Sultān thereon commanded all the distilleries in his dominions to be destroyed and engaged earnestly in correspondence with the Shaikh throughout his reign, while the Shaikh frequently sent exhortations to him in which he delivered his sentiment with freedom.<sup>35</sup>

When Burhān Nizām Shāh eliminated the names of the first three Khālīfās from the *khutbah* and substituted those of the Imāms and settled pensions on persons to curse and revile the three first Khālīfās and their followers in the mosque and street, Mullā Pīr Muhammad Shīrwānī who was of *Sunni* persuasion actually revolted against the Sultān. He was however captured and confined.<sup>36</sup> Earlier, Qāzī Abrār and Maulānā 'Abdu'l-Awwal, the two staunch *sunnis* who openly protested against the establishment of the new faith, were subjected to severe torture.<sup>37</sup>

The principle of selection of the Sultān was resorted to ever since the Dakhnī amīrs revolted against Muhammad bin Tughluq. They elected Nāsiru'd dīn Ismā'il. But when he perceived that the army and the officers wished to have Zafar Khān, who had defeated the royalists, Nāsiru'd-dīn Ismā'il, prudently resolved to retire as their king<sup>38</sup> and convened a meeting of the amīrs at which he declared that on account of age he was unfit to rule in such times, and proposed Zafar Khān's name for kingship. The assembly unani-

35 *Fer*, I, 370 1

36 *Fer*, II, 128

37 *IA*, 1920, XXXI

38 *Fer*, I, 344

mously consented to the proposal. The crown was placed on the head of Zafar Khān and khutbah was read in his name <sup>39</sup>

But once the Bahmanī kingdom or the five Succession States were established, the area of selection was restricted to the members of the royal family. By and large, selection was made on the basis of the law of primogeniture coupled with mental and physical fitness. Absence of any one of them would have been a serious impediment in securing moral support of the élite groups. For instance, in about half a dozen instances,<sup>40</sup> claimants for kingship were disqualified and debarred from kingship when their counter-claimants caused them to be blinded.

However, where in the selection of Sultān hereditary line was generally taken into consideration, deviation did not violate the principle of choosing the Sultān from the ruling house. Departure from the hereditary principle took place where the nobility and the army declared their attachment to a more competent older member of the family. Thus Fīrōz Shāh Bahmanī called his son Hasan Khān before him and observed that he should withdraw his claim and accept Ahmad Khān, his uncle, as Sultān, when the nobility and army declared their allegiance to Ahmad Khān, any further opposition he added, would only occasion public calamities.<sup>41</sup> When Burhān Nizām Shāh's health was failing, the Sultān agreed to the suggestion of his officers that should he die they would be able to elect to the throne the prince most fitted for the position and most acceptable to the army and the people.<sup>42</sup>

Although the deviation from operation of absolute hereditary principle of succession lacked smooth and peaceful succession, it was responsible for the choice of a brilliant man as Sultān.<sup>43</sup>

Religious persuasion of the ruling Sultān was one of the important factors in determining the choice of the successor. There are several instances of the Sultāns of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar who either deprived or endeavoured to prevent their sons of different persuasions to succeed to the throne. One of the most notable of these is that of Mīrān 'Abdu'l-Qādir who was of Sunnī persuasion. Although he was the second son of Burhān Nizām Shāh, he was bestowed a special honour of an *Āftābgīr* and an Umbrella. Estrangement

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39 *Ibid*

40 Briggs, II, 346, 355, 357, 361, 400, 453, *IA*, 1920, Sec XXXVI, LXXXVIII

41 *Fer*, I, 407-8. Although parental affection had naturally made him wish his son to be his successor, he was forced to leave his son in his brother's care.

42 *IA*, 1922, LIII

43 Likewise, Mallū Ādil Shāh, an incapable Sultān, was removed and his younger brother Prince Ibrāhīm was placed on the throne by the Queen mother with the assistance of Turkī noblemen.

from his father came when he refused to accept his father's persuasion. Burhān Nizām Shāh withdrew his favour from Mīrān 'Abdu'l-Qādir and determined that his first son, Mīrān Shāh Husain, should succeed him <sup>44</sup>

The nomination of the Crown Prince by the ruling Sultān was an important factor that guided the ultimate selection of the Sultān. If the Sultān became aware of the approach of death he sometimes sent for the nobles and officers of the State and asked them to be faithful and obedient to the heir-apparent <sup>45</sup>. Where the Sultān was not sure of their allegiance, he sometimes committed his will to writing duly affixed by his seal and by those of the high officials and qāzīs. But this was no guarantee for his ascending the throne. He was required to be accepted as Sultān by different élite groups comprising prominent members of the royal family, spiritual and temporal lords, and top military, civil and judicial functionaries. Thus when Prince Humāyūn was nominated as successor by 'Alāu'd-dīn Shāh Bahmanī II, the nobility opposed his nomination. Consequently, there was no smooth sailing in his accession to the throne.

Age seems to have been another factor in the choice of the Sultān. Although there are instances of nomination of minors as Sultāns, the experience was rarely encouraging owing to the danger of the intrigue of leading officers, thereby weakening the kingdom. For, accession to the throne by a minor created power vacuum making the institution of monarchy a tempting prize for an ambitious *Wakīl-i Saltanat*. Although there might be some instances where the *Wakīl-i Saltanat* usurped the throne, there had been several *Wakīls* who governed like monarchs <sup>46</sup>.

Medieval Deccan was not without instances of abdication of the throne by a ruling Sultān. Wherever abdication took place, it speaks of the prudence of the Sultān that saved the country from public calamities, for the bulk of nobility and army would have declared their detachment from the ruling monarch <sup>47</sup>. But the Sultāns who abdicated their throne, suffered death at the hands of their successors or of the well-wishers of their successors. Thus Nāsiru'd-dīn Ismā'il was tried on charge of treason, convicted and executed. Fīrōz Shāh and Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh were put to death at the instance of the well-wishers of their successors. In justification of these actions it was argued that a king was the shadow of God and could no more than

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44 *IA*, 1922, LIII

45 Cf. *Burhān*, 227, for Aḥmad Nizām Shāh's parting instructions. Also see *IA*, 1922, XCII for Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh's dying advice to his son, Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh and for his being designated as his successor.

46 *Fer*, I, 448, II, 197, *Burhān*, 240-2

47 *Fer*, I, 344, 407-8, *IA*, 1923, 38. Also see *IA* 1922, LXXXV



God Himself endure a partner or a rival and that any such should, in accordance with God's law, be removed <sup>48</sup>

In sum, the Sultān was the supreme head of the State, and he pretended to be the Vicar of God and His Prophet. He was the mainspring of honour and dignity. He conferred and abrogated appellation of rank and distinction and right to possession. Except under the first Bahmanī Sultān, the ministers, nobles and others were required to stand when the Sultān was present in the Court <sup>49</sup>. All persons when introduced to the king knelt and touched the ground with their foreheads <sup>50</sup>.

The Sultān was an emblem of all authority in the State. As the head of the State, he was the chief of all organs of government, legislative, executive, administrative and judicial. Outside the *sharī'ah*, customary and judge-made-laws, he was the only law-giver. As the chief executive he notified and executed law with the assistance of his officers appointed by him and responsible to him. As the head of judiciary he administered law both directly and with the assistance of the *qāzīs* and other judicial officers.

### (iii) Law

#### 1 Socio-Political Background

The medieval Muslim society was predominantly a religio-social entity, Islām being its sole bond of union. The religion provided for its members a philosophy of living by ordaining even the smallest activities of their daily life. To religion it owed its social organisation and legal system <sup>51</sup>. Of the six Muslim Deccan kingdoms that ruled for about three and half centuries from 748/1347, the Bahmanī, 'Imād Shāhī and Barīd Shāhī rulers were *Sunni* of the *Hanafi* persuasion, and those of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golkonda were *Shi'ah* although the bulk of the Muslim population remained *Sunni* of *Hanafi* persuasion. There were, however, rulers of *Hanafi* persuasion who either adopted the *Shi'ah* practices or even *Shi'ah* persuasion. Thus while the Bahmanī Sultāns were of *Sunni* persuasion, Fīrōz Shāh Bahmanī adopted the *Shi'ah* practice of *mut'ah* (temporary marriage) <sup>52</sup>. Likewise some of the early rulers of Ahmadnagar and some of Bijapur were of *Sunni* persuasion <sup>53</sup>.

48 *IA*, 1923, 38 9. Compare the argument of Mirzā Khān and some of the fomenters of strife who were in Prince Mīrān Husain's company and successfully deposed Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh.

49 *Fer*, I, 351 2.

50 *Ibid*, 352. *Burhān*, 20, 36, 71.

51 Cf. Gibb, *Ibn i Ba tū ta*, 26 7.

52 Briggs, II, 364.

53 Prominent among them were Ahmad Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar and Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh I of Bijapur. Also see Briggs, III, 169 for Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II who was a *Sunni*.

The impact of changes in the princely persuasion was immediately felt in the beginning of the sixteenth century. With the adoption of *Shi'ah* practices, the *Shi'ah* nobles and officers gained the upper hand in the ruling élite groups. Henceforth these kingdoms attracted a large number of *Shi'ah* scholars from Gujarat, Persia, *Khurāsān* and 'Irāq<sup>54</sup>. While the rule of *Sunni* Sultāns in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries furnished the nobility with *Sunni* and *Shi'ah* scholars from north India and other parts of the Muslim world the adoption of the *Shi'ah* tenets by the three largest Deccan kingdoms in the beginning of the sixteenth century stemmed the *Sunni* inflow. There were several among the Sayyids who held most prominent positions under the Bahmanīs. Thus Mīr Faḡlu'l-lāh Injū, who was the *Sadru'sh-Shari'ah* during the reign of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī II and the tutor of the members of the royal family, was raised to the position of *Wakil-i Saltanat* during the reign of Fīrōz Shāh Bahmanī<sup>55</sup>. Likewise, *Khalaf* Hasan Basrī was appointed *Wakil-i Saltanat* by Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī<sup>56</sup>. Yūsuf 'Adil *Khān* and Sultān-Qūlī, the founders of the *Shi'ah* kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda were the governors of the Bahmanī provinces.

## 2 Classification of Laws

The laws that were promulgated in the Sultānates of the Deccan were not codified in the modern sense. They may broadly be classified into three main categories:

- (a) *Qawānīn-i Shari'ah*
- (b) *Farāmin-i Shāhi*
- (c) *Qawānīn-i 'Urf*

### (a) *Qawānīn-i Shari'ah*

The principal sources of *Qawānīn-i Shari'ah* were the Qur'ān and the Hadīth, the sayings and actions attributed to the Prophet. Besides the concurrent opinion of the Prophet's companions (*Sahābah*) consensus of opinion (*Ijmā'u'l-Ummah*) among the most learned of the Prophet's followers<sup>57</sup> and the individual judgment of Qāzīs based on the principles of Istihsān (Public Welfare) Istislāh (Public Policy) or Istishhād (Concordance)<sup>58</sup>. In religious

54 *IA*, 1920, XXXIII. The author of *Burhan* gives details of *Shi'ah* scholars who migrated to the Deccan. Also see Qādir *Khān* Bīdrī, *Tārīkh-i Quṭb Shāhi*, 32.

55 *Fer*, I, 393.

56 *Ibid*, 409.

57 The most important work containing such opinions was *Al Hidayah*. It was generally accepted as the leading authority in the Turkish courts and in practically the whole of Muslim India until replaced by the *Fatawa-i 'Alamgiri* in 1670. Bashir Ahmad, *op cit*, 71.

58 *Ibid*.

matters, such as apostasy, and offences against God and in those of inheritance and marriage, law of *Shari'ah* (according to one's persuasion, *Shi'ah* or *Sunni*) was almost invariably adhered to <sup>59</sup>

Non-Muslims were excluded from the penal provisions of these laws in these respects. They enjoyed freedom from State control <sup>60</sup> For the Hindu law as contained in the *Śāstras* was applicable to the Hindu population in accordance with their age-old practice. When the Muslim officers were invoked assistance for settlement of disputes of civil and religious character, they sometimes pleaded ignorance of the *Śāstras*. It appears for instance, that in the course of a quarrel between the Brahmans and *Prabhūs* in Konkan, which could not be settled locally, the two parties approached the local Bijapur Muslim officer for redress. The officer advised them to go to their principal sacred place, Banaras, and obtain a decision from the *pandits* there, and promised that he would enforce such a decision. Accordingly, the parties repaired to Banaras where a great assembly of the *pandits* was held, and after a long debate it was determined that the *Prabhūs* were genuine *Kshatriyas*, and entitled to the benefit of Vedic ceremonies and to be taught the sacred *Gāyatrī* verse. The Brahmans are said to have been satisfied and to have agreed to conduct the ceremonies for the *Prabhūs* in the regular manner, and it is stated subsequently that this was accordingly done <sup>61</sup>

The *Shari'ah* or *Śāstras* were not followed *in toto* in criminal cases. Matters that fell under the purview of criminal law were by and large left to the State law. This is evident from punishments that were awarded differently by different Sultāns for the same acts. It seems that no distinction was made between Muslims and non-Muslims in this respect.

#### (b) *Farāmīn-i Shāhī*

Farmāns were the regulations issued by a Sultān in the form of proclamations. They were concerned with a very large sphere of governance of the State. Not only matters that came under the purview of criminal law were regulated by the farmāns promulgated from time to time, but also the whole administrative machinery was regulated through them. Such farmāns were issued by Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I and Sultān 'Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī II commanding all the *Ahkām-i Shari'ah* to be observed scrupulously <sup>62</sup> Likewise, a *farmān* was issued by Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I,

59 It is not possible to establish as to what procedure was adopted in case of dispute between persons following different persuasions.

60 See *Basātin*, 350, for the position of the Hindus under Muhammad 'Adil Shāh.

61 *Kayatha Prabhūnchi Bakhar*, 8-9, as quoted by M. G. Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power*, 1900, 278-9.

62 *Fer*, I, 370, 428.

limiting the business of the mint and banking business to a few *Khatri's*, the descendants of the inhabitants of Delhi who had formerly migrated to the Deccan. Through the same *farmān*, the Sultān is said to have prescribed death sentence to those guilty of melting the Bahmanī coins.<sup>63</sup> Farmāns were also issued by the Sultān for imprisonment and release of prisoners.<sup>64</sup>

The Sultāns also issued *farmāns* for important appointments and dismissals.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, territorial divisions were effected through a *farmān* and *jāgirs* were granted by them.<sup>66</sup>

Farmāns were sometimes dictated or even written in red ink<sup>67</sup> by the Sultān himself.<sup>68</sup> They were affixed with the Sultān's seal. Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I, who himself wrote a farmān and affixed his seal along with those of the qāzīs, the nobles and higher officers of the State, dealt with the demarcation of the boundaries between the Bahmanī Kingdom and Tīlangana.<sup>69</sup>

### (c) *Qawānīn-i 'Urf*

The third set of laws was known as *Qawānīn-i 'Urf* which had their origin neither in the Qur'ān nor in the farmāns. They were based on local customs and practices, and were too deep-rooted for interference. These conventions or unwritten laws of local customs and practices were known as '*Urf*',<sup>70</sup> i.e., what is accepted by the community.

They were generally honoured like any other law by the Sultān. *Qaul Nāma*<sup>71</sup> for instance, was one of the most conspicuous customs of the Deccan which was almost invariably acted upon by the Sultāns. It was the Dakhnī<sup>72</sup> term for its northern equivalent '*Amān Nāma*' and was an assurance of pardon and safety generally obtained by the nobles, officers etc., from the Sultān or from a superior, for any serious acts of omission and commission. Of the seven *Qaul Nāmas* quoted by Ferishta,<sup>73</sup> five were carried out in good sense by the Sultāns, although the nobles and the officers had more or less acted the part of traitors to their respective sovereigns. The other two *Qaul Nāmas* were carried out in letter, though not in spirit. Thus Dilāwar Khān, the Regent of

<sup>63</sup> Fer, I, 353

<sup>64</sup> Fer, I, 350, 438, Also see IA, 1923, 31, 33. It seems such *fāramān* were issued in cases in which the Sultān awarded punishment or acted as a court of appeal.

<sup>65</sup> IA, 1923, 31, 32, 34, 35

<sup>66</sup> Fer, II, 180, IA, 1922, LXXXV

<sup>67</sup> Tughra i Surkh, Fer, I, 438

<sup>68</sup> Fer, I, 360

<sup>69</sup> Ibid

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, 361

<sup>71</sup> Fer, II, 136, Burhān, 632

<sup>72</sup> Dakhnī is the earliest form of Urdu which is still spoken in the rural areas of South India.

<sup>73</sup> Fer, II, 136, 138, 151, 179, 180, 188. Also see Burhān, 343

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijapur, committed treason against his sovereign and then fled to Ahmadnagar. On his inducement the king of Ahmadnagar invaded Bijapur. Meanwhile, an assurance of pardon and safety and restoration of his original position was issued by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh. Consequently Dilāwar Khān returned to Bijapur although the Sultān of Ahmadnagar advised him to the contrary. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh ordered Ilyās Khān, his minister, to put out Dilāwar Khān's eyes. The minister represented in vain that Dilāwar had come to the court on His Majesty's assurance of pardon and safety. The Sultān told him that he had only promised not to injure his life or property and that depriving him of sight would affect neither. He was accordingly blinded and sent to the fortress of Satārā where he remained a prisoner till he died.<sup>74</sup> Likewise, Saif 'Amu'l-Mulk, who had left the Nizām Shāhī service and gone over to Bijāpūr, and being driven out from that kingdom, asked leave to return to Ahmadnagar which was granted to him by Husain Nizām Shāh by whom he was subsequently put to death.<sup>75</sup> Although there does not seem to be any moral justification on the part of these two Sultāns to have violated their assurances in spirit, a close study of the circumstances in which *Qaul Nāmas* were issued are indicative of the foolishness of the nobles to have chosen moments of highest degree of enmity for securing *Qaul Nāmas*.

There were certain local customs which had the effect of law, although they were incompatible with the *Sharī'ah*. The practice of *Yak Yak Bāzī* was, for instance, a custom which deserves special mention. It was a kind of duel in which sword or stick was used by the combatants. Ferishta writes that the practice of *Yak Yak* was first introduced by Ahmad Nizām Shāh.<sup>76</sup> Because of his keen interest schools for single sword play and wrestling were established in all quarters of Ahmadnagar. The Sultān used to witness rash young men combat their swords in his presence. He who gave the first wound was considered the victor. In consequence of this encouragement, a crowd of young men assembled daily at the palace for the display of their skill, till at length a day seldom passed without one or two persons being killed. Subsequently, the Sultān discontinued the practice of personally witnessing the combat, though the combatants were at liberty to settle their disputes outside the palace. The practice was that if either party were killed in fair combat, no retaliation (*qisās*) should be required. This vile custom, adds Farishta, was so congenial to the public that it spread far and wide.

74 Briggs, III, 172 3

75 *Ibid*, 238

76 Duelling does not seem to have been first introduced by Ahmad Nizām Shāh, for Ferishta himself mentions a duel between Mujāhid Shāh (when he was a young prince of fourteen years) and Mubārak the Betel-leaf Bearer of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I. In the combat Mujāhid threw him to the ground with such violence that in the fall Mubārak broke his neck and died. Sherwanī *Bahmans*, 178. Perhaps Ahmad Nizām Shāh was the first Muslim king to have patronised a duel.

in the Deccan and it was so fashionable at his times that even learned divines, philosophers and nobles practiced duelling, and if their children showed any backwardness in this way they did not consider them as lads of proper spirit. Ferishta quotes a combat which he himself witnessed in the streets of Bijapur in which certain nobles of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh were involved and in which, in few minutes, six respectable persons, who had no real animosity towards each other, were lost to their relatives consequent to a trifling dispute.<sup>77</sup>

(iv) *Notification and implementation of laws*

While for the *Shari'ah* authoritative books like the *Hidāyah* were consulted, the *Farāmīn-i Shāhī* were issued in a written form.<sup>78</sup> Separate secretariat assistants were employed by the Sultān for writing the farmāns. There seem to be two sets of such personnel. *Munshi-i Dargāh* and *Tughrā Nawīsān-i Bārgāh*,<sup>79</sup> the former were available when the Sultān sat in an open court, while the latter when he was in camera.

The farmāns were transmitted through special messengers to the *tarafdārs* and other officers.<sup>80</sup> They contained the names of the officers charged with their implementation.<sup>81</sup> Sometimes they were required to report on their implementation to the Sultān. Officers who neglected or failed to carry them out were severely punished.<sup>82</sup>

Special officers known as *Muhtasibs*<sup>83</sup> were appointed to explain to the residents of the city, and the customers and salesmen Islāmic practices and rules, and educate them in *Shari'ah* and order them to abstain from all things forbidden.<sup>84</sup> The *Muhtasibs* functioned under the *Sadru'sh-Shari'ah*.<sup>85</sup>

(v) *The King's position*

The Sultān occupied a unique position in the domain of law. He was the author of the *farāmīn* or *Qawānīn-i Shāhī*. In spite of the full discretionary

77 *Fer*, II, 109. Ferishta also mentions similar combat between Prince Ibrāhīm and 'Ambar Khān, an Abyssinian noble of Vijayanagar and his brother, when Ibrāhīm was a refugee at Vijayanagar. The Prince killed his antagonists, one after the other (*Fer*, II, 208).

78 *Fer*, II, 360. Sultān Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I himself wrote the *farmāns*.

79 *Fer*, I, 451. My inference of two sets of secretaries is from the words *dargāh* and *bārgāh*. If the former means a place open to all, the latter was a private apartment.

80 *Ibid*, 353.

81 M B Ahmad, *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, Appendix 4. The *farmān* through which a Qāzī Parganā was appointed was addressed to the district officers.

82 *IA*, 1923, 32-33, 160.

83 *Fer*, 428.

84 *Burhān*, 67, *Fer*, I, 428.

85 'Abdu'l Jabbār Malkāpūrī, *Mahbūbū'l-Watan Tadhkirah-i Salāṭin-i Dakan* I, 87. The author adds that *Muhtasibs* were appointed not only for the capital city and district headquarters but also for other towns and villages. But he has not quoted the source.

authority he had, he was guided by the exigencies of administration or the advice of his officers. For instance, out of administrative convenience the first two Bahmanī Sultāns divided the kingdom into four *Ta'afs* <sup>86</sup> The division of the kingdom under Muhammad Shāh III and the curtailment of the powers of the *Tarafdārs* were the plan of Mahmūd Gāwān <sup>87</sup> The *farmān*, which Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I issued for the prohibition of intoxication, was consequent to his persuasion by a *Sūfī* who refused to acknowledge him as Sultān if he did not adhere to the *Sharī'ah* <sup>88</sup> In short, so far as the *Sharī'ah* was concerned, the Sultān was considered its guardian.

As the chief executive of the realm, the Sultān was ultimately responsible for the execution of law. It was indeed necessary and advantageous for him to honour it. Moreover, his guardianship of law and justice imposed a moral obligation on him to adhere to it.

At least in theory, as an individual he had no privileged position. As referred to earlier, the Sultāns differentiated between their public and private life. Sultāns like Fīrōz Shāh Bahmanī, Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī, Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī, 'Alī 'Adil Shāh and Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh exhibited this in their actions. Fīrōz Shāh, who after the transaction of public business, spent his time till mid-night in the company of divines, poets and the learned, dealt with them almost as equals. He observed that whenever he sat on the throne to transact business he was a sovereign, and was necessarily obliged to assume dignity, in order to make a due impression on the minds of the people, so that the authority of government might be maintained. But in the assembly of the learned he regarded himself as a private individual and wished to be treated without formalities. He desired that all those attending these parties might come in or go out at will and that each person might call for what he chose to eat and drink and speak freely on all subjects. However, he maintained that such parties should not prevent him in any manner to perform his public duties. Therefore, he disallowed in these assemblies any subject regarding public affairs or complaint against an absent person <sup>89</sup> When Mullā Ishāq Sarhindī, a man of great learning and wit, observed that this waiving of ceremony towards the Sultān was contrary to the authority of the sovereign and to the practice of all other kings, Fīrōz Shāh smiled and remarked that such conduct could only proceed from kings void of justice and learning and that he prayed that such weakness would not be in his disposition.

A kingdom was not held as the private property of the Sultān. The outgoing Sultāns never contemplated the distribution of their kingdom between

86 *Fer*, I, 349-51

87 *Fer*, I, 270

88 *Burhān*, 7

89 *Fer*, I, 390. Ferishta borrowed this episode from Hājī Muhammad Qandhārī's history

their kins <sup>90</sup> It is said that in response to a query of Fīrōz Shāh Bahmanī, Mullā Muhammad and Mullā Ahmad told the Sultān that the property rules of *Shari'ah* would not be applicable to kingdom. Yet another scholar held that there was no consensus of opinion between the early interpreters of Qur'ān. Moreover, Mullā Ahmad opposed the distribution of kingdom on ground of expediency for he held that the distribution of kingdom would weaken it <sup>91</sup>

No prudent monarch would choose to amend the law radically at his will without incurring displeasure or even hatred on the part of the subjects. When Yūsuf 'Adīl Khān chose to replace *Sunni* tenets by those of the *Shi'ah*, he allowed them to worship according to their belief. Where public opinion was disregarded in administration, the monarch risked the danger of revolt against his rule. Thus when Burhān Nizām Shāh adopted *Shi'ah* tenets disregarding public opinion, the more militant leaders revolted against him.

#### (vi) *Rigour of Law*

The theory that the king could do no wrong was not accepted. The Sultāns of the Deccan were, by and large, adherents of the *Shari'ah* <sup>92</sup> Even the liberal Sultāns like Fīrōz Shāh Bahmanī were sometimes guilty of offences against the doctrines of the religion. He fasted and offered prayers often in the fasting month of Ramazān, and regularly observed the prescribed ceremonies of Islam. But he was guilty of drinking wine and listening to music, for which he would often express contrition. He argued that as music elevated his soul to the contemplation of the Almighty, and as he did not drink so much as to affect his reason, he hoped he would obtain pardon from God the Merciful <sup>93</sup>

Generally law applied equally to all, high and low. The highly placed state officers enjoyed no privileged position. Shāh Haidar, the *Wakil* and *Peshwā*, was taken to task by Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh when he set at naught the *Shari'ah* removing prohibition of forbidden things.

Corrupt officers were summarily dismissed. Qāzī Bēg the *Wakil* and *Peshwā* of Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh was deposed and imprisoned on charge of corruption before he was ordered to leave the kingdom <sup>94</sup> Mīr Ruknu'd-dīn,

<sup>90</sup> Compare the wills of Bahman Shāh, Fīrōz Shāh and Muhammad Shāh II

<sup>91</sup> Abdu'l Jabbār Malkāpūrī has quoted from *Mufarrihu'l-Qulūb*, *Tadhkira Salāṭīn i Dakan*, I, 431

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Briggs, II, 295, 325, 352, 364, 447. Also see Burhān, 237

<sup>93</sup> Fer, I, 389. Similarly, though 'Ala'ud dīn Shāh Bahmanī II drank wine himself, he forbade the use of it to others' (Fer, I, 428)

<sup>94</sup> Fer, II, 166



a Wazīr, was removed by Burhān Nizām Shāh for his dealings with the subjects which were not marked by justice and equity <sup>95</sup> Similarly, on charges of misconduct, his successor Shaikh Ja'far was deposed. During the reign of Sultān 'Alāu'd-dīn Shāh Bahmanī II, Dilāwar Khān had to resign from his office of *Wakīl* before the Sultān dismissed him for taking bribes from the landlords of Konkan <sup>96</sup>

Officers were severely punished for dereliction of their duty or improper use of their position. Mustafā Khān, an official of the court of 'Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī II, was ordered to be executed on charge of suppression of representation of grievances by the Sayyids to the Sultān <sup>97</sup> Shēr Malīk, a prominent Bahmanī noble was sentenced to death on the charge of misbehaviour and misuse of his position <sup>98</sup>

Even the members of the royal family and those highly influential with the Sultāns enjoyed no immunity from the rigour of law. This was equally true both in civil and criminal cases. Thus as a youth, Mujāhid Shāh received from his father, Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I, several stripes with a whip that drew blood, when he had broken open the State Treasury and divided bags of gold among his play-fellows <sup>99</sup> In spite of the recommendations of Prince Humāyūn, 'Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī II sentenced the Silāhdār who had assassinated Dastūru'l Mulk, to life imprisonment <sup>100</sup> Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī ordered the execution of his sister's son when convicted <sup>101</sup> Likewise a grandson of Hazrat Gēsū Darāz, the great sūfī of his time, was severely punished in an open market on charge of drinking wine and committing adultery <sup>102</sup>

#### (vii) *State versus the Subjects*

The State officials could be sued like ordinary citizens. Several of the Sultāns took special care in entertaining complaints against the officials. It is said of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I that he actually made annual tours through parts of his dominions, in these tours he was busy redressing complaints

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95 *Burhān*, 244

96 *Fer*, I, 424, *Burhān*, 77

97 *Fer*, I, 432, 433

98 *Ibid*, 421

99 Mujāhid Shāh vs State Treasury, *Fer*, I, 372

100 Silāhdār vs Dastūru'l-Mulk (*Fer*, I, 424)

101 *Fer*, I 420 Ferīstha however, holds that the Sultān readily ordered execution for he considered Shēr Khān as an obstacle to smooth succession by his sons to the throne. It is said that Shēr Khān had strangled Firōz Shāh to death after he had been forced to abdicate the throne to his victorious brother, Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī

102 *Fer*, I, 371

No wonder that Ferishta comments that during his reign all ranks of people reposed in security and peace <sup>103</sup>

The Nizām Shāhī and the Quṭb Shāhī rulers constructed a special palace where they received complaints daily in person against officials. As mentioned earlier, Mustafā Khān, an official of the court of Sultān 'Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad Bahmanī II, was severely punished on a charge of suppression of petitions. The petitioner's grievances were redressed and generous compensation was allowed <sup>104</sup>

There are instances of political cases tried by the Sultāns without creating special tribunals. 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh, for instance, tried in person Ismā'il Muḥ Amīru'l Umarā, on charge of treason and sentenced him to death after obtaining *fatwa* from the *muftis* <sup>105</sup>

Protection of life of the subject, his honour and his property was considered a religious duty of the Sultān. Thus Mujāhidu'd-dīn, a Habashī noble and officer in the Nizām Shāhī Court, forbade Miyyān Manjū to carry out his intention of fleeing when the Mughal Prince Murād invaded Ahmad nagar. For he argued that to flee before an enemy's army without appeal to the arbitrament of the sword and to leave one's country and one's fellow subjects to the mercy of the enemy was not a course approved by a faithful follower of Islam and would bring down heavy punishment on the Day of Judgment <sup>106</sup>

There are instances in which oppression of the subjects by a foreign ruler became a prestige issue for the kingdom, sometimes leading to war. Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I waged war against the Raja of Warangal on a representation that the Raja compelled a caravan of horse-dealers to sell him all their best horses. Likewise, Fīrōz Shāh took to arms when Bukka II of Vijayanagar sent a party to Mudgal to bring to him the daughter a goldsmith <sup>107</sup>

Burhān Nizām Shāh II, commanded Nūr Muhammad, ambassador of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, to settle the claims of the merchants. He was not allowed to leave the kingdom until the property unjustly taken was restored. The ambassador who was returning from Bijapur was entertained earlier at a banquet at Ahmadnagar in recognition of his services formerly rendered to the Nizām Shāhī dynasty <sup>108</sup>

103 *Fer*, I 371

104 *Fer*, I, 433

105 *Ibid*, 347, 48, *Fatwa* was the legal advice tendered by jurists known as *muftis*, to the *qāzis*

106 *IA*, October 1923 296

107 For the episode, see Sherwānī, *Bahmanis*, 159 62

108 *Fer*, I, 293 4, Burhān Nizām Shāh took the action in spite of the ambassador's high position in the service of Emperor Akbar and the representation of his courtiers that consideration was due to the ambassador in view of his past service to the dynasty

(VIII) *Rights of non-Muslims*

The establishment of independent states in the Deccan in the wake of the decline of the Tughluq Empire consequent to a united action on the part of Muslim and Hindu landed-gentry of the Deccan, and the alignment of Hindu and Muslim rulers, however infrequent these alignments might have been, against the common enemy, are facts which are to be reckoned with. It is not surprising that Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī I accepted the appeal of the Brahmans from Vijayanagar to stop the slaughter of innocent people while at war with the Rāya.

From the very inception of the Muslim rule in the Deccan, Brahmans more or less monopolised appointments in the Revenue and Accounts Departments<sup>109</sup> and thus had an important influence in State Administration. The Bahmanīs<sup>110</sup> the Nizām Shāhīs,<sup>111</sup> the ‘Ādil Shāhīs<sup>112</sup> and particularly the Qutb Shāhīs<sup>113</sup> employed non Muslims on an extensive scale. Some of them held even key positions, political and administrative<sup>114</sup>.

No attempts were made to superimpose Muslim culture on the Hindu subjects<sup>115</sup>. Hindu institutions as obtained in villages continued undisturbed.

109 *Fer*, I, 346

110 *Ibid*, *Ferishta* contains several instances. See I, pp 293 442 460. Konda Dēv was a *tarafdār* during the time of Mahmūd Gāwān.

111 *Burhān* contains instances of a number of Hindus occupying important positions under the Nizām Shāhī kings like those of Wazīr and Governor. See p 233 for Dalpat Rāi as Wazīr and p 241 for Danayya Chishan Jiyu as officer in charge of the fort of Anṭūr. Danayya played an important role in helping the Sultān in getting rid of Azizu l-Mulk, *Wakīl* and *Peshwā*. When Shaikh Ja‘far was deposed as Wazīr, Kanhu Narsi, a Brahman, was appointed as Wazīr who held the post for a long time and performed his duty faithfully and well. The role of Sabājī as the Nizām Shāhī ambassador to Sultān Bahādur Shāh was not insignificant for which he received the title of Partāp Rāi (Briggs, III, 226, *IA*, 1920 XXVIII).

112 Cf P M Joshi, Position of the Hindus in the Ādil Shāhī Kingdom of *Bijapur*, 309-13. *Proceedings of the Deccan History Conference*, 1945. He has quoted from contemporary historians, Muslim and non-Muslim. Gracia de Orta notices that the Marathas were employed by the kings of the Deccan as treasurers, writers, collectors of rent and ambassadors. Dr Joshi writes that the Marathas had equal opportunities to distinguish themselves as military leaders with the Muslim nobility. During the reign of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh I Brahmans acquired great influence in his Government (Briggs, III, 80).

113 Briggs, III, Appendix to the History of the Kings of Golkonda, 337.

114 Compare the role of Akkanna and Madanna under Abu’l Hasan Qutb Shāh. *Fer*, I 442 speaks of Hindu provincial officers under “Nizām Shāh Bahmanī”. Qādir Khān Bidi, *Tārīkh-i Qutb Shāhī*, 33-40, See *IA*, 1922, XLIV and LIX for the role of Bhopāl Rāi during the reign of Alī Barīd Shāh and Rāi Chaptal in Ahmadnagar and Bijapur’s relations. Miyyān Rāja Prātāp Rāi was one of the most intimate counsellors of Burhān Nizām Shāh, (*IA*, 1922, LV).

115 Generally the Sultāns did not adopt the policy of religious intolerance.

Questions of inheritance, marriage and other matters covered by the civil code were governed by the religious laws, the *Dharmasāstras*

As regards criminal law, there was no discrimination between Muslims and non-Muslims. For the *Shāhī Qawānīn* which embraced the area of criminal code,<sup>116</sup> and which guaranteed security of life and property, were uniformly applicable

Brahmans seem to have wielded great influence with the Sultāns because of their belief in astrology. They were almost invariably consulted at the time of coronations,<sup>117</sup> the practice being first started by the founder of Bahmanī dynasty. Historians have mentioned that, like mosques and centres of Muslim religion, Hindu temples were given liberal endowments by the Sultāns.<sup>118</sup>

#### (ix) *The position of Women*

Although no woman ruled any of the Muslim kingdoms in medieval Deccan, some of the women-members of the royal families found themselves in the position of kingmakers, while others actually ruled as regents. This is evident from the role of the sister of Mujāhid Shāh, Rūh Parwar Āghā in taking revenge against her brother's assassin, Dāwūd Shāh and proclaiming Muhammad as the Sultān, the direction of the two Regency Councils after Humāyūn Shāh's death by his wife, Makhdūma-i Jahān, and Chānd Bibī's predominance in Nizām Shāhī politics and administration particularly as the regent for Bahādūr Shāh and her role in defence of the city of Ahmadnagar against the Mughal invasion.

In one respect women were placed more or less on the same level as men. If found guilty of the offence of adultery, a woman was made to suffer almost as severe a punishment as was given to the male co-accused. During the reign of 'Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī II one of the grandsons of Hazrat Gēsū Darāz was captivated by a courtesan and was induced to drink wine. One night he beat the woman and cut off her side locks. When the affair was brought before the *Kōtwāl*, he confined both parties and brought the matter to the notice of the Sultān. The Sultān was greatly enraged and ordered the offender to be carried to the public square of the city, there to receive two hundred stripes on his arms and legs, and he was also required to take a solemn oath against drinking wine. The courtesan was led through the streets dressed in an ass's skin and afterwards banished from the city.<sup>119</sup>

116 *Fer*, I, 370, 428,

117 *Ibid*, 344 5, *IA*, 1920, 67, 1922, *LI*

118 *Cf* P M Joshi, *Position of the Hindus in the 'Ādil Shāhī Kingdom of Bijapur*, *op cit*, 309-313

119 *Fer*, I, 428

(x) *The Institution of Slavery*

One of the features of medieval Muslim social system was the practice of slavery. The slave was generally the body-servant or retainer of his master. Under the impact of Islām master and slave, however, stood in a humane relationship, and hence the stigma attaching to slavery was not great.

Medieval Deccan, however, witnessed the fading phase of the practice of slavery. There were two sets of slaves: (i) white and black skinned slaves imported by the immigrant Muslims, and (ii) non-Muslims enslaved during wars with the Hindu rulers of the region. The personal security and comfort of the Sultān was looked after by the slaves, mostly purchased. They were treated without distinction. From them the body-guard of the Sultān was selected and also his aides-de-camp and confidential personal attendants,<sup>120</sup> and they were taught to look up to the monarch alone for their future success in life.<sup>121</sup>

Several of the slaves rose to high positions in the realm. The most illustrious instance is that of *Malik Nā'ib* Nizāmu'l-Mulk Bahri, father of the founder of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty, who was originally a Brahman from Vijayanagar. He was taken prisoner in his infancy by the army of Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī. After conversion to Islām, he received the name of Hasan and was brought up as one of the royal slaves, along with the eldest son of the Prince Muhammad as a kind of companion with whom he was educated and attained eminence in Persian and Arabic literature. When the Prince ascended the throne as Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī II, he raised his favourite to the rank of a noble of a thousand horse. In course of time after holding important positions as *tarafdār*, he was raised to the position of *Wakil-i Saltanat* after Mahmūd Gāwān's death.<sup>122</sup>

Another notable instance of a slave reaching highest distinction was that of Taghalchin, one of the principal Turkī slaves of the household of Ghyāthu'd-dīn Shāh Bahmanī, who blinded his master and placed Shamsu'd-dīn, the late Sultān's brother on the throne. He ruled as a virtual monarch for nearly five months before he was killed.<sup>123</sup>

There were several others who in view of their proximity to the Sultāns and other dignitaries entered deeply into court intrigues. Thus Yusuf, a Turkish slave of the 'Alāu'd dīn Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī II and known for his virtue and integrity, took active part in a revolt by the Prince Hasan Khān

120 An Abyssinian slave gave his life in defending Mujāhid Shāh when he was attacked by assassins.

121 Briggs, II, 458.

122 Briggs, III, 190 2.

123 *Ibid*, II, 353 61,

against Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī <sup>124</sup> Similarly, Siddhu, a slave of the royal family, sided with the Princes opposed to Taghalchīn. The negligence or connivance of Miftāh an Abyssinian slave and keeper of Mahmūd Gāwān's seal resulted in the innocent death of Mahmūd Gāwān <sup>125</sup>

## 2 Judicial System

The system of government and administration bequeathed by the Khaljis and Tughluqs, remained essentially the same under the Sultāns of the Deccan. About twenty years prior to the establishment of the Bahmanī dynasty, all roads led to the Deccan with the partial removal of the capital from Delhi to Daulatābād <sup>126</sup> Accordingly, when one of the high officials of the Tughluq Empire revolted against Muhammad bin Tughluq, political, administrative and judicial institutions that were readily available offered a broad base over which the fabric of his kingdom could be erected.

The judicial system that obtained in the Deccan during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq generally continued to operate under the Deccan Sultāns. This is evident from the continuance of the Sultān as head of judiciary,\* the *Sadru'sh-Shari'ah*<sup>127</sup> or *Shari'at-Panāh* as the chief justice and the institutions of *Qāzī*, *Muftī*, *Muhtasib* etc. However, there was hardly a Muhammad bin Tughluq among the Deccan Sultāns who in his desire to win politics through religion, could come in conflict with the learned divines, or an 'Alāu'd dīn Khaljī who could find religion hardly coping with politics <sup>128</sup> By associating the learned divines with government and administration, the Deccan Sultāns tended to use religion for political purposes. The most distinctive feature of this period was that the country witnessed for the first time, the establishment of three dynasties in the Deccan with *Shi'ah* persuasion, although the bulk of Muslim population remained *Sunni*.

However, the judicial system continued unchanged, for there was no difference between the *Sunni* and *Shi'ah* approaches to it. While the *Sunni* and *Shi'ah* scholars received patronage from the Sultāns of their respective persuasions, the *Sunni* and *Shi'ah* Sultāns, except two or three,<sup>129</sup> generally practised religious tolerance as was also evident from their liberal policy in appointments to key positions in their respective kingdoms.

124 *Ibid*, 458, 462,

125 *Ibid*, 505, 506

126 In 727/1327, Muhammad bin Tughluq removed his capital from Delhi to Daulatābād, while the Bahmanī dynasty was established on 24 Rabi' II, 748/3 August, 1347. Haig, T W, *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, 1919, p 1, Briggs, II, 290. *Bahmanis*, /37

127 The institution of *Sadru'sh Shari'ah* which was also called *Qaztu'l-Quzāt* continued, under the latter title after the Bahmanis.

128 Mahdi Husain *Muhammad Shāh bin Tughluq*, Allahabad, 1937, 195

129 Cf *Fer*, I, 350, II, 18, 19, 16, 62, 80, 114, 121, for religious intolerance

## 1 The Central Administrative Set-up

### (a) *The Sultān and his Council*

The Sultān was at the apex of the administrative machinery and conducted administration with the assistance of the *Maḥlis-i Mushāwarat*<sup>130</sup>—the Advisory Council. The *Maḥlis* generally consisted of ministers and high officials. The ministers were charged with such departments as Finance, Army, Accounts, Law and Justice and Police. While the *Wakīl-i Saltanat* acted as the lieutenant of the kingdom,<sup>131</sup> the *Sadrū'sh-Sharī'ah* was in charge of law and justice, religion and endowments, and the *Kōtwāl* of city police, law and order and prisons.<sup>132</sup> Some of the ministers held the position of *Tarafdar* (Governor). Two or three of them were generally the most intimate counselors, constituting the inner Cabinet.<sup>133</sup>

The Sultān convened the *Maḥlis* in his *Diwān Khāna*.<sup>134</sup> When the *Maḥlis* met for judicial purposes, the judicial dignitaries, like the *Sadrū'sh-Sharī'ah* and *Muftīs* were included.<sup>135</sup>

The ministers were selected by the Sultān generally from the ranks of nobles who had shown their mettle in war and administration,<sup>136</sup> while the minister in charge of law and justice, religion and endowments, was from men who were noted for their scholarship.<sup>137</sup> Since the Sultān derived his sovereignty to a considerable extent from the implicit and explicit loyalty of the different élite groups in the kingdom, ministers were drawn from the élite groups who owed personal allegiance to the Sultān.<sup>138</sup> If the government was despotic, the administrative organisation was more bureaucratic than feudal. It was under the personal orders of the Sultān or under those of the *Wakīl-i Saltanat* that the officers were transferred, promoted and removed.<sup>139</sup> *Jāgirs* that were granted to officers and others, were mostly personal rather than hereditary in character.

130 *Burhān*, 361

131 Cf. the role of Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī and Mir Fazlu'l-lāh Injū under the Bahmanīs and Chengiz Khān and Qāzī Beg under the Nizām Shāhīs

132 See below for details under *Sadrū'sh-Sharī'ah* and *Kōtwāl* for their selection, position and powers

133 For instance, see *IA*, 1922, sec. LV, for the career of Shāh Tāhūr and Miyyān Rājā Pratāp Rājā as the most intimate of the Counsellors of Burhān Nizām Shāh

134 *Fer*, I, 347, 352, 440

135 *Ibid*, 347, for purposes of war, a special War Council was convened. Also see *IA*, 1922, XLVIII

136 Cf. the rise of Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī, Mir Fazlu'l-lāh Injū and Malik Hasan Nizāmu'l-Mulk Baharī as *Wakīlu's Saltanat*

137 Cf. *Sadrū'sh-Sharī'ah* Samarquandī, Mir Fazlu'l-lāh Injū and Sadr-i Jahān Shuṭṭārī

138 Malik Na'ib Mir Fazlu'l-lāh's choice as *Wakīl-i Saltanat* by Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī I offers the most notable instance

139 Cf. *Basātīn*, 352, for advice to kings on similar lines

(b) *The Wakīl-i Saltānat*

The *Wakīl-i Saltānat* (or a *Wakīl wa Peshwā*)<sup>140</sup> was *primus inter pares* among the ministers. The institution first created by the founder of Bahmanī dynasty,<sup>141</sup> existed more or less in all the Sultānates of the Deccan.<sup>142</sup> Sometimes the duties of the *Wakīl-i Saltānat* were charged to a commission of three persons particularly when the Sultān was a minor.<sup>143</sup> The position of *Wakīl-i Saltānat* was the highest (next only to the Sultān) in the realm in respect of status and powers, higher than that of *Amirul Umarā*, the highest post in the army.<sup>144</sup> The post was adorned by great men of their time, such as Saifu d-dīn Ghōrī, Mir Fa'zlu'l-lāh Injū, Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān and Changīz Khān Saifu'd dīn Ghōrī, the first *Wakīl-i Saltānat*, had been one of the *Amīrān-i Sadah* in the Tughluq Empire. He served five Bahmanī Sultāns consecutively for over fifty years (except for a short span of about one month) with great distinction. Mir Fa'zlu'l-lāh Injū and Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān served the Bahmanīs for over twenty years each.

The *Wakīl-i Saltānat* was also known as *Malik Nā'ib*, as he held the charge of government in the absence of the Sultān from the Capital. Under the Bahmanīs he also held the office of the *tarafdār* of the province in which the Capital was situated.<sup>145</sup> Mahmūd Gāwān combined the offices of *Wakīl-i Saltānat* and *Amīru'l-Umarā*. Being the *Malik Nā'ib* and *Tarafdar*, he had jurisdiction over central and provincial administration, military and civil.<sup>146</sup> A special *farmān* was issued for the appointment and dismissal of *Wakīl-i Saltānat*. At the time of appointment the *Wakīl-i Saltānat* was conferred a special title and robe of honour.<sup>147</sup>

The authority wielded by the *Wakīl-i Saltānat* varied from person to person who held the office, and depended very largely on the personality of the

140 This was the title used for the Prime Ministers of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur

141 *Fer*, I, 345

142 See for the Bahmanīs, *Fer* I, 345, 389, 409, 435, 436, 467, for the Adil Shāhis, *Fer*, II, 24, 49, for the Nizām Shāhis, 96, 154, 161, 162, 172 and for the Quṭb Shāhis 169. Under the Nizām Shāhis the institution was called *Wakīl wa Peshwā* (*Burhān*, 233, 235). Burhān Nizām Shāh, who ascended the throne when he was a minor did not appoint anybody as *Wakīl wa Peshwā* when he was able to get rid of 'Azīzu'l Mulk at the age of 12 after a bitter experience with unscrupulous *Wakīl wa Peshwās*.

143 *IA*, 1923, 162

144, *Fer*, I, 347. Compare the explanation offered by Alāu'd-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh to the *Amīru'l Umarā*.

145 *Fer*, I, 349, 436

146 The *Wakīl-i Saltānat* seems to perform judicial functions also. Tavernier, for instance, was an eye witness to Mir Jumla's disposal of criminal cases.

147 *IA*, 1923, 34, 162, 297, *Fer*, I, 381, 436, *Burhān*, 226



Sultān Some of them ruled like monarchs when the Sultān was a minor,<sup>148</sup> incapable or spent little time for the governance of the kingdom<sup>149</sup> Whenever two kingdoms were at enmity with one another, some of them exploited the situation either by getting rid of the monarch or by forcing him to abandon his design against them This was particularly true about the *Wakils* of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur<sup>150</sup> Some of them were treated by the stronger Sultāns as their servants,<sup>151</sup> on the other hand, there are instances of *Wakils* who served their master loyally even at the height of their achievements<sup>152</sup>

## 2 Administrative Divisions

The Sultān who was the head of the administrative machinery with the *Wakil-i Saltanat* as his lieutenant, was assisted by the heads of the administrative divisions known as *Taraf*<sup>153</sup> under the Bahmanīs in the governance of the State The designation was changed to *Sailashkar* and later to *Subā*<sup>154</sup> The administrative divisions which were four under the early Bahmanīs, were raised to eight during the time of Mahmūd Gawān, the most celebrated *Wakil-i Saltanat* of the Bahmanīs<sup>155</sup> Each of the four *Tarafdārs* was awarded a separate title Thus the *Tarafdār* of Daulatābād was designated *Musnad-i 'Āli*, the *Tarafdār* of Bērar *Maylis-i 'Āli*, the *Tarafdār* of Bīdar and Tīlangana *A'zam Humāyūn* the *Tarafdār* of the capital, Gulbāga and of Bijapur who was the *Wakil-i Saltanat*, *Malik Nā'ib*<sup>156</sup>

The Bahmanī Sultāns controlled their *Tarafdārs* through several administrative methods Firstly, the office of *Tarafdār* was regarded an administrative appointment and not a hereditary institution Therefore, transfers from one *Taraf* to another were not infrequent<sup>157</sup> This must have proved a useful means

148 Mukammal Khān ruled like a king as Burhān Nizām Shāh was about seven years of age at the time of his accession After his death his son Azīzu'l-Mulk became *Wakil wa Peshwā* When Burhān Nizām Shāh was still young, he ruled as a virtual monarch (*Burhān*, 235, 240) After Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh's death, Saif Amu'l-Mulk raised to the throne one of Jamshīd's sons and ruled the kingdom as an absolute monarch in his name, (*IA*, 1922, XXVLL)

149 *IA*, 1920, XXXVI, XLI

150 Shāh Haidar and Ṣalābat Khān ruled like monarchs when Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh practically lost all interest in administration, *IA*, 1922, LXXXV, XCVI, compare Saif Amu'l Mulk's career who left the service of Burhān Nizām Shāh and entered that of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh (*IA* 1922 XLV)

151 Compare the relations between Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh and Ṣalābat Khān

152 Compare the relations of Mahmūd Gawān and Changīz Khān with their masters

153 It seems under 'Alāu d dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh the Tughluq term of *Shiqdār* for *Tarafdār* continued (Abdu'l Jabbār Khān Malkapūri, *Mahbūbu'l Watan*, 74)

154 *Burhān*, 597

155 *Fer*, I 460 *Bahmanis*, 322 ff

156 *Fer*, I, 351, 359 also see 385 for continuation of the titles

157 *Ibid*, 385, 409, 442, 467

of preventing any *tarafdār* from building up his own 'empire' When transfers ceased to operate under the later Bahmanīs, the *tarafdār*s found it convenient to assert their independence Secondly, some of the Sultāns made frequent tours of their *tarafs* <sup>158</sup> Such tours enabled them to be in touch with administration in each *taraf* and to redress grievances in the *tarafs* Thirdly, when during the time of Mahmūd Gāwān, with the vast extension of the Kingdom, each *taraf* was bifurcated into two provinces, the governor of each province was called *Sarlashkar* Fourthly, a number of places in each of the eight divisions were reserved especially to meet the Sultān's private expenses and district collectors were appointed by the Court to manage them Fifthly the administrative divisions, which coincided with the military divisions of the kingdom until the reforms of Mahmūd Gāwān, were allowed to continue only as administrative divisions Under the new regulations, only one fort was left with the *tarafdār*, while all others were entrusted to officers and troops directly appointed by the Sultān and paid from headquarters—thus ending all military appointments as a part of the *tarafdār*'s patronage This was intended to facilitate the task of the headquarters to reduce a recalcitrant *tarafdār* to subjection <sup>159</sup>

Prior to these regulations, the *tarafdār* was all in all in his *taraf*, being the provincial head in all spheres, military, civil and judicial He made all civil, judicial and military appointments in his division <sup>160</sup> No wonder that when this arrangement was discontinued after the death of Mahmūd Gāwān it was not difficult for the heads of five large provinces of the kingdom to assume autonomy over their territories

In addition to civil and military organisation, each *taraf* had a court of justice As Ferishta mentions, Mullā 'Abdul'-Ghanī and Najmu'd-dīn were *Sadr* and *Mufti* of Berar respectively <sup>161</sup>

The royal establishment of a *Pargana* was known as the *Dīwān-i Pargana* <sup>162</sup> whose head was directly appointed by the Sultān <sup>163</sup> The chief of the *Dīwān-i Pargana* was known as *Hawāladār* <sup>164</sup> He held his office at the pleasure of the *Wazīr* or the *Amīr* who held the *Pargana* either in *Muqāsa* (the place for collecting the customs or revenue) or in *jāgīr* If appointed by the Sultān he was called *Muqāsadār* and was responsible to him <sup>165</sup>

158 *Fer*, I, 371

159 *Fer*, I, 460, 461, 470, 472

160 *IA*, 1920, *Burhan*, contains several instances

161 *Fer*, I, 413

162 See Gune, *op cit*, 16

163 *Ibid*, 16-17, *Fer*, I, 460, 461

164 Gune, 17, *IA*, 1922, LXXXIV, LXXXVIII

165 Gune, 17, *IA*, 1922, LXXXIV, LXXXVIII

Along with this royal institution of local administration there was another one of indigenous origin popularly known as the *Gōta*, composed chiefly of the *Watandārs* and *Mirāthdārs*. During the early period of the Bahmanī dynasty, the *qāzī*, who acted as an intermediary between the government officers and the indigenous officers, seems to be responsible for bringing the *Diwān* and *Gōta* together in a *Majlis* which was presided over by the *qāzī*. The *Pargana Majlis* used to confirm private transactions, give testimony and make representation to higher authorities as an administrative body.<sup>166</sup> Parallel to the royal administrative divisions were the *jāgīrs* which were virtually ruled by the landed gentry. By and large, the *jāgīrs* were miniature dominions and were modelled on the pattern of the royal dominion. Where the nobles were of different persuasion from that of the Sultān, they were allowed to read the *khutbah* and worship publicly according to their own tenets, subject to a watch over them by the Sultān.<sup>167</sup>

### 3 Concept of Justice

Dispensation of justice was considered one of the primary duties of the ruler. Two reasons may be advanced. Firstly, it had the sanction of religion. Under Islām no act of worship was greater than an act of justice. Imploring Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh to give up his plan to retire from public life and take to the life of seclusion, the learned divines reminded him that their advice was in accordance with the saying of the Prophet that one hour spent in dispensation of justice is better than that spent in any ardent prayers.<sup>168</sup> Secondly it was both a political and an administrative necessity, for without a just ruler public business could not be properly transacted. In the *Dustūrū'l 'Amal* or Principles of Government which formed the basis of administration under the Sultāns, Ibrāhīm Zubairī enumerates Justice to be the first and foremost duty.<sup>169</sup> The learned divines, particularly the sufīs, always reminded the Sultāns about their responsibility for proper dispensation of justice.<sup>170</sup> Before he breathed

166 *Ibid*, 18. Gune holds that each *Pargana* was divided into *Tarafs*. Each *Taraf* had the office of the *Taraf* known as the *Diwān* i *Thāna* and the officer as *Thānadār*. There was also a *Gōta* and a *Majlis* on the *Pargana* pattern. Then there was *Qasba* (township), *Qil'a* (fort) and finally at the apex of the village was called *Muqaddam* who acted both as a government officer and as the chief member of the village *Gōta*.

167 Briggs, III, 25-6, 80.

168 See *Burhān*, 501, for conversation between Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh and the learned divines.

169 *Basātin*, 348.

170 Vide *Fer*, I, 370 for Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn's condition for an oath of allegiance to Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I. Also see 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān Malkāpūrī, *Mahbūbu'l-Waṣān Tadḥkīr-i Salāṭīn-i Dakan*, 70, for Shaikh Sirāj Junaidī's counsel for adherence to *Sharī'ah*, justice and generosity at the coronation ceremony. Malkāpūrī quotes Mullā Dāwūd Bidrī's *Tuhfat-u's Salāṭīn*.

his last, Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I advised the Crown Prince Mujāhid to be on alert in the dispensation of justice and the redress of grievances <sup>171</sup> It is not surprising that 'Sultān-i 'Ādil' (King, the Dispenser of Justice) was one of the titles that a Sultān used with pride. The *khutbah* that was read in weekly congregations on Friday and on occasions of the two 'Ids referred to this title. The title must have served as a constant reminder to the Sultān of his moral obligations towards justice.

The Sultān was also addressed as " 'Adalat Panāh <sup>172</sup> or Guardian of justice, and *Muhāfiz-i Shari'ah* <sup>173</sup> or Defender of the *Shari'ah* conferring on him highest judicial authority and imposing a responsibility towards proper dispensation of justice. No wonder that Hazrat Shaikh Zayn'u'd-dīn who refused to take the oath of allegiance to Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I and voiced the prevailing concept in his reply when he argued that the Sultān drank wine, and was guilty of excesses forbidden by Islām particularly when he was regarded as the guardian of *Shari'ah*. He offered to submit to him only if the Sultān, like his father, adhered to *Shari'ah* by discouraging vice and abstaining from wine in public and by instructing the scholars and *sadrs* to spare no effort for observing the holy ordinances <sup>174</sup>

One day 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahmanī II ascended the pulpit in the Grand Mosque, read *khutbah* and referred to himself by the following titles: "Just, Merciful, Patient and Liberal to the servants of God, Chief in worldly and religious affairs, Son of the most distinguished among Princes Ahmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī." An Arab merchant who had sold horses for the Sultān's use, the payment for which was delayed by the officers of the household, roused by the treatment he had experienced, and indignant at the cruel massacre of the innocent Sayyids which had just taken place, exclaimed with a loud voice: "Thou art neither the just, the merciful, the patient nor the liberal king but cruel and false, who hast massacred the Prophet's descendants yet thou dares to assume such vaunting titles in the pulpit of the true believers." It is said that the Sultān, struck with remorse, commanded the merchant to be paid on the spot, saying that those would not escape the wrath of God who had thus injured his reputation. He then retired to his palace and never ascended the pulpit again <sup>175</sup>

The ruler in Islām was not the people's master but only held his office in trust for the Supreme Being <sup>176</sup> Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī II who regarded

171 *Burhān*, 33

172 *Fer*, II, 86, 88, *Burhān* 527

173 *Burhān*, 7

174 *Fer*, I, 370

175 Briggs, II, 450

176 M B Ahmad, *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, 66 Sherwani, *Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration*, 1965, 255-6

himself a trustee of the Treasury of God, considered it a breach of trust to spend more on himself from the treasury than necessity required.<sup>177</sup> Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī seems to have concurred with Muhammad Shāh in the trusteeship theory. No wonder his son, Mujāhid Shāh while a youth, received from him several severe stripes with a whip that drew blood when the former broke open the Treasury and divided bags of gold among his playfellows.<sup>178</sup>

The Islamic concept of responsibility to God served as a spur to proper dispensation of justice. Murtazā Nizām Shāh's instructions to his *Wakil wa Peshwa* Qāzī Bēg at the investiture ceremony prior to his temporary retirement from normal duties of kingship after the realization of his mistake of causing the death of his *Wakil wa Peshwa*, Changiz Khān, seem to be one of the expositions of justice among the Muslims and the belief in the responsibility of the Sultān to God. He called before him the prominent officers and principal inhabitants of the Capital and said:<sup>179</sup> 'Be it known that I am unfit to rule for I find I want the capacity to distinguish right from wrong, so that I frequently am guilty of oppression under the cloak of justice, and when the truth becomes apparent I am grieved at my want of discretion. I now, therefore, call you to witness, and require you to testify on the Last Day, that I have appointed Meer Kazy Beg my *Wakeel Mutlaq* who is one of the descendants of the Prophet that he may act unto every one agreeably to the law, and by not giving preference to the strong over the weak, he will disregard all private considerations. Should any person take even the needle of a weak old woman, and I be questioned concerning it at the Day of Judgement, I will answer that I had no business in such affairs which depended on Kazy Beg, the descendant of the Prophet. I who am fearful and apprehensive of the anger and punishment of the Almighty, sincerely repenting of my conduct toward Changiz Khān, seek retirement, and employ my days in penitence and prayer.'<sup>180</sup> Again, it was because of his firm belief in answerability to God that in spite of his deep reverence for Qāzī Bēg, he did not hesitate to depose him on charge of corruption.<sup>181</sup>

If dreams are a mirror of one's character and beliefs, Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī III's dream immediately after the real truth of his unjust sentence

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177 *Fer*, I, 382, 383

178 *Ibid*, 372, 373

179 Muhammad Shāh III also advanced reasons defending his order for Mahmūd Gāwān's execution through a special Farmān, for this see Sherwani, *Mahmūd Gāwān*, 173-4

180 Briggs, II, 259-260. Also compare *Burhān*, 485

181 Writing about Murtazā Nizām Shāh, the author of *Burhān* suggests (*IA*, 1923, 166) that although many wise men and philosophers pronounced him to be a mad man and attributed his actions to insanity, yet all his other actions and words, especially the theological and philosophical questions which he asked of the learned men were evidences of his understanding, acumen, sanity and well ordered mind.

of death against Maḥmūd Gāwān flashed on his mind, was a reflection of his belief in his responsibility to God. It is related that the Sultān saw the Apostle of Islām in his dream occupying the seat of justice, with Maḥmūd Gāwān's mother demanding *Qisās* or Execution. The Apostle called for witnesses and gave his verdict for his immediate execution. The Sultān awoke trembling with terror at the act that he had committed and related the whole dream to his family. He died exactly one lunar year after Maḥmūd Gāwān's murder.<sup>182</sup>

However, as the thrust of the monarchy was towards concentration of power, there was no built-in checks if an unscrupulous person came to the throne, although the instances of such monarchs are rare. Thus Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī invented new devices of oppressing his enemies. Likewise, Burhān Nizām Shāh II, who did not hesitate to compel Nūr Muhammad Amīn, ambassador of Akbar, to settle the claims of the merchants before he left the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, is reported that during the siege of Chaul he formed the habit of seizing and dishonouring the wives and daughters of his subjects.<sup>183</sup>

#### 4 Judicial Organisation

##### (A) The Central Judiciary

Among the various organs of government, the judiciary functioned on a distinct institutionalised basis, culminating in the Sultān as the Court of Final Appeal. Next to the Sultān the *Sadr-i Sharī'ah* was the head of the judiciary, while the provincial judiciary was presided over by the *Sadr*.<sup>184</sup> The Capital had a *Qāzī*<sup>185</sup> like any other big town. The *Qāzī* of a large town was assisted by a *Nā'ib Qāzī*. A *Muftī* was attached to each court in order to expound the law. Each town and fort had a *Kōtwāl* who acted as the public prosecutor and maintained law and order, while *Muhtasibs* were appointed for the observance of Sharī'ah rules among the Muslims and of the general rules of morality among all. All the judicial appointments were made by the Sultān.<sup>186</sup>

##### (i) The Sultan

The Sultān seldom acted as a Court. Whenever he sat as a Court, he tried cases both singly and in the presence of his judicial dignitaries.<sup>187</sup> as

182 *Burhān*, 132-33. See Sherwani, *Maḥmūd Gāwān*, 176.

183 *IA*, 1923, 293.

184 For the sources utilised for the *Sadr-i Sharī'ah*, *Ṣadrs*, *Qāzīs*, *Muftīs*, *Kōtwāl* and *Muhtasibs*, see subsequent pages.

185 See 'Abdul Jabbār Malkāpūrī *Mahbūbū'l Waṣān*, 75. He mentions that Shaikh Minhau'd dīn Junaidī was the first *Qāzī* of the capital city, Gulbarga.

186 Even for the appointment of the *Qāzī* of a pargana, a royal *farmān* was issued. See M B Ahmad, *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, Appendix D I(4) for the copy of a *farmān* of Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh.

187 Cf. the part played by 'Alāu'd dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh in *Ismā'il vs. The State*, *Fer*, I, 347-48.

an original as well as an appellate judge. In cases of treason and in those in which high dignitaries and the nobility were involved, he generally acted as the original court. There are several instances of Sultāns who passed sentence only after undertaking necessary investigations. Burhān Nizām Shāh, for instance, did not take any action against the traitor, Amjadu'l-Mulk, until he was formally tried on a petition from the Kōtwāl of a fortress.<sup>188</sup> Likewise 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh convened a meeting of all the principal officers of the court including the *Qāzis* and theologians and openly accused the former king Ismā'il Muḥḥ, the Amīru l-Umarā, who denied the charge of treason by the most solemn oaths. When the informers and many of the conspirators fully proved the charges against him, the Sultān sentenced him to death after obtaining a *fatwā*.<sup>189</sup> This case set the pattern of punishment in treason cases in the Deccan kingdoms. It seems that death-sentence was taken for granted as punishment for treason.<sup>190</sup> The Sultāns, however, generally acted singly in awarding death sentence in treason cases, very often without obtaining any formal legal advice. The oft-quoted instance is that of the execution of Mahmūd Gāwān.<sup>191</sup> Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī III did not obtain any *fatwā* before the execution of Mahmūd Gāwān. Nevertheless there are several instances in which the Sultāns pardoned the accused on confession and on appeal for mercy.<sup>192</sup>

Cases in which very high dignitaries of highly-placed persons were involved, on petition, the Sultān himself dealt with them. Ahmad Nizām Shāh entertained in person in his court a memorandum of complaints of bribes against *Musnad-i 'Alī* Malik Nasīru'l-Mulk, the *Wakīl wa Peshwā* from Dalpat Rāi, a Brahman officer in the army.<sup>193</sup> As the charges were not substantiated and the *Musnad-i 'Alī* could not be convicted, the petitioner was reproved by the Sultān in the open Court. On receipt of a petition from merchant regarding the illegal occupation of their property by Nūr Muhammad Amīn, the ambassador of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, Burhān Nizām Shāh himself ordered the ambassador to settle the claim before he left the Nizām Shāhī Kingdom.<sup>194</sup> Likewise, 'Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad Bahmanī II himself commanded the grandson of Hazrat Syed Muhammad Gēsū Darāz to be carried to the public square of the

188 *IA*, 1923, 293

189 *Fer*, I, 384, See *Bahmanis*, 63-64

190 Murtazā Nizām Shāh acted in similar manner in case of his *Wakīl wa Peshwā*, Chengiz Khān

191 *Fer*, II, 136, 138, 151, 179, 180, 184, 188

192 *Burhān*, 231-2

193 Compare the dialogue between Muḥammad Shāh III and Mahmūd Gāwān on award of death-sentence, before the Sultān ordered the execution of Mahmūd Gāwān on charges of treason. When asked Mahmūd Gāwān said that punishment in treason cases, was execution, *Fer*, I, 462. For the whole episode, see *Mahmūd Gāwān*, 169-70,

194 *IA*, 1923, 293 4. Also see Amjadu'l-Mulk's case, 293

city to receive two hundred lashes and to take a solemn oath against drinking wine <sup>195</sup>

The Sultān even as the highest Court of Appeal seldom reviewed the judgments of the lower courts. He, however, exercised his right to pardon, more in the nature of a royal prerogative <sup>196</sup>. It is said of 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh that a few months prior to his death he ordered the release of all prisoners throughout his kingdom except those accused of political offences, and these were delivered over to his son Muhammad to be dealt with as he judged proper, after his death <sup>197</sup>.

Some of the Sultāns like Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh were very harsh and severe in the administration of justice and the smallest offences were heavily punished <sup>198</sup>. But it is said of Ahmad Nizām Shāh that if any person was accused of an offence and the case came before the royal court of justice the Sultān would ask the prisoner whether he was guilty of the offence charged against him or not. The object of the question was that the prisoner might deny his guilt and so, be freed from imprisonment. If the guilty divined the object of the question and denied the guilt he was set at liberty, but if he confessed his guilt, the Sultān, in his mercy and clemency and in the desire of supporting the accused would say "tie your turban again" in order that person might realize the object of the question and thus escape punishment <sup>199</sup>.

It is said that Sultān 'Alāu d-dīn Ahmad II was averse to passing sentence of death on any one. Even in case of murder of Dastū'u'l-Mulk, the Sultān merely directed the murderer to be imprisoned <sup>200</sup>.

Several Sultāns took personal interest in streamlining the dispensation of justice. It is said of 'Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad II that he appointed *muhtasibs* throughout the State with a view to educating people in rules and regulations. If any person, after admonition and moderate correction was found guilty of drinking wine, it was enacted that melted lead should be poured down his throat, irrespective of the rank of the offender <sup>201</sup>.

195 *Fer*, I, 428

196 Cf *IA*, 1922, XLX for conversation between the Princes, the nobles and Burhān Nizām Shāh in which the mode of execution and the Sultān's right to pardon was discussed

197 *Fer*, I, 349-50. Malkāpūrī *op cit*, 89, writes that it was the practice of the Sultāns to attend the Court of the Sadr-i-Sharī'ah. He also reviewed the judgments of lower Courts. Quoting the case of a woman who was convicted of adultery but acquitted, Malkāpūrī states that she was acquitted by the Qāzī when the Sultān suggested that she should be given the benefit of doubt.

198 *IA*, 1922, sec, XCII

199 *IA*, 1920, sec XIX

200 *Fer*, I 424

201 *Ibid*, 428



The author of *Burhān-ī Ma'āthi* mentions that Muṭīzā Nizām Shāh, after his return from the conquest of Bejar in 1574 commanded that a chain of justice should be hung in *Kālā Chabutiā* and that a *Dinān-ī Mazālim* was instituted. This was composed of several leading officers of the State. It entertained grievances from the low and high-placed according to the commands of the Sultān, and devoted its time to serve the interest of all classes. Thus it may be inferred that special care was taken by the Quṭb Shāhīs in the dispensation of justice.<sup>202</sup> Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh built a palatial building and named it *Dād Mahal*, or Palace of Equity. The Quṭb Shāhī rulers streamlined the dispensation of justice in two directions: accessibility to the royal court and promptness in disposal of cases. The aggrieved were provided direct access to the royal court. It is said of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and Muhammad Quṭb Shāh that they received in person petitions from the aggrieved party and dispensed justice.<sup>203</sup> Tavernier who was an eye-witness to the disposal of criminal cases by Mīr Jumlā at Penukonda writes that there were summary punishments or acquittal of the accused.<sup>204</sup> He gives a vivid picture of the receipt of grievances by the Sultān in person.

“When the King administers justice he comes into balcony which overlooks the square and all those who desire to be present stand below opposite to where he is seated. Between the people and the wall of the palace they plant in the ground three rows of sticks of the length of a short-pike at the ends of which they attach cords which cross one another, and no one is allowed, whosoever he may be to pass these limits without being summoned. This barrier which is not put up except when the King administers justice extends the whole length of the square and opposite the balcony there is an opening to allow those who are summoned to pass through. Then two men, who hold by the ends a cord stretched across this opening, have only to lower it to admit the person who is summoned. A Secretary of State remains in the square below the balcony to receive petitions and when he has five or six in hand, he places them in a bag, which a eunuch, who is on the balcony by the side of the King, lowers with a cord and draws up afterwards, in order to present them to His Majesty.”

The secretary who received petitions was called, under the Bahmanīs, as *Sarāmad-ī Kār-ī Mulkī*. When he failed to transmit the petitions to the Sultān he was severely punished. ‘Alāu’d-dīn Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī II directed that Mustafā Khān, *Sarāmad-ī Kār-ī Mulkī* who had withheld the

202 *Burhān*, 485

203 Qādir Khān Bidri, *Tārīkh-ī Quṭb Shāhīs*, 18-19

204 Perhaps summary punishments and acquittals of the accused prompted Tavernier to report that in those days there was no practice of confining the criminals

letters of the Sayyids from royal perusal, be beheaded on the spot and his body be exposed in the public streets <sup>205</sup>

As the head of the State, it was necessary and indeed advantageous for the King to respect the Law and the decrees of the courts that functioned under his own aegis. He could not destroy or weaken an institution of which he himself was the chief.

The Sultān was also primarily concerned with the maintenance of law and order. Islām, which placed great emphasis on maintenance of law and order, enjoined citizens to submit to the ruler who ranked next only to God and the Prophet <sup>206</sup>. Accordingly, the Sayyids and the learned divines advised Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh against abdication which would plunge the country into grief, troubles and disturbances incurring the displeasure of God and His Prophet <sup>207</sup>.

It appears the Sultān had to be informed immediately of any breach of peace. Thus Muzā Muhammad Amin, the Wazir and *Jumlatu l Mulk* of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, rushed to the royal palace to convey to the Sultān the news of a riot in the city. The Sultān who was sleeping, woke up and on receipt of the news, called for 'Alī Āqā, the *Kōtwāl* of the city and ordered the suppression of those responsible for the riot. 'Alī Āqā put down the disorder with the help of the City Police and punished severely those responsible for the riot <sup>208</sup>.

## (ii) *The Judicial Personnel*

### (a) *The Sadr-i Shari'ah*

Next to the Sultān in the judicial hierarchy was the Chief Justice of the Kingdom. He was variously known as *Sadr-i Shari'ah*,<sup>209</sup> *Sadru'sh Sharif*,<sup>210</sup> *Sadārat Panāh*<sup>211</sup> and *Sadr-i Jahān*.<sup>212</sup> The *Sadr-i Shari'ah* was also one of the ministers at the centre that formed the Bahmanī Council of Ministers. The use of the titles of this institution seems to have become infrequent under all the subsequent Sultānates <sup>213</sup>. However, Ferishta had on occasion to meet

205 *Fer*, I, 433

206 Cf the Qur'anic verse اطيعوا الله و اطيعوا الرسول و اولى الامر منكم

207 *IA*, 1922, LXXXV

208 See Qadir Khān Bidri, *Tārīkh-i Qutb Shāhi*, 22-23

209 *Fer* I

210 *Fer*, I, 344-5

211 *Ibid*, 450

212 *Ibid*, 392-447

213 The author of *Burhān*, 630, uses the title of "*Shari'at wa Sadārat Dastgāh*" for Qāzi Hasan, during the time of Chānd Sultāna

Asad Khan Harawī, a person of great scholarship, who held the office of *Sadārat* under Yūsuf 'Ādil Khan and Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān of Bijapur <sup>214</sup> In other words the Qāzī of the capital city of each Bahmanī Succession State assumed more or less the position of *Sadr-i Shari'ah*

(b) *Qāzī Askar*

There was a special Qāzī for the army known as *Qāzī 'Askar*, under the Bahmanīs, <sup>215</sup> the 'Ādil Shāhīs and the Nizām Shāhīs <sup>216</sup> Mīr Muhammad Munajjim Badakhshī was appointed the first *Qāzī 'Askar* by 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh <sup>217</sup>

(c) *Muftī*

Attached to the Qāzī's court, there was a *Muftī* who was to assist him in interpreting law. For instance, Syed Ahmad Ghaznavī <sup>218</sup> was *Muftī* when Sadru'd-dīn was the *Sadr-i Shari'ah* under 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh <sup>219</sup> Likewise, Najmu'd-dīn was *Muftī* of Berar when Mullā 'Abdu'l-Ghanī was the *Sadr* <sup>220</sup> *Muftīs* were expected to be learned scholars, great lawyers, religious-minded, God-fearing and men of integrity and truth <sup>221</sup>

There was a *Muhtasib* whose duty was to look after public morals, and to guard the weak against oppression. The *muhtasib* was expected to be God-fearing, outspoken, industrious, courageous and a man of character <sup>222</sup>

(B) *Provincial Judiciary*

The *Tarafdār* was the highest official in the *taraf* and represented the Sultān in the province. Under the Bahmanīs, in every *taraf*, there was a *Sadr* who was directly under the *Sadr-i Jahān* or *Qāziu'l-Quzāt*, for example, Maulānā 'Abdu'l-Ghanī was the *Sadr* in Berār <sup>223</sup> In a controversy with Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn, Mahammad Shāh Bahmanī I was asked by the Shaikh to instruct, among others, the *Sudūr* (plural of *Sadr*) to implement *Shari'ah* <sup>224</sup>

214 *Fer*, II, 22

215 *Ibid*, 344, 345, 483

216 *Ibid*, 103. See *Burhān*, 216 for the first Qāzī 'Askar of the Ahmadnagar Kingdom, *vide* *IA*, 1920, XXXI, for Qāzī Zainu'l-'Ābidīn, Qāzī Askar of Burhān Nizām Shāh

217 *Fer*, I, 344-5

218 Malkāpūrī mentions him as Syed Ahmad Harawī, although *Fer*, is one of his main sources (*Malkāpūrī, op cit* 75)

219 *Fer*, I, 347

220 *Ibid*, 414

221 Malkāpūrī, 84, for the criteria for selection of muftīs

222 Criteria for selection of *muhtasibs*, Malkāpūrī, 84

223 *Fer*, I, 414, Sultān Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī met Sadr Mullā 'Abdu'l-Ghanī near Elchpūr during his war against Gujarat

224 *Fer*, I, 370, 380

Besides the *Sudūr* there were also *Qāzis*, *Muftis*,<sup>225</sup> *Muhtasibs*,<sup>226</sup> *Hājibs*, *Faujḍārs* and *Dāi oghās*<sup>227</sup> who represented the central officers in the province

The Government officers of *pargana* constituted a *Diwān*. Of the officers of the *Diwān*, the *Qāzī*, the *Hawāladār*, the *Majlisī* deserve special mention. Some of the *parganas* like Poona had two *Qāzīs*, one of whom was called as *Nā'ib Qāzī*. It seems that the *Nā'ib Qāzīs* were posted to big *parganas* for the first time during the reign of Firōz Shāh Bahmanī. The *Pargana Qāzī* was appointed by the Sultān as the judicial head of the *pargana*. He presided over the meeting (*Majlis*) held to settle disputes. His seal and signature on documents were considered a sufficient guarantee of their authenticity. Next to the *Qāzī* came the *Muqāsadār* or the *Hawāladār*, the administrative head of the *pargana*. In the *Majlis* the *Majlisī* probably acted as a lay officer or Hindus on behalf of the Government along with the *Qāzī*. The *Pargana Majlis* had jurisdiction over civil cases only. The award of *Majlis* was known as *Mahzar*.<sup>228</sup>

The *Thānēdār* was the primary judicial authority and most of the complaints were first brought before him. During the reign of Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī, when Warangal was conquered, *Thānas* were established at different places.<sup>229</sup> The *Thānēdār* tried cases with the help of the local *Gota* in open *Majlis*. Generally the offices of *Thānēdār* and *Kōṭwāl* were entrusted to two persons.<sup>230</sup> Both the *Pargana Majlis* and the *Thāna Majlis* were sometimes summoned at the *Qasbah*, (township or the fort<sup>231</sup> in that division) to try the suits. Finally, there was the village *majlis* of the *Muqaddam* and the *Gota*.

### (C) Selection of *Sadrs* and *Qāzīs*

Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī, the author of *Nasā'ihul Mulūk*, laid down almost all the cardinal virtues, namely, justice, prudence, temperance, fortitude as prerequisites for the office of *Sadārat*.<sup>232</sup> The office of *Sadr-i Shari'ah* was often held by a man of acknowledged legal reputation. Under the Bahmanis it was held by great scholars like Qāzī Sadru'd-dīn Sharīf Samarqandī and Mīr Fazlu'l-lāh Inju, who commanded great respect. Like the *Wakīl-*

225 *Ibid*, 370. Najmu'd dīn was mufti of Berar

226 *Ibid*, 428, Malkāpūrī mentions Syed Nūru'd dīn as the *muhtasib* under the first Bahmanī, 75

227 *Ibid*, 411

228 *Gune, op cit*, 20

229 *Fer*, I, 413 and 441

230 Ferishta expressed his surprise when these offices were combined in Qasim Barid during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh, for one was a judicial post and the other that of police, see I, 472

231 *Fer*, II, 84-85, 169

232 Malkāpūrī, *op cit*, 83-84

*Saltanat Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī*, Sadru'd-dīn was an *Amīr-i Sadah* of the Tughlūq Empire<sup>233</sup>

Ghōrī wanted the *qāzis* to be selected from men of long experience, integrity and prudence, God-fearing and those conversant in law<sup>234</sup> The office of the *Chief Justice* under 'Abdu-l-lāh Quṭb Shāh attracted from Persia such scholars of great accomplishment as Shaikh Muhammad ibn-i Khātun<sup>235</sup>

The *Qāzi* and the *Nā'ib Qāzī* were selected from men of learning and scholarship Generally, they received the usual literary and scholastic education of the theologians In the selection of *Qāzi*'s the candidates' beliefs (*Shī'ah* or *Sunni*), should have assumed significance under the *Shī'ah* rulers, particularly when the *Qāzī* of a *pargana* also held *Khizābat* of the Jāmi' Masjid, charged with the delivery of *Khutbah* on Fridays, in accordance with the tenets of the ruler's persuasion<sup>236</sup>

The Bahmanī and the later Deccan kingdoms evolved systematic arrangement for the recruitment of the *qāzis* Every kingdom instituted and patronised centres of learning<sup>237</sup> for the promotion of higher education in logic, mathematics, algebra, psychology and Islamic law<sup>238</sup> Special jagirs were granted to meet the expenditure of the colleges out of their revenue<sup>239</sup> These colleges prepared candidates for entry into judicial service and teaching profession<sup>240</sup> Recruitment was not confined to those who graduated from the local colleges Islām recognises no difference of race or birth, and the State provided an incentive to all talented persons of the Islamic world In addition to religion, Persian and Arabic languages, which provided common media of learning and hence intellectual unity, also attracted the learned from all over the Islāmic world This was equally true in respect of the mobility of the scholars eligible for appointment as judicial functionaries like *Sadrs*

233 *Fer*, I 344

234 Malkāpūrī, *op.cit*, 84

235 Qadir Khān Bidri *op.cit*, 32

236 Cf Ahmad, M B *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, Appendix D A (4) The *Qāzi* of Revarkonda also held the position of *Khazib*

237 Briggs, II, 349, 398, *Fer*, II 129 *IA* 1922 LV, *Burhan*, 37, 87

238 Briggs, 510

239 *Fer*, II, 129

240 *Proceedings of Deccan History Conference*, First Session, 1945, 236-71, Rahmān Ali *Tadhkira 'Ulamā* i Hind, 1914 These colleges were residential in character and used to bear the expenses of boarding, lodging and clothing of the scholars The great College at Bidar was founded by Maḥmūd Gāwān This college imparted pre-entry training for those who wished to enter Government service or the teaching profession Likewise, the College at Bijapur had the guidance of *Qāzi* Ali Muḥammad Bijāpūrī a scholar of repute whose services were specially acquired from Gujarat during the reign of Ibrāhīm Adil Shāh II He also held the position of *Qāzi* i Bijāpūr A number of scholars and *Qāzis* of all-India standing had the honour of his tutorship

*qāzī's* and *muftī's* because of common legal system obtaining in the Islamic world

Non-Muslims were not as a rule appointed as *qāzī's* for such appointments pre-supposed a detailed study of the Islāmic laws and sometimes, entailed the performance of the duty of leading Friday prayers

#### (D) *Remuneration and Term*

The *qāzī's* received *jāgīr*s and daily allowance as prescribed by the Sultān in their appointment orders. Thus Ghulām Husain, who was appointed *Qāzī* and *Khatīb* of the *pargana* or Rēvarkonda through a *farmān* by Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh in 1068/1657 was to receive a *jāgīr* in the villages of Samlāpūr and Malkāpūr and daily compensation of four annas, in addition to his compensation for the two festivals namely, 'īdu'l Fitr and 'īdu'z-Zuhā and prescribed daily burning oil for lighting the mosque. The *jāgīr* was not hereditary in character<sup>241</sup> Accordingly, in respect of Ghulām Husain, who succeeded his father 'Abdu'n-Nabī as *qāzī* and *khatīb* of Rēvarkonda, a *farmān* was issued afresh by the Sultān conferring on him a *jāgīr* and prescribing his daily compensation

The appointment orders of the *qāzī* indicated the nature of appointment whether it was temporary or permanent. The *Qāzī's* seem to hold office during good behaviour, for no historical research has so far established to the contrary

#### (E) *The Image of the Judicial Personnel*

The appointment and jurisdiction of the *qāzī's* were made known by the king through a special *farmān* so that the state officers, people and all concerned should submit to their orders<sup>242</sup>. The area of jurisdiction was prescribed by the Sultān

However, the Sultāns of the Deccan, even at the zenith of their power and influence, did not attempt to tamper with the day-to-day administration of justice. There are instances of *qāzī's* who asserted their position sometimes at the risk of their own life. It is said of Qāzī Sadr-u'dīn Sharīf, *Sadr-ī Sharī'ah* of the Bahmanī Kingdom, that he refused to join his post after having gone on leave, until the Sultān Muhammad Shāh I undertook to permit the *qāzī's* to execute the law against the guilty<sup>243</sup>. Qāzī Abrār who

241 M. B. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, Appendix D I (4)

242 *Ibid.*, "In categorical terms through the *farmān* everybody is warned against obstructing the Qāzī in the performance of his duty "

243 Briggs, II, 323-25

refused to accept the *Shi'ah* persuasion suffered execution at the hands of Burhān Nizām Shāh <sup>244</sup>

The learned *Qāzis* were sometimes appointed as the preceptors of the Princes. Thus Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī I appointed Qāzī Mūsā Naulakhī as the tutor of Prince Mahmūd Khān <sup>245</sup>. The services of Qāzī Muhammad Samdānī were acquired by Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh as the tutor of Prince Muhammad, <sup>246</sup> while *Sadr-ī Jahān* Shustarī was chosen as the preceptor of Prince Muhammad (Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī III) by the Regency Council <sup>247</sup>

Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī II had no son and he treated his nephews Fīrōz Khān and Ahmad Khān with parental tenderness and educated them under the preceptorship of *Sadr* Mīr Faḡlu'l-lāh Injū Shīrāzī. Muhammad gave them his daughters in marriage.

Some of the *Qāzis* were raised to higher executive posts. *Sadr* Mīr Faḡlu'l-lāh Injū was raised to the office of *Wakīl-ī Salṭanat* when his pupil Fīrōz Khān ascended the throne, <sup>248</sup> while Qāzī Khwand was raised to the office of a Wazīr by Ahmad Nizām Shāh <sup>249</sup>

Sometimes the *Sadr* or the *Qāzi* was entrusted a diplomatic mission <sup>250</sup> and at least, in one instance, even as arbitor of disputes between two Muslim States. Thus Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī III deputed *Sadr* Shaikh Ahmad to the court of Mālwa and fulfilled whatever engagements he entered into. The *Sadr* was conducted with great respect and ceremony into the city by the principal nobles of Sultān Mahmūd Khālī of Mālwa. The *Sadr* delivered his credentials and the letter of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī. Through a *farmān* Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī directed the governor of Kherlā to comply fully with the decisions of the *Sadr*. The *Sadr* on behalf of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī and Shaikhū'l-Islām, a learned divine from Mālwa, drew up the treaty. The treaty under which the fortress of Kherlā was handed over to the deputies of the King of Mālwa, marked the end of contentions between these two states <sup>251</sup>

244 *IA*, 1920, XXXI

245 *Burhān*, 54

246 Qādir Khān Bīdri, *Tārīkh-ī Quṭb Shāhī*, 26

247 Sherwānī *Bahmanīs*, 291

248 *Fer*, I, 393

249 *Burhān*, 54

250 This seems to be in keeping with the practice of the time. Muhammad bin Tughluq sent Ibn ı Baḡūta and Qāzī Wajhu'l Mulk of Daulatābad as ambassadors to chain. See Gibb, *Ibn Batuta*, 213, 223

251 *Fer*, I, 449-50

Qāzī Abu Sa'id was sent to the court of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan by the Sultān of Bijapur. He was honoured with a robe of honour, horses and nine thousand rupees by the Mughal Emperor after successfully negotiating a treaty.<sup>252</sup>

There is at least one instance of a Qāzī who displayed an enterprising and adventurous skill in war. It is said that Qāzī Sirāj held an inferior position in the court of Fīrōz Shāh. During Fīrōz Shāh's campaign against Vijayanagar in 801/1398, it was because of the bold adventure of the Qāzī that the Bahmanī army could cross the river Krishna and force the army of Vijayanagar to leave the field to flee to Vijayanagar. In regard for his heroic exploit the Qāzī was raised to the rank of a noble.<sup>253</sup>

The *Sadr-i Shari'ah*, who was drawn from great Muslim scholars, tended to assume the role of the highest religious functionary of the State. It was not surprising that *Sadru'sh-Sharif* was chosen as a go-between by Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I when Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn refused to owe allegiance to the Sultān.<sup>254</sup> The *Sadr* succeeded ultimately in his mission by bringing about a rapprochement between them. *Sadru'sh-Sharif* Qāzī Sadru'd-dīn enjoyed the distinction of sitting in the presence of Sultān Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I along with the *Wakīl-i Saltanat* Malik Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī.<sup>255</sup> He accompanied the dowager Queen and her party to Mecca, Madīna and Karbalā during Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī's rule.<sup>256</sup> In the month of Sha'bān 758/August 1357, when 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh contracted an intermittent fever and when disorder increased to an alarming degree, he convened all the learned and holy men, made acknowledgement of his sins and vowed at the hands of the *Sadr-i Shari'ah* to abstain in future from all things forbidden by the law of the Qur'an.<sup>257</sup>

Sometimes the *Sadrs* and the *Qāzīs* constituted an important élite group which had a direct share in the selection of the Sultān. Thus along with other élite groups, the consent of the *Sadrs* was obtained by *Wakīl-i Saltanat* Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī for the election of Dāwūd Khān, the nearest relative of the assassinated Sultān, Mujāhid Shāh.<sup>258</sup>

252 Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāmā*, I, 1867, 167. The Qāzī held second position in the diplomatic mission, Mir Abul Hasan being the leader. Also see *Burhān* 22-3, for the diplomatic role of Qāzī Bahāu'd-dīn in subduing the petty Rājā Nārāyan during the reign of 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh.

253 *Fer*, I, 393-4. *Bahmanīs*, 154.

254 *Fer*, 370-1. *Bahmanīs*, 98-9.

255 *Fer*, I, 361.

256 *Ibid*, 359.

257 *Ibid*, 349.

258 *Ibid*, 380. Also see *Burhān*, 75, for the coronation ceremony of Sultān 'Alāu'd-dīn Shāh Bahmanī II, when along with Ṣūfis and State officers the *Sadr-i Jahān*, Qāzī Qubul Aḥmad was present.



The practice of the installation of the Sultān in the presence of the divines and the principal officers, particularly the Qāzīs, first started by the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty,<sup>259</sup> was maintained more or less under all the subsequent Sultāns<sup>260</sup> The importance of their association is evident from the fact that a usurping monarch would consider his enthronement incomplete if he failed to obtain their consent No wonder that Qāzī Nūru'd-dīn Isfahānī of Ahmadnagar was slain along with the learned and accomplished men by Mīrzā Khān when they refused to consent to the treason following the murder of Husain Nizām Shāh II<sup>261</sup>

The Qāzīs occupied a unique position in the domain of law For the authenticity of a document, even of an official character, the signature and seal of the Qāzī were sometimes obtained Important *farmāns* and royal Will were affixed with the seals of Qāzīs Thus the *farmān* demarcating the boundaries between the Bahmanī kingdom and those of the Rāja of Tīlangana was affixed with the seals of the Qāzīs along with those of the Sultāns, the nobles and the higher officers<sup>262</sup> Likewise, a document was drawn up in writing by Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī III proclaiming his son Mahmūd Khān his successor and nominating Nizāmu'l-Mulk as regent in case of his death The document was attested by the signatures and seals of the Qāzīs with those of the higher officers and the learned scholars<sup>263</sup>

## 5 Procedure

### (1) Interpretation of Law

It appears that law was not too rigidly applied Some of the Sultāns wished to suppress the criminal instinct rather than to inflict severe punishments on the offenders They endeavoured to reform them by kindness and love It is said of Ahmad Nizām Shāh that if any person charged with some offence was produced before him in the court of justice, he would ask him if he had committed the crime or not In case he confessed, the Sultān would say, "Tie your turban again" and would set him free<sup>264</sup>

Benefit of doubt was given to the accused A woman was convicted of adultery during the reign of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī II She was brought to the office of the Qāzī to receive sentence When the Qāzī asked her as to how she came to be guilty of such a heinous crime, she answered "How could I think, O Qāzī, that the act was unlawful? Seeing that one

259 *Ibid*, 244

260 *IA*, 1923, 251, 253

261 *Ibid* 253-4

262 *Fer*, I, 360

263 *Ibid* 360

264 *IA*, 1921, 323

man may have four wives, why might not I also indulge with equal propriety in four husbands? If I am in error, I repent and will not offend by a repetition of the crime ”<sup>265</sup> The Qāzī suffered her to escape Perhaps, her impudent wit saved her

Sometimes, on a petition from the *Kōtwāl*, order was issued by the Sultān summoning the accused to the court in order that his case might be tried and that he might be handed over to the *Kōtwāl* in the event of his guilt being proved This procedure was, for instance, followed by Burhān Nizām Shah II when the Mahdavi Amjadu'l-Mulk, rebelled <sup>266</sup>

### (ii) Rules of Evidence

Direct evidence was preferable to hearsay For instance, in the treason case of Ismā'il Mukh, ex-king of the Deccan, witnesses appeared before the Sultān The Sultān made thorough enquiries by examination and cross-examination of the witnesses Oaths were administered In spite of his conspiracy which was fully proved by the witnesses, Ismā'il denied the charge of treason by the most solemn oath <sup>267</sup>

If the petitioner failed to substantiate the charges, he was censured openly in the Court <sup>268</sup> For instance, in the case of Dalpat Rāi vs Musnad-i 'Alī Malik Nasīru'l-Mulk, Ahmad Nizām Shāh reproved Dalpat Rāi openly in the Court <sup>269</sup>

### (iii) The Court House

The Qāzī's Court was called *Dāru'l-Qāza*<sup>270</sup> and the office of the Qāzī was known as *Muhkama* The Court met every day except on Friday and general holidays <sup>271</sup>

The Qāzī was addressed “*Ayyuha'l Qāzī*” (O Qāzī) <sup>272</sup> Persian was the court language although the Qāzīs were conversant in Arabic as well It is said that whenever an aggrieved person appeared in red clothes in the Bahmanī Sultān's Court, he received immediate attention of the Sultān <sup>273</sup>

<sup>265</sup> Briggs, II, 352

<sup>266</sup> *IA*, 1923, 293

<sup>267</sup> *Fer*, I, 347 8

<sup>268</sup> Cf *Basātin*, 349

<sup>269</sup> *Burhān*, 231 2

<sup>270</sup> *Fer*, I, 384

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid*, 428

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid*, 384

<sup>273</sup> Malkapūri, *op cit*, 85,

### Police Administration

The Bahmanī Sultāns and the rulers of Bahmanī Succession States had a regular force of police charged with the maintenance of law and order, and with public prosecution, and hence, it constituted an arm of the executive as well as of the judiciary

The Capital City,<sup>274</sup> as well as each town and fort<sup>275</sup> had a *Kōtwāl*. The *Kōtwāl* of a city more or less performed the dual functions of the Police Commissioner and Municipal Commissioner. The *Kōtwāl* of a fort combined police and military functions and, therefore, occupied a strategic position in the districts.<sup>276</sup>

In the maintenance of law and order<sup>277</sup> in the city,<sup>278</sup> the *Kōtwāl* was assisted by a Police force which consisted of *Sarnaubatān*<sup>279</sup> and *Pyādā-pā'i-Kōtwāl*.<sup>280</sup>

In addition, there were *Silahdārs*. Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I was the first among the Deccan Sultāns with whom the office of *Silahdār* originated. The *Silahdārs* were selected from among the sons of the nobility to carry the royal armour and weapons. Muhammad Shāh formed a bodyguard of four thousand men under the command of a nobleman of high rank, styled *Sarnaubat*. Fifty *Silahdārs* and a thousand of the body guard attended at the palace daily. The *Sarnaubat* assumed great importance subsequently.<sup>281</sup> He was one of the most important officers appointed from those in whom the Sultān had confidence.<sup>282</sup>

The *Kōtwāl* was directly responsible to the monarch. He was to assist the kingdom in the prevention of crimes. He was in charge of lock-ups and prisons. On the receipt of a complaint, the *Kōtwāl* would, after necessary investigations, remand for prosecution by the competent court.<sup>283</sup> After the trial of the accused, if his guilt was proved, he was handed over to the *Kōtwāl* for necessary punishment. Sometimes, in the larger cities like Hyderabad, the *Kōtwāl* was assisted by his deputy called *Nā'ib Kōtwāl*. Thus during the reign of Muhammad Quṭb Shāh and 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, when Qāsim was the *Kōtwāl*, Hasan Bēg was the *Nā'ib Kōtwāl*.<sup>284</sup>

274 *IA*, 1922, LXXXIX, Qir Khān was the first *Kōtwāl* of the Bahmanī Capital ('Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān *Mahbūbū'l-Waṭan*, 74)

275 Daulatābād had a *Kōtwāl*, *IA*, 1923, 37

276 Cf. *IA*, 1920, XXVI for the role of *Kōtwāl* Manjan Khān and of 1922, XCIII for the defence of the Naldurg Fort by its *Kōtwāl*, Wazīru'l Mulk

277 Qādir Khān Bīdri, *Tārīkh-i Quṭb Shāhī*, 22, 23, 31, 32, 292, *Fer*, I, 428, 469, *Fer*, II, 45

278 *Burhān*, 200

279 Bīdri, *op cit*, 22-23, *Fer* I, 381, 385, 387, 472, II, 24

280 Bīdri, *op cit*, *Fer*, I, 439

281 *Fer*, I, 351

282 *Ibid*, 385, 387

283 *Ibid*, 428, *IA*, 1923, 293

284 Bīdri, *op cit*, 31-33

Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī recommends in his *Nasā'ihul-Mulūk* that the *Kōtwāl* should be a man of extraordinary valour and courage, and should be hard-hearted, clever, and a good prosecutor<sup>285</sup> Although it is difficult to establish whether the Sultāns, particularly those other than the Bahmanīs, were aware of Ghōrī's advice, there are more instances than to the contrary proving that the *Kōtwāls* generally possessed the above qualities

## 7 Punishment

While the Sultāns generally endeavoured to enforce the Shari'ah to the best of their abilities, the Muslim criminal law was not followed in toto Thus, a pattern evolved in this respect

The rebels were punished more severely than others A rebellion was considered a very serious crime All cases of rebellion were tried by the Sultān personally with or without the assistance of Muftīs and Qāzīs Although punishment for treason was death,<sup>286</sup> different Sultāns acted differently After the captures of the traitors, some of the monarchs pardoned them on their own However, generally, unless the accused appealed for mercy which was almost invariably granted,<sup>287</sup> he was sentenced to death Before execution the accused was publicly censured Sometimes, before the accused was executed, he was ordered to mount an ass to parade through the streets, while crowds of people followed, reproaching and cursing him<sup>288</sup> There are instances in which the traitors were sentenced to life-imprisonment<sup>289</sup> Generally, this punishment was awarded to the members of the royal family when they revolted against the ruling Sultān, or in case the ruling Sultān was captured by the successful rebel, he was blinded and imprisoned if not put to death<sup>290</sup> Thus when Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī after some opposition, ascended the throne in place of his younger brother, Hasan Khān, he caused Saif Khān, the main contriver of the plot, to be dragged through the city, chained to the foot of an elephant, and directed his associate, Habībul-lāh to be confined and Prince Hasan Khān to be blinded

Thieves and dacoits came next Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I is said to have executed 20,000 dacoits within six or seven months Tyrants and oppressors who harassed the people, were severely punished, sometimes even put to death

285 Malkapūrī, *op cit*, 82

286 *Fer*, I, 462, Compare Muhammad Shāh III's conversation with Maḥmud Gāwān on treason See Sherwānī, *Mahmūd Gāwān*, 169

287 Briggs, II, 423

288 *IA*, 1923, 293

289 *Ibid*

290 *Ibid*, 253 Mīrzā Khān blinded Husain Nizām Shāh II

The Qutb Shāhī rulers punished convicts publicly with a view to thwart offences and breach of law <sup>291</sup>

Melting of the coins was also considered a serious crime. When the money exchangers of the Deccan began to destroy the Bahmanī coins continuously and did not give any heed despite persistent warning, all of them were killed <sup>292</sup>

Execution by cutting off the head was generally prescribed for murder, although Sultāns like 'Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī II were averse from shedding human blood and it is said he never passed a death sentence on any one <sup>293</sup>. If we accept Ferishta's account of Prince Humāyūn's conspiracy to assassinate Dastūru'l-Mulk Wazīr, and a few other similar conspiracy cases in which the Sultāns and members of royal family and the groups sharing State authority were involved, there were murder cases which escaped the notice of law <sup>294</sup>. This may partly be attributed to power conflict which tended to be outside the purview of the judiciary. Either such cases were not brought to the courts or because it was considered that the Sultān as the highest court in the kingdom and would himself look into them. But sometimes the Sultān himself was one of the actors in the situation, and therefore could not act because of the multi-actor situation in which he did not feel strong enough to act in accordance with law.

The rank of the offender was no consideration. One of the grandsons of Hazrat Muhammad Gēsū Darāz received publicly two hundred lashes and was required to take a solemn oath against drinking wine, while the courtesan who induced him to drink wine was led through the streets dressed in an ass's skin and was banished from the city <sup>295</sup>.

While the Sultān and the *qāzīs* tried suits and passed sentences in civil and criminal cases, the sentences were executed by officers charged with police and jail administration <sup>296</sup>. Burhān Nizām Shāh was restrained by Prince Mirān 'Abdu'l-Qādir and the nobles when the Sultān wished to slay Rūmī Khān, Superintendent of the Artillery. It was represented to him that it was not becoming that the Sultān should slay Rūmī Khān with his own hand and that if the death had been decided on, orders should be issued for his execution to proper persons <sup>297</sup>.

291 Cf. Tavernier's account of Golconda, Sha Rocco, *Golconda and Qutub Shahs*, 19

292 *Fer*, I, 353

293 *Ibid*, 424, This is not entirely correct, see p. 432 3

294 *Ibid*, 424, *Burhān*, 77

295 *Fer*, I, 438

296 For instance, see *IA*, 1923, 293 for execution of sentence passed against Amjadu'l-Mulk the Mahdavi, by the *Kōtwal* and *Fer*, I, 462, for the execution of Maḥmūd Gāwān by Jauhar, an Abyssinian slave

297 *Fer*, I, 428. Tavernier's account of non existence of prisons can be hardly accepted

8 *Prison System*

There were prisons both in the capital and provincial headquarters for persons sentenced to imprisonment. Thus a few months before his death, 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh ordered all prisoners throughout the dominions, except that those accused of capital punishment and who could not be released for reasons of State security, were commanded to the Capital City<sup>298</sup>. Sometimes those members of the royal family who were detained on charges of treason, were confined in forts<sup>299</sup>. But generally all prisoners were detained in jails which were closely guarded<sup>300</sup>. There used to be separate apartments for State prisoners<sup>301</sup>. During the reign of Humāyūn Shāh Ferishta writes that about seven thousand prisoners were in one jail in the Capital City<sup>302</sup>.

The *Kōtwāl* was over-all incharge of the jail. Therefore, his *parwāna* (permission) for entrance was necessary. If the Sultān issued a *farmān* permitting anybody to enter the jail, a separate order from the *Kōtwāl* had to be obtained<sup>303</sup>. If the prisoners fled from the jail, when found they were shot dead<sup>304</sup>.

9 *Conclusion*

Although the Sultān was the ultimate seat of judicial and executive authority, bifurcation of executive and judicial functions operated in an unmistakable manner. This may be ascribed to their assignment to two different sets of officials. The Sultān generally consulted the *Sadru'sh-Sharī'ah*, *Qāzīs*, *Muftīs* in the performance of his judicial functions and almost invariably acted on their advice<sup>305</sup>. The police functioned, both as an instrument of executive government and a limb of the law, by taking proper steps to prevent offences and breaches of law. It derived safeguards for public prosecutions against interference from any quarter both from the executive government and the judiciary, for it helped both attain their ultimate common goal *i.e.*, maintenance of peace and tranquility.

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298 *Ibid*, 349-50

299 Briggs, II, 463, *Fer*, II, 154, 166

300 Briggs, II, 459, also see *Fer*, II, 108

301 *Ibid*

302 *Fer*, I, 438. It was not possible to verify this number particularly when Ferishta is not very accurate in furnishing statistics.

303 Briggs, II, 458-59

304 *Ibid*, 460

305 I have not come across any incident that might prove to the contrary

(ii) HINDU LAW IN MEDIEVAL DECCAN

by MR. V. R. RANBAORE

*Synopsis*

(1) *Development of Hindu Law*

Sources of Hindu Law

Commentaries and Digests

Vignanēśwara

Hemādri

Haradatta

Aparārka

Dēvanna Bhaṭṭa

Madhavācharya

Pratāp Rudra Dēva

Dalapaṭi

(2) *Vijayanagar*

(3) *Under the Marathas*





## *Development of Hindu Law*

Hindu Law is essentially a religious law having its source in the revealed Vēdas. It does not derive its authority from any political sovereign. Law in the Austinian sense as a command from a sovereign to his subjects is entirely foreign to Hindu juristic conception, according to which laws are commands not of any political sovereign but of the Supreme Deity.

Hindu Law being of divine origin, even the kings owed allegiance to it along with their subjects. "As obedience to the Law implied only obedience to the divine will, it never wounded the pride of the most absolute despot, and the thought never entered the mind of a Hindu King that he could, if he chose, alter or abrogate any of the existing laws"<sup>1</sup>

According to the Hindus, Law is a branch of Dharma. Dharma includes social, moral, religious and legal duties. That is why we find that the law contained in the Dharmaśāstras is a mixture of morality, religion and law.<sup>2</sup>

"Hindu Law has the oldest pedigree of any known system of jurisprudence"<sup>3</sup> Hindu law as commonly understood is a set of rules contained in several Sanskrit books which the Sanskritists consider as books of authority on the law governing the Hindus.<sup>4</sup>

### **Sources of Hindu Law**

#### *(1) The Vēdas or Śrūti*

The original fountain-head of the Hindu system of jurisprudence is the Vēdas, being supposed to be the *ipsissima verba* of the divine revelations.<sup>5</sup> The Rishis were the receivers of the utterances or revelations. The Vēdas, according to Hindus, are comprehensive.

But if we study the voluminous literature contained in Śrūti or Vēdas, we do not come across the positive precepts pertaining to law proper. Law proper was gradually developed in post Vēdic period. Of course, there are some passages in Vēdas which incidentally allude to a rule of law, or which may

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1 G Banerjee, *The Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhana*, Tagore Law Lectures, 1878, 3rd edition, 1953, 3

2 *Balusu v Balusu*, 261, IR, I A, 113

3 Mayne, *Hindu Law and Custom*, 11th edition, 1953, Preface, vi

4 *Mokkakone v Amnakutti*, I LR, Mad 1

5 *Gangasahai v Lakhraj*, 9, A 253, I LR, A 253

give an instance from which a rule of law may be inferred <sup>6</sup> According to Dr Kane, there are only fifty passages that shed some light on various topics of law and these passages constitute the basis of the Dharmaśāstras <sup>7</sup>

## (2) *Smritis or Dharmaśāstras*

Smṛitī means literally 'recollections' and denote a work or the whole body of works in which the sages of antiquity set down their recollections or remembrances. The language of the Smṛitīs is of human origin but the precepts contained in it are Divine. Modern research has found fragments or complete copies of more than 100 Smṛitīs.

The most important and ancient of the Smṛitīs is Manūsmṛitī. This Smṛitī has given law not only to India but to many other countries. The Burmese and Javanese Law books are professedly based on Manūsmṛitī and have actually a great number of rules in common with it.

Next in importance is the Yājñavalkya Smṛitī. This Smṛitī is the present day binding law for the whole of India. Due to its advanced and liberal juridical norms, it became the most important and accepted code of law of the Hindus <sup>8</sup>. Yājñavalkya Smṛitī is systematic and is divided into three books: Achāra (religious rites and duties), Vyavahāra (Jurisprudence) and Prayaschitta (sins and their atonement).

Next to these, other important Smṛitīs are those of Nārada, Brahaspati and Kātyāyana.

## (3) *Commentaries and Digests (Tīkas and Nibandhas)*

The next step in the development of Hindu Law is the composition of Tīkas and Nibandhas based upon the Smṛitīs. These treatises were independent works which embodied the law current at the time <sup>9</sup>. The period in which these treatises were composed covers over a thousand years from the 8th century onwards. The authors of the commentaries and digests modified and supplemented the rules in the Smṛitīs, partly by means of their own reasoning and partly in the light of the usages that had grown up around them. They did their work so well that their commentaries and digests have in effect superseded the Smṛitīs in a very large measure <sup>10</sup>.

## (4) *Custom*

Custom has played an important part in the development of Hindu Law. The commentators and digest writers have moulded law according to the

<sup>6</sup> Sarkar Sastry, *The Hindu Law of Adoption*, T L L 1888, 71

<sup>7</sup> P V Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstras*, 1930, Vol I, 4

<sup>8</sup> K P Jayaswal, *Manu and Yagnavalkya*, T L L, 1917, xix

<sup>9</sup> Mulla, *Hindu Law*, 12th edition, 1959, Intr, 46

<sup>10</sup> J D Mayne, *op cit*, 40

existing customs Under the Hindu system of law extraordinary importance is attached to customs and usages followed by the people As has been observed by the Privy Council, "Under Hindu System of Law, clear proof of usage will out-weigh the written text of the law"<sup>11</sup>

**The part played by the commentators and digest-writers of the  
Medieval Deccan in the development of the Hindu Law  
(from 12th Century to 1700 A D )**

As observed above, the commentators and the digest-writers played an important role in the development of Hindu Law, and in many cases these commentators and the digest-writers have received greater importance than the original text-writers themselves

These commentaries and digests were mostly composed under the authority of the rulers themselves or by learned and influential persons who were either Ministers or spiritual advisers of the ruler<sup>12</sup> The part played by the commentary writers and digest-writers of the Deccan in the development of Hindu Law is extraordinary As has been observed by H K Sherwānī "The Deccan has an entity of its own within the larger entity of India, and that its historical evolution is distinct in some ways from the history of the far South almost as much as it is from the history of the Northern Parts of the country"<sup>13</sup> The region of the Deccan is richly endowed with the gift of writing treatises on the legal literature of the Hindus The entire scene between 1100 and 1700 was dominated by the writings of the Sanskrit Pandits of the Deccan, who, through their writings, have ascertained, expanded and explained the laws of the Hindus

The Law books written by the Deccan authors were not only referred to in the law courts of the Deccan but in many cases their writings received prominence, importance and respect in all other parts of the country as well Perhaps the greatest name in this sphere is that of Vijñānēśwara who adorned the court of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI<sup>14</sup> About 1125 A D Vijñānēśwara wrote the celebrated treatise Mitāksharā, which is a commentary on the Smṛiti of Yājñavalkya and a product of judicial scholarship of the Deccan<sup>15</sup>

As has been observed by Dr Jolly, "not only the Mitāksharā but nearly all the really ancient commentaries and digests of note, were composed in the Dekhan When the era of commentators arrived, the Dakhan continued to be a seat of learning, and the spread of South Indian Law books

11 *Collector of Madura v Moothoo Ramalinga*, 12, Moore's *IA*, 397

12 J D Mayne, *op cit*, 2

13 H K Sherwānī, *Proceedings of the Deccan History Conference*, 1945 Presidential Address, Medieval Section

14 K A Nilakanta Sastry, *A History of South India*, 344

15 Derrett, *Introduction to Modern Hindu Law* 23

into Hindustan were favoured by the wide sway of powerful South Indian dynasties. Nor was there even a break of tradition in Southern India, whereas in most parts of the Hindustan proper the composition of Law books seems to have come to a standstill for a considerable time after the permanent establishment of Muhammadan rule towards the end of 12th century. When at a subsequent period, a revival of Hindu Law studies took place in those parts, the works coming from the Dakhan maintained their repute, and were used as text-books”<sup>16</sup>

### *Vijñānēśwara*

Vijñānēśwara, the writer of the *Mitāksharā*, a running commentary on *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* “may be termed as the founder of the Modern Hindu Law. Vijñānēśwara was a native of Kalyāṇi, and flourished during the reign of Vikramāditya. Kalyāṇi was the capital of the Chālukyas in Deccan. The city still exists under the same name, about 100 miles to the west and a little to the north of Hyderabad.<sup>17</sup> The work of this great jurist, whose logical acumen seems to have been remarkable, became a standard work at an early date in the Deccan, in Benaras and a great part of Northern India.<sup>18</sup> “This far-seeing jurist and statesman, by practically freeing Hindu Law from its religious fetters and making it readily accepted to all communities in all parts of India, established it on a new foundation.”<sup>19</sup>

The authority of *Mitāksharā* is supreme throughout India except Bengal where it is superseded by the *Dāyabhāga* of Jimūtavāhana in certain matters, but in other matters it is on high authority even there.<sup>20</sup>

### *Hemādri*

Hemādri is believed to be the same as the Prime Minister of Mahādēva, king of Dēvagiri (Daulatābād). He is a voluminous writer of numerous commentaries. His most famous work is *Chāturvarga Chintāmnī*. “Within a few decades his *Chāturvarga Chintāmanī*, particularly its Dāna and Vrka sections came to be looked upon as the standard work in the whole of the Deccan and Southern India.”<sup>21</sup> *Chāturvarga Chintāmanī* must have been composed between 1260 and 1270. According to Dr Jolly, this treatise belonged to the period between 1260 and 1309.<sup>22</sup> Hemādri himself is frequently

16 J Jolly, *History of the Hindu Law*, (Tagore Law Lectures, 1883), 24

17 Sarvadhikāri, *Hindu Law of Inheritance* (T L L 1880), 366

18 *Buddhasing v Laltu Singh*, 421, I A, 288, Jolly, *Hindu Law and Custom*, 68

19 Mayne *op cit*, 44

20 *Ibid*, 14

21 Kane, *op cit*, Vol, I, 359

22 Jolly, *op cit*, 76

referred to on questions of both religious and civil matters by the authors of *Madanapārijāta*, *Vaiyanti*, *Nirnayasindhu*, *Samskāra Kaustubha* and others <sup>23</sup>

### *Haradatta*

Haradatta stands very high as a commentary writer. He has written a commentary called the *Ujjvala* on the *Dharmasūtra* of Apasthamba. He has written a commentary on *Gautama Dharmasūtra* also. The *Vīramitrōdāya* classes Haradatta among southern *Nibandhakārs* <sup>24</sup>. His date is uncertain except that he could not have flourished later than the end of the 16th century <sup>25</sup>. Professor Buehler says in the introduction to his translation of Apastamba that Haradatta "wrote his *Ujjvalavṛiti* at the latest in the 15th century or possibly 100 years earlier" <sup>26</sup>. Haradatta employs in his *Padmanjarī* the word "Kusimunchi" which is a Telugu word <sup>27</sup>.

### *Aparārka*

The Silhara ruler of Konkan Aparārka or Aparāditya wrote an extensive commentary on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* <sup>28</sup>. "The Aparārka-Yājñavalkya-*Dharmaśāstra-Nibandha*, although it purports to be a commentary on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* is more of the nature of digest than a commentary. In this digest we find extracts from a number of *Smṛitikārs* whose works are not available to us in their integral form. Aparārka flourished about a century later than *Vijñānēswara* and references to his massive treatise are to be found in the works of many later writers and in some decisions of courts" <sup>29</sup>. Aparārka's *Bhāṣya* on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* which, though less renowned than the *Mitāksharā*, is frequently quoted in subsequent digests such as the *Smṛiti Chandrika*, *Chaturvarga Chintāmanī*, *Madanapārijāta*, *Dattakamīmāṃsā*, *Vivādatāṇḍava*, *Saraswativilāsa* and kindred standard works composed in different parts of India. "This commentary is equal or superior in bulk to the *Mitāksharā* and far richer than the latter work in quotations from lost *Smṛitis*" <sup>30</sup>.

### *Devannā Bhaṭṭa or Devananda Bhatta*

Devannā Bhatta's *Smṛiti Chandrikā* is not a commentary but a *Nibandha*. Devannā Bhatta is a Telugu name. Little, if anything, is known of Devannā Bhatta but there is adequate data that the work was compiled sometimes in the beginning of the Vijayanagar Empire <sup>31</sup>. According to Jolly "the date of the

23 Ganapati Iyer, *Hindu Law*, I, 210

24 Kane, *op cit*, I, 366

25 Jolly, *op cit*, 1883, 116

26 G. Iyer, *op cit*, 210

27 Kane, *op cit*, I, 352

28 Nilakanta Sastri, *op cit*, 345

29 Mulla, *op cit*

30 Jolly, *op cit*, 13

31 Mulla, *op cit*, 57, Intr, 57

author of the *Smṛiti Chandrikā* may be inferred from the fact that he quotes Aparārka (12th century) and is in his turn quoted by Mādhava (14th century) He must have lived therefore in the 13th century<sup>32</sup> The *Smṛiti chandrikā* quotes most profusely from numerous Smṛitikārs and affords valuable assistance in reconstructing some of the Smṛitis<sup>33</sup> The *Smṛiti chandrikā* is frequently quoted by *Saraswativilāsa Vīramitrodaya* and other digests<sup>34</sup>

### *Mādhavācharya*

Mādhavācharya is the brightest star in the galaxy of Dākshinātya authors on Dharmaśāstrās<sup>35</sup> His commentary on *Parāśarasamṛiti* is a most erudite work which includes an independent treatise on Vyavahāra which was neglected in the text of Parāśara<sup>36</sup> Mādhavācharya was the Prime Minister of King Bukka of Vijayanagar in the later half of the 14th century<sup>37</sup> "Mādhavācharya was the most eminent jurist of the Deccan His work *Parāśara Mādhaviya* was regarded as a high authority on Hindu Law in the South He was an erudite scholar, a far-sighted statesman and the bulwark of the Vijayanagar Kingdom in its formative period The work is not a commentary on Parāśara only, but it is virtually a digest of civil and more of religious Law"<sup>38</sup> Mādhavācharya's literary activity covered almost all the branches of Sanskrit literature As many as 109 works are assigned to him He was descended from the family of Telugu Smārtha Brahmans<sup>39</sup> He is famed for his numerous and important works relating to the Vēdic, philosophical, legal and grammatical writings of the ancient Hindus<sup>40</sup> This treatise (*Parāśara Mādhaviya*), especially the chapter on inheritance, is reckoned as one of the standard authorities in the Banares, Dravida and Mahārāshtra Schools of Law and is also held in high esteem in the Bengal and the Mithilā Schools<sup>41</sup>

### *Pratāprudradēva*

Pratāprudradēva's work *Saraswativilāsa* is a work of high authority in Hindu Law in South India Pratāprudradēva was one of the Princes of the Kākatīya Dynasty of Warangal<sup>42</sup> Burnell also took Pratāprudradēva to be king of that name who belonged to Kākatīya dynasty But in this, as observed

32 Jolly, *op cit*, 21

33 Kane, *op cit*, I, 544

34 *Ibid*, 544

35 *Ibid*, 374

36 Nilakanta Sastry, *op cit*, 345

37 Jolly, *op cit*, 16

38 Sarkar, U C, *Epochs in Hindu Legal History*, 1950 187

39 Gharpure, *Hindu Law*, 16

40 Sarvadhikari, *Hindu Law of Inheritance*, T L L, 362

41 *Ibid*, 362

42 *Ibid*, 392

by Kane<sup>43</sup> he was wrong. According to Kane *Sarasvatī Vilāsa* was compiled by Pratāpīudradēva a king of the Gajapati dynasty. In the colophon the king is described as a Gajapati, Lord of Kulbarga (modern Gulbarga), the king of Goundēsvara<sup>44</sup> etc. Pratāpīudradēva, in compiling *Sarasvatī Vilāsa*, has mostly followed the *Mitāksharā* and *Smṛitichandrikā*<sup>45</sup>. According to Kane, *Sarasvatī Vilāsa* must have been composed in the first quarter of the 16th century<sup>46</sup>.

### *Dalapati*

Dalapati, one of the ministers of Nizām Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar, wrote a digest of law called *Nṛsiṃhaprasāda* in the 16th century, dealing with all phases of religions and civil law<sup>47</sup>. Dalapati divides this extensive work in 12 sections. "There are elaborate colophons at the end of almost each section (called *Sara*) in which we are told that Dalapati was the Chief Minister and keeper of records of Nizām Shāh, and as such he must have been directly connected with the administration of Dēvagiri. While mentioning "Nizām Shāh" he must be referring either to Ahmad, the founder of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty, who ruled from 1490 to 1510 or to his son Burhān who ruled from 1510 to 1553, most probably the former. It may be taken as certain that the work was composed between 1490 to 1572<sup>48</sup>.

As has already been mentioned above, the region of the Deccan, compared to other parts of the country, was far ahead in the production of jurists and eminent authorities on legal literature of the Hindus. Many eminent Sanskrit scholars, having command over the *Dharmaśāstra* literature belonging to this region, migrated to other parts of the country particularly to North India and established their name and fame due to their learning as authorities on the *Dharmaśāstra* literature. Some of them served in the capacity of spiritual advisers of the rulers and composed works on the administration of justice. Their treatises got extraordinary importance and prominence not only in the region where they served as spiritual advisers of the rulers but even in other parts of the country. Particular mention has to be made of the Bhattas of Maharashtra, who originally belonged to Paithan (near Aurangābād) in the Deccan, who kept the torch of learning burning. In the great famine which occurred in India and continued for twelve years or more, several families migrated from their original home towards the North<sup>49</sup>. The Bhatta family of the Deccan occupies the first place of honour on account of the illustrious Nārāyana Bhatta, a great learned *pandit* and an authority on the *Sāstras*, who

43 Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstras*, I, 413

44 *Ibid*, I, 410

45 Jolly *op cit*, 21

46 Kane, *op cit*, I 413

47 Nilakanta Sastri, *op cit*, 345

48 Kane *op cit* I 406

49 Gharpure, *Collection of Hindu Law Texts*, V XXIV, 74

built the famous temple of Viśwēśwara of Banaras.<sup>50</sup> For his great learning and piety Narāyaṇa Bhatta was given the title of 'Jagatguru',<sup>51</sup> and his family was given the first place of honour throughout India in the assembly of learned pundits and at the recitation of Vēdas.<sup>52</sup> Narāyaṇabhatta wrote numerous treatises. His son Śankarabhatta was a profound Mīmāṃsaka who wrote many works, like *Sesadīpikā*, *Dvaitanirṇaya* etc. His nephew Dinkarabhatta wrote *Bhatta Dinakara*, *Santisāra* etc. His brother Kamalākaraabhatta wrote no less than 22 treatises. His works, *Nṛnaya Sindhū* and *Vivāda Tāṇḍava*, were accepted as of particular authority in the Banaras school.<sup>53</sup> His works are also considered of great authority in the Bombay School and Madras School. Śankarabhatta's son Viśwēśwarabhatta, a great Sanskrit Pandit, had officiated at the coronation of Shivājī.<sup>54</sup> His famous works are *Bhaṭṭa Chintāmaṇi*, *Dharmasindhū* etc. Śankarabhatta's son Nilakāṇthabhatta's famous work *Vyavahāra Mūyūkha* was composed under the order of Bhagwantdēva, a chief of Bundēlkhand. This work is considered as of high authority in the Bombay school, and is regarded of paramount authority in Gujarat, in the island of Bombay and North-Konkan. One more illustrious name from another family of the Deccan is that of Anantadēva, great-great-grandson of the great Maratha saint Eknāth. Anantadēva compiled a vast digest called *Smṛtikaustubha* in the 17th century at the command of Bāz Bahādur Chandra who ruled over Jmōra and Nainitāl from 1638 to 1678.<sup>55</sup>

### Vijayanagar

The Kingdom of Vijayanagar stood for all that constituted Hindu civilization and culture in the South.<sup>56</sup> It was a vast feudal organization and the king was the apex of the whole system. The Government was conducted on a purely autocratic basis. The structure of the kingdom was essentially federal of the ancient Hindu type. There the old stream of Hindu political thought and institutions continued and developed into a new phase.<sup>57</sup>

The Vijayanagar Kings called themselves Protectors of Varnāśrama-dharma.<sup>58</sup> They were great patrons of Sanskrit and Telugu learning. During their rule, the country was highly prosperous. Women were fairly educated.

50 J C Ghose, *Principles of Hindu Law*, II, Intr, xvii

51 Kane, *Vyavahāra Mayakha*, Intr, ix

52 Ghose, *op cit*, II, Intr, xvii

53 Mulla, *op cit*, Intr, 53

54 Ghose, *op cit*, Intr, xvii

55 Kane, *op cit*, I 452

56 CHI, III, 490

57 Beni Prasad, *The State in Ancient India*, 470

58 S Varadhachariar, *The Hindu Judicial System*, 248



'Abdu'r Razzāq was struck by the good administration and prosperity of the people. He observes, "the city is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth."

Under the Vijayanagar rulers the people, Hindus and non-Hindus including Muslims and others, enjoyed complete freedom. As has been stated by Barbosa, "The king allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed without suffering any annoyance, and without enquiry whether he is a Christian, Jew, More or Heathen. Great equity and justice is observed by all."<sup>59</sup>

The king was the fountain-head of all power in the State and was the supreme authority in all affairs, civil, military and judicial. But he was not an irresponsible despot neglecting the interests of the kingdom and ignoring the rights and wishes of the people.<sup>60</sup>

The king was advised by a Council of Ministers appointed by him for assisting him in the task of the administration of the kingdom, but he was not bound to accept the advice of the Ministers and was free to follow his own bent or the counsel of individual favourites.<sup>61</sup> The ministers appointed by him were not only Brahmans but also recruited from Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas. The office of the Minister was "sometimes hereditary and sometimes rested on selection." Of course, the Rājaguru was always from the sacerdotal class. The most powerful name which we meet in early Vijayanagar History is that of Prime Minister Mādhavāchārya, who was an erudite scholar, a farsighted statesman and the bulwark of the Vijayanagar kingdom in its formative period, about whom a detailed account has been given previously.

According to Vijayanagar kings, the primary duties of the State were the preservation of society and the interest of the various castes and communities within the empire.<sup>62</sup> About the duties of the king Krishnadēvarāya says, "Be always intent upon protecting your subjects. When you hear complaints from people in distress, hear them and redress their sufferings. Do not entrust your affairs to mean persons."<sup>63</sup> According to Krishnadēvarāya, "A crowned king should always rule with an eye towards Dharma."

In the administration of justice there was great adherence of Vijayanagar monarchs to classical principles as recorded in the Dharmasāstras. The Smṛiti of Yājñavalkya and Mādhava's great commentary on Parasāra's Code,

59 S Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *Vijayanagar Sex-Centenary Commemoration Volume* 34

60 R C Muzumdar *Advanced History of India*, 379

61 Nilakanta Sastri, *op cit*, 294

62 T V Mahalingam *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, 104

63 *Ibid*, 112

commanded special attention as an authority in the decision of doubtful legal points <sup>64</sup>

We have very little information regarding the details of the machinery for Judicial Administration under the Vijayanagar kings. At the capital the king dispensed justice personally, while in the rest of the kingdom there were courts of various grades where justice was administered. There were provincial courts presided over by the king's agents or governors who in the name and on behalf of the king decided cases that appeared before them <sup>65</sup>. The king was the highest Court of Appeal, and when the lower courts failed to dispense justice the sufferer could appeal to the king <sup>66</sup>.

There were village courts presided over by the village 'Mahājanas'. Caste courts presided over by the caste elders, courts presided over by the temple trustees and the courts of the guilds presided over by their leading men. These courts had all the judicial and magisterial authority of the judge of a regular court <sup>67</sup>.

The Empire was divided for administrative purposes into six principal provinces. Each province was under a Viceroy, Nāyaka, who might be a member of the Royal House, or an influential noble of the State or some descendant of one of the old ruling families <sup>68</sup>. Each Viceroy exercised civil military and judicial powers in his province.

Civil cases were generally decided by the popular courts, more by arbitration than by detailed examination of the legal points involved in a case <sup>69</sup>. Appeals could be made from the popular courts to royal courts of justice <sup>70</sup>. In the king's courts cases were tried on their merits by examining documents and witnesses.

Under the Vijayanagar rule, there was a well regulated system of local government which extended to villages. The village was a self-sufficient unit of administration. The village assembly conducted the administration of the area under its charge, executive, judicial and police, through its hereditary officers. The heads of commercial groups or corporations seem 'to have formed an integral part of the village assemblies'. The village officers who conducted the administration of the village were paid either by grants of land or portion of agricultural produce.

<sup>64</sup> Nilakanta Sastri, *op cit*, 294

<sup>65</sup> T V Mahalingam, *op cit*, 114

<sup>66</sup> S Varadachariyar, *op cit*, 248

<sup>67</sup> T V Mahalingam, *op cit*, 114

<sup>68</sup> Majumdar, *op cit*, 281

<sup>69</sup> T V Mahalingam, *op cit*, 117

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, 121

In the administration of criminal justice severe punishment seems to have been the rule and the law recognized differential treatment among the citizens. Thus the members of the priestly order were exempt from capital punishment.

Severe punishments were inflicted on guilty persons. Death or Mutilation was the punishment for crimes like theft, adultery and treason. The fear of punishment made the people law-abiding citizens.<sup>71</sup> And this was in accordance with the provisions laid down in the Dharmaśāstras. Severe punishment for offences according to Dharmaśāstra is necessary because "the whole world is kept in order by punishment, for guiltless man is hard to find."<sup>72</sup> "Punishment alone governs all created beings, punishment alone protects them, punishment watch over them while they asleep, the wise declare punishment to be identical with law (Dharma)."<sup>73</sup> Punishment is necessary to eradicate evil from society, act as a deterrent for the people and thereby achieve the object of establishing law and order in society. Nuniz has described punishment thus: "The punishments that they inflict at Vijayanagar are these—for a thief, whatever theft he commits howsoever little it be, they forthwith cut off a foot and a hand, and if this theft be a great one, he is hanged with hook under his chin. If a man outrage a respectable woman or a virgin he has the same punishment and if he commits any other violent act his punishment is of a like kind. Nobles who become traitors are sent to be impaled alive on a stock thrust through the belly. The people of the law orders, for whatever crime they commit, have their heads cut off in the market place, and the same for murder unless the death was the result of a duel. These are common kinds of punishments, but they have other more powerful for when the king so desires he commands a man to be thrown to the elephants, and they tear him into pieces."<sup>74</sup> According to 'Abdu'r-Razzāq those who plotted against the life of Dēvarāya II were either flayed alive or burnt to death or destroyed in some other fashion and their families were altogether exterminated.<sup>75</sup>

From the earliest times punishment was considered necessary to eradicate evil and thereby to achieve the object of establishing law and order in society. According to Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, "it is essential that king should be able to enforce commands. Even the Abhiras and the Bhīllas of the forest are able to enforce their orders by the sign of the arrow and the piece of thread. Much more therefore is it necessary that an Emperor (Sarva Bhowma) should be able to enforce his commands" (Ammuktha Mālyada, V, 206).

71 *Ibid*, 129

72 *Manu*, VII, 22

73 *Manu*, VII, 18

74 B A Saletore *Social and Political life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, 389

75 *Ibid*, 300

Under the Vijayanagar rulers treason against the State or King was considered a heinous offence. Krishnadēvarāya insisted upon men of treasonable nature to be immediately executed (*Ammukth* IV, 243) <sup>76</sup>

Krishnadēvarāya balanced punishment with mercy. He declares that the criminal should be given the chance of appealing thrice to the king. "In the matter of people sentenced to death, give them the chance to appeal thrice for mercy. But leniency is not to be shown to those who plot against the State. In the case of those people who escape and might bring calamity to yourself, immediate execution is advisable (*Ammuk* V 243)

Punishment by ordeal was prevalent under the Vijayanagar rulers as it was common in India from the earliest times. The state decided questions of finding out the truth in complicated matters by resorting to trial by ordeal. Divine help was sought in deciding certain cases which involved great legal and technical difficulties and hence could not be decided easily or where there was no sufficient evidence to prove or disprove a case or where a party demanded that the court should not content itself with an examination of the human evidence alone. In such cases, trial by ordeal was resorted to <sup>77</sup>. If the person who underwent the ordeal was not seriously injured or recovered from the injury within a particular period he was considered to have won his case; if it happened the other way he was said to have lost his case.

### (3) *Under the Marathas*

The administrative system of the Marathas gives the history of the survival and development of the old Hindu administrative system. In the administration of justice the law books that were referred to were Smritis and commentaries on Hindu Law supplemented by tradition and custom <sup>78</sup>. The Maratha rulers, especially Shivaji, were responsible in a greater degree for the revival of the traditions of the Hindu legal administration <sup>79</sup>.

Shivaji made enthusiastic efforts to revive the Hindu traditions, enshrined in the original Sanskrit texts regarding the administration of Law and judicial institutions <sup>80</sup>.

In Maharashtra under the Marathas, religious toleration was the rule. Shivaji always showed great tolerance towards men of other faiths and always ruled according to Dharma. He respected Muslim saints. He studiously refrained from molesting the women and children of his opponents and

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<sup>76</sup> Mahalingam, *op cit*, 105

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*, 121

<sup>78</sup> Sarkar, *op cit* 273

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*, 268

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*, 270

respected religious shrines <sup>81</sup> Even his bitterest critic Khāfi Khān writes, "But he (Shivaji) made it a rule that whenever his followers went plundering they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of anyone Whenever a copy of the sacred Qur'ān came into his hands be treated it with respect and gave it to some of his Mussalmān followers "<sup>82</sup>

The early judicial system of the Marathas, from 1650 to 1700, can be summarised thus The central judicial department consisted of the King and the Dharmasabha (or the Huzūr Majlis) which consisted of the Rāj Mudra and the Gōta According to territorial units there were local courts such as the courts of the division (*pargana*) the district (*sūbā*), the taluqa (*taraf*) and the village All these courts had a Majlis consisting of elements sanctioned by both royal and popular authority Judgment delivered by courts were called *mahzais* which in form and content were closely analogous to the Jayapatras of the Hindu Law

The judicial system of Shivājī in civil cases was that of the panchayat which had invariably obtained in the country <sup>83</sup> In those days village communities served the need of the time through panchayats Shivājī decided to leave them undisturbed in their internal organization "These communities contain in miniature all the materials of a State within themselves When Medieval India, distracted by selfish wars and court intrigues, presents an upbroken array of gaudy pictures in red and black only, these small villages in Maharashtra not only furnish us with instances of republican institutions, but also give evidence of the existence of democratic principles to a greater or less extent "<sup>84</sup>

The chief man in the village was *pāṭil* who was empowered to appoint a panchayat for the administration of justice The *pāṭil* managed the police and provided for the protection of the village When disputes arose in the village the complaint was carried to him He assembled some of the village elders best acquainted with the circumstances, to whom the case was in due form submitted for arbitration This is called Panchayat The village elders met in the *pāṭil*'s office or in a temple or under the spreading branches of the sacred fig tree to hear the civil suits and administer commonsense justice <sup>85</sup>

Criminal cases were tried by the *Pāṭil* and an appeal lay from him to *Kamavisdāi* or the district officer The final court of appeal was the King's court, which was generally represented by the *Nyāyadhīsh* We find in Shivaji and pre-Shivaji documents mention of *Hāzır Majlis* as final courts of trial consisting of learned Brahmans and civil and military officers of the State

81 Rawlinson, *India*, 391

82 Majumdar *op cit*, 522

83 R Duff *History of the Marhattas*, I, p 193

84 S N Sen *Administrative system of the Marathas*, 212

85 Sen, *op cit*, 164

Shivaji got himself crowned in 1674 according to Vedic rites and as a Hindu monarch he became the judicial head of the Marathi State both for temporal and ecclesiastical matters <sup>86</sup> He created a council of eight ministers (*Ashṭa Pradhān*) "The number of the *Ashṭa Pradhān* or Council of Eight which Shivaji instituted reminds one of the Mahābhārata and Manūsmṛiti. The designations of some of the officers Amātya, Mantri, Sachiva Sēnāpati, were borrowed from old Hindu practice" <sup>87</sup> He included in his council two ministers one Nyāyadhish and other the Pandit Rao (Minister for religion) Nyāyadhish was a Brahman well-versed in Shāstrās having jurisdiction over all suits in the Kingdom

In Shivaji's régime the *Rēkhtākhanā* was renamed Raj Mandal (*Ashṭa Pradhān Mandal*) Rāj Mandal acted both as an administrative body and judicial body. The chief constituent parts of the Rāj Mandal were the King and his eight ministers. Rāj Mandal worked both as a Council of Administration and as a Court of Law. As a Court of Law it was styled *Raj Mudra* or *Rājsabha* and formed a permanent body of *Huzūr Hāzır Majlis* summoned to decide suits of high importance <sup>88</sup>

The system of dispensing justice through the Majlis of the Sultānate period was not only continued in the local administration but also formed part of the central judiciary. The Rāj Mandal and the Gōta heard the suits of high importance in open assembly known as *Dharmasabha* (*Huzūr Hāzır Majlis*). The largest number of the members attending such a Majlis over which Shivaji presided was 238 and of them only 29 were Government officers of the central establishment <sup>89</sup> This gives us evidence of the democratic type of administration under Shivaji's rule.

In a court the *Pūrvavādi* (plaintiff) first submitted a written statement and *Uttarvādi* (defendant) had to submit his own version of the case in writing. The parties had to give evidence, and then the court delivered the judgment. The defeated party had to sign a document, *Jayapatra* or *Yejitkhat* in favour of the winner. The winner had to pay a *Sherni* or *Harki* amounting to 25% of the value of the disputed property. This was not regarded as excessive as the suitors in the Maratha courts were not required to pay any court fee.

The institution of *gōta* was developed out of the indigenous tenures such as *watan*, *mirāsī* and the *uparī* (*watan* tenure is office tenure, *mirāsī* tenure is a land tenure, and *uparī* tenure means tenure at will). These tenures bound up the members of different castes into a political body which satisfied the administrative, judicial and economic needs of the rural community. This body was

<sup>86</sup> Gune *The Judicial System of the Marathas*, 32

<sup>87</sup> Beni Prasad, *op cit* 471

<sup>88</sup> Gune, *op cit*, 28

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*, 125

called the *Gōta*. The *Gōta* was divided into three groups, village *gōta*, *taraf gōta* and the *paigana gōta*. *Qāzī*, the religious head of the Muslims was a member of the local *Gōta* 'whose seal on the documents,' of local transaction was regarded necessary even under "Swaraj" <sup>90</sup>

Under the Marathas the nature of punishment was three-fold (1) *Dīwān* or *Rāj Danda* (Royal punishment), (2) *Dēva Danda* or *Brahmaṇa Danda* (Religious and spiritual punishment), (3) *Jāti Danda* or punishment by caste (Social punishment). The person who committed a heinous offence had to undergo punishment ordered by the court. Then he had to visit *Brahmana Sabhā* of a holy place in order to purge himself from the sins he had committed by performing penance. After this he had to give a full meal to his castemen to become fit for social intercourse.

Trial by ordeal was prevalent under the Maratha rule. When no evidence was available divine aid was freely invoked, and the Marathas of those days had so much faith in the potency of truth that they fearlessly and sometimes with impunity grasped a red hot iron ball and plunged their hand into boiling ghee or oil to draw out a piece of metal <sup>91</sup>. Before starting any ordeal the parties had to execute agreements in writing, saying that they would abide by the decision of the ordeal <sup>92</sup>. According to the Maratha Judicial system, the presence of a government officer was indispensibly necessary in case of trial by ordeals <sup>93</sup>.

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<sup>90</sup> Gune, *op cit* 36

<sup>91</sup> Sen *op cit*, 64

<sup>92</sup> Gune, *op cit*, 93

<sup>93</sup> Sarkar, *op cit*, 275





(iii) LAND LAWS

by DR. V. T. GUNE

*Synopsis*

Scope—Sources—Village lands. Ancient rural units—Administrative divisions—Classes of landed rights—their conditions in the eighteenth Century—*Mirāsī* right,—Hereditary landholders—rights—*Mirāsīdār's* rights, privileges—Landed rights held collectively by hereditary landholders—Tenant cultivators, *Rayats*, *Upari*, *Praja*—*Qaul Istawa*—rate of rent — *Waṭān* rights — *Pātil's* Coparcenary—his rights and powers—*Baluta* tenures — their land—rights—*Nā'ikwāṭī* tenure— *Qaṣba* tenures—*Deshak* or *Zamindārs*, landed rights, privileges, powers etc *Mirāsī*, *Waṭānī* rights distinguished — *Gōta Majlis* and implementation of *Waṭān* and *Mirās* Laws—Survivals of landed rights— nineteenth Century, early part. Muslim State and landed rights—Hindu State and landed rights—Views of contemporary jurists etc.—Rates of revenue assessment—*Rāya Rēkha*— *Muqāsim*—Malik 'Ambar's assessment—Mode of its collection, farming system—distinction of joint Village Communities— Method of revenue collection— *Moqāsa*, *Jāgīr* assignments— *Waṭāndār's* encroachments on landholder's rights—*In'ām* or *Dumala*—nature of revenue assignments in general.



## Scope

Land Laws deal with the property in soil, define the right to the use of the power of the soil and in general control the life of the small agriculturist societies or village communities. The power of the soil is contained in its productive capacity. The right to the soil thus consists of its exclusive use and disposal in perpetuity<sup>1</sup>. It confers on the landholder economic benefits and certain administrative and judicial powers required for the use of the soil. Land laws thus regulate his relations to other members of the village community, of that to another village community, to certain persons claiming superior rights over his lands, to the king and his tax-gatherer including his nobles, supported by assignments of his share in the produce of the land. The history of land laws therefore deals with the nature of classes of landed rights originated at different periods by acquisition of interest in soil in the form of inheritances, grants, usurpations etc., followed by succession of conquests and governments.

## Sources

The sources of our study include original documents, contemporary chronicles, law digests etc., reports of early British officers and works of modern authors. Original sources contain revenue papers, land regulations (*Zabtas*) official orders about land management, awards, grants *Mīrās* or *Watān Pāptas* made by the consent of the local assemblies of village and pargana (*gōta Majlis*). Some of these records form part of the family collections of various *Dēshmukh* and *Dēshpandēs*. State record of offices contain large collections of revenue papers, but they are yet to be published. The publications of the *Bhārata Itihāsa Sanshōdaka Mandala*, Poona, contain documents belonging to various families and extend over the 16th and 17th centuries. There is a gap in our sources as regards the eastern districts of the Deccan\*. There are a few contemporary histories and chronicles which throw light on the revenue arrangements of the ruler. The Hindu concept of property in land as developed under the Muslim rule can be gathered from the digests of contemporary Hindu jurists like Sabaji Pratāp Rāja, Minister at the Court of Burhān Nizām

1 Elphinstone, *History of India*, (7th Ed. by Cowell, 1889), 79, Bilgrami, *Landmarks of the Deccan*, 190. Badan-Powell, *Land System of British India*, 3, 88, 125.

[A valuable book, the *Aḡamu'l- Aḡīyāt* by (Ahmad Abdu'l Āziz, Hyderabad, 1308 H) gives a fairly comprehensive account of the varieties of holdings in the erstwhile Hyderabad State which of course, included eastern Deccan as well. It is in Urdu and extends to rather sparsely printed 652 pages. It deals with certain aspects of land laws about the end of the last century. Ed.]

Shāh (1590) and Nilakantha from Paithan, whose work *Vivahanamayukha* (1610 45) attained equal position with *Mitākshara* under the Maratha rulers. Reports of early British officers like Munro, Elphinstone, Robertson Sykes and others form the basis of our information.

### *Village Lands*

All lands were included within some village or other. The village is called *Gāon* or *Uru* in the local languages of the Deccan. The word *Gāon* is derived from Sanskrit *Grāma* which means 'aggregate'. The village or *Gāon* thus means aggregate of family holdings. The extent of village fields is known as *Gāon Shiwar*. The lands might be well cultivated, non-cultivated or waste. The arable land is divided into fields or plots. Each field has a name which, together with the name of its owner, is registered in the village records. The lists are called *Thalazadas*. The boundaries of the Village and its fields are defined and encroachments carefully resisted. The residential site of a village is known as *Gāonsthān* or *Pāndharī* and the field area as *Kālī*. The *Pāndharī* is well protected by a wall or citadel called *Gāon Kunsū*.<sup>2</sup> Villages (Gaons) are classified as '*Mauzas*' or '*Dēh*' for revenue purposes.<sup>3</sup> The size of the village varied according to the fertility of the soil, its cultivation and population.

### *Rural Units*

The village community was organised on the principle of hereditary rights in land. The ancient Hindu system of joint family property was its basis. The headman of the village community was known as *Gauda* or *Urūodeyār* in Karnatak and *Reddi* or *Pedda-Kāpū* in Tilangana\*. He was assisted by an official called *Chaugula* in Maharashtra. The village accountant was known as *Kulkarni*, *Karnam* or *Sēnabova*. The twelve village servants or artisans, *Balutas* or *Āyāgars* were supplementary to the cultivators or landholders in their work of agriculture.<sup>4</sup>

The territorial rural units which acted as the liaison between the villages and the government system were a sort of successive enlargement of the autonomous village units. A few villages constituted a *Nā'ikwādī* or *Sthal* with its officer *nā'ik*, who assisted the *pāṭil* in his work of collection of revenue. He was perhaps the chief of the local militia of those villages and had to perform some police duties. The village with a trading centre was known as *Qasba*. About eightyfour or more villages coming together to deal with government

2 Duff, *op cit*, 14

3 Wilson's *Glossary* (1940), 531

\*[Reddi is now a caste in the Andhra area. Ed.]

4 For names of local village and pargana officers see, Duff, *op cit* 14 17, Rice, *Mysore*, 579 89, Wilkes, *Historical Sketches*, 1 73, Yazdānī, *Early History of the Deccan*, 674 5

matters formed the territorial administrative division, *Dēsh* or *Nādu* <sup>5</sup> Its head was called *Dēshmukh*. The office was known as *Nadheggade* or *Nadgauda* in the southern district of the Deccan <sup>6</sup> The Kulkarni assisted the *Muqaddam* or *Pātil* in the administration of the village as a scribe. He was also responsible for the proper maintenance of land registers, accounts etc. The links connecting the *Dēshmukhs* or *Dēsāis* to the ruler were the *Sardēsāis*. These were very few in number and their territorial jurisdiction as well as that of the *Dēshmukh* was constituted according to ancient custom of the village communities attached to them. There were *Sai dēshpāndēs* also. Offices of *Pātil* and *Dēshmukh*, specially in Maharashtra, were generally held by Maratha families <sup>7</sup> The corporate body of the village and also *Dēsh* was called *Gōta*, from Sanskrit *Gōtra* which means family. The history of the ethnological aspect of the territorial division is out of place here. The *Rāshtra* or *Janapad* are other synonyms of *Dēsh* noted in the *Amarkōsh* <sup>8</sup> But it seems that under the Yādavas the appellation *Dēsh* was more in use <sup>9</sup> The area or extent of a *watan* of a *Pātil* or *Dēshmukh* was a unit, and such units remained unaffected by political changes <sup>10</sup>

### *Administrative divisions*

Under the Sultānates and later under the Marathas the area under the *Dēshmukh* seems to have been the last unit for the purpose of administration <sup>11</sup> It was called *Sadī*\*, *Pargana*, *Māmla*, *Sūbah*, *Taraf* or *Mahāl*. These terms are often referred to in documents along with their local equivalents, *Dēsh*, *Prānt*, *Karyāt* etc. The larger district unit of *simt* under the Sultānates of the Deccan appears to have been renamed *Sarkār* by the Mughals in some cases. The

5 Altekar, *Rashtrakūṭas*, 179, *Dēshagrāmakuta* enjoyed In'ām lands similar to those of *Dēshmukh*, *Dēshawahī* or village-wise records of the *dēsh*, is referred to in *Udhavagita* of the *Mahānubhavas*, see, Panse, *Yādavakālīn Mahārashtra*, 53, for *Nadu* see, Derrett, *The Hoysalas*, 190, our records for the corporate activity of the *dēsh* during the twelfth and the thirteenth century are very scanty, see also, Duff, *op cit*, 17, footnote. The term *dēsh* was used both in Maharashtra and in the Tamil region.

6 The office of *Nad heggade* was conferred on *Mar gauda* by the *Banyas Settiguttas* of *Arbal Seventy* from the *Nadu*, with the right to collect his fees at certain rates from different villages constituting the *Nadu*. The right to levy tolls was also granted in 1307, see *EC*, XI, HK, 137, 138, for *Nadgauda*, see *EC*, XII, TM, 59 p 15, Saletore, *Social and Political Life under Vyayanagar*, II, 253-4.

7 Duff, *op cit*, 17.

8 Kane, *History of Dharmasthra*, III, 138.

9 Panse, *Yādavakālīn Mahārashtra*, 53.

10 Joshi, *Marathakālīn Samājadarshna* (Oturkar's Summary), 15.

11 Gune, *The Judicial System of the Marathas*, 17.

\*[This sounds very much like the *Sadī* of the Tughluqs. Of course the nomenclature of the *taraf* was taken directly from the Bahmanis although the area of a Maratha *taraf* was very much restricted. Ed.]

provinces were called *Iqlīm* by the Delhi Sultāns, while the Mughals named them *Sūbahs*. The Bahmanī provinces were designated *Taraf*.<sup>12</sup>

### *Classes of landed rights*

The rights and immunities enjoyed by the cultivating families constituting the village community were regulated according to the degree of superiority of proprietary rights in land possessed by each of them. The record of land rights was maintained by the village accountant in the *Thalazāda* or list of landed estate of the village. The records showing the extent of the land,<sup>13</sup> the portion actually cultivated, the revenue assessed etc., were contained in a book called *Kul-ghadni*. Similar records were also maintained by hereditary district officers. The *Dēshmukhs* and *Dēshpāndēs*, and some of these are still available with their descendants. We have, however, to depend for the present on the reports of the British officers.

The portion of village lands consisting of several fields belonging to one family was named as *Thal*.<sup>14</sup> The *Thals* were entered in the list with the name of the family whose descendants were there in possession of the estate. Some times the *Thals* were registered with the names of an extinct family and the tenure was enjoyed by the village community in common, or by the new family which may have acquired it. The lands of the extinct families were called *Gata Kuls*.<sup>15</sup> In spite of political changes and new proprietors, the family names by which the *Thal* was originally known had rarely been disturbed.

The system of *Gata-Kuls* seems to have been embedded in the ancient tradition of the *Manūsṃriti* that the land belonged to the person or the family who reclaimed it from the forest and brought it under cultivation.<sup>16</sup> The *Thalazādas* which are generally available from the seventeenth century onwards support the continued existence of hereditary rights in the land of the land-holders.

The original family holding the estate, the *Thal*, was called *Jathā*. The *Jathā* family was primary *Thalkarī* or *Thalwāhi* and the list of divisions according to the family names was known as *Zamīnzāda Jathēwār*.<sup>17</sup>

12 Duff, *op cit*, 36, Briggs, II, 295, Sherwani, *Mahmūd Gāwān*, 157, Gune, *op cit*, 7, 8, 10, 16, 18, 23, 29-41.

13 *Jamav* section of the Poona Daftar. *Jamav* means probably account papers. It is also classified as *Prānt Ajamas* i.e. Budget estimates of the 'Dēsh or Prānt' of 'Dēsh-mukhi Unit of local administration (Arabic *Jama* = Addition, Revenue Ed.)

14 Wilson's *Glossary*, 829, (1940)

15 *Ibid*, 263. *Gata*, extinct, *Kula*, family

16 *Manu*, IX, 44, Kane *History of Dharmashastra*, II, 867

17 Robertson's *Report on the Village Communities in Poona Division*, 1821. Vide *Selection of Records from the East India House*, London, Vol. IV (1826), 531, Gune, *op cit*, 385

The *Munda* was another ancient system of division of village lands. The word *Munda* refers to slumps and roots in the unclaimed soil, so that the term by implication means first clearer of the land i.e. the *Thalkari*.<sup>18</sup> In the Konkan, instead of *Thal* another word *Thikōn*, of Marathi origin, was used along with *Kunabāiā* to indicate hereditary estate in land.<sup>19</sup> The word *Wangada* is used in the same sense in Goa territory.<sup>20</sup> In North Kanara the ancient division was shown by *Mulawarg*. The word *Mula* means in Sanskrit, "original" or first. In Tilangāna, the word *Kānī ātchī* was employed to designate private landed property.<sup>21</sup> During the long period of Muslim rule in the Deccan, the *Thalkari* rights of the landholders seem to have been first recognised in the form of *Mīrāsī* ("Mīrāthī" or hereditary) rights only during early part of the seventeenth century under the Nizām Shāhīs by Malik 'Ambai.<sup>22</sup> No *Mīrāsī* rights were noticed in the Andhra and Karnatak districts of the Deccan.<sup>23</sup> In the 'Ādil Shāhī territories the peasants or *Rayyats* were classified as *qadīmī* or ancient and *Pāikānī* or tenant-cultivators.<sup>24</sup> The new 'tenure of *Khōṭī*', introduced in the Konkan districts under the 'Ādil Shāhī Government, was based on the farming system of revenue. The *Khōṭ* was the revenue farmer armed with necessary powers to enable him to collect government dues from the villages farmed out to him. Due to the geographical situation of the region, the *Khōṭ* System became hereditary. The *Khōṭ* deprived the village landholders of their ancient land rights, and whenever they got the opportunity for it they concentrated those rights in their family either by mortgage or sale etc. Thus a class of villages as *Khōṭ-Khāsgat* i.e. 'private', came into existence. Some peasant-held villages, known as *Sūti* or *Swāsti* in North Konkan and *Dhārēkari* or *Kunabāvēkari* in South Konkan continued as vestiges of ancient system of village co-parcenary.<sup>25</sup>

### *Their Condition in eighteenth century*

The main features of the hereditary landed property in the Deccan were surveyed by Col. Sykes during the thirties of the last century. Some of his observations are noted below<sup>26</sup> —

"At Nimbi, Pargana Karde in the Nagar Collectorate there were twenty three thals of which eighteen were Gata Kul, at Kothul, nine Thals and five Gata-Kuls at Wangi, a town on the Bhima river, lately transferred by the Nizam to the British, although for ages under Muslim government, and also the town lands, were not distinguished in Kulkarni Account papers by Thal, yet the

18 Baden-Powell, *Land System of British India*, (1892), II, 363

19 Gune, *Gunye Gharānyacha Itihās*, Letter nos. 99, 100

20 F.N. Xavier, *Bosquejo Historico*, I, 99

21 Baden-Powell, *op cit*, III, 113

22 *Ibid*, III, 256-7

23 *Vide* note 21 above

24 *Ibid*

25 Baden-Powell, *op cit*, III, 287-88, *Ratnagiri District Gazetteer* 201-3

26 Sykes, 'On Land Tenure of the Deccan, *JRAS* II, 1835, 209-12

number of Thals, their names and limits were known, while seven-tenths of the families to which they belonged were extinct. At Karkamb, a flourishing town near Pandharpur Thals exist, but only two representatives of two ancient families remained of all those formerly in possession. At Wangi in the Parganah of Mandrup, bordering on the Karnatak, only three Mirasdars remained. At the village Belwandi Parganah Karde (Ahmadnagar), belonging to his Highness Sindiah, there was not a single representative of the ancient family in 1827 the whole of the lands being Gat-Kul. These were nevertheless some half a dozen Mirasdars, who had purchased lands from the Patil six, seven and twenty years back. The Kulkarni denied the existence of Thals or estates, but a list of the estates was at last reluctantly produced, an old worn paper of A.D. 1777. In the list the Thals were minutely detailed, together with their possessors, the number and names of the Mirasdars who had purchased Miras rights from the village authorities on the Gat-Kul Thals and finally the names of different Uparis renting land on the Thals. In 1827, there was not a single person alive, a descendent from the possessor of Thals or Miras rights of 1777. It would appear that in Holkar's inroads into the Deccan in 1802, war, famine, pestilence or flight had depopulated the village, that the few people that returned, died subsequently and that in consequence, there was not an ancient 'heritor' remaining. The joint Patils claimed to be so, but as their family names did not correspond to any of the names of Thals in the list, they were evidently parvenus. The existence of Thalzada is fully sufficient to establish the division of lands into family estates. It was found that even under the seat of the government of Nizam Shahi Kings the ancient Mahratta land institutions had continued unchanged. The lands of Bagh Roza, one of the constituent villages of Ahmadnagar were divided into Thals, each linked with a family name with the descendent of the original proprietor in possession of many of them. It might have been supposed that the Muslims would have dispossessed Hindus, but with the single exception of one Thal, Husain Khan whose name it bears, there was not a Muslim name given to any of the Thals. After village Takli, Taraf Khatgaon, ten miles of Ahmednagar, Thals had certainly disappeared and there was no Thalzada. The few persons of a similar surname who claimed to be Mirasdars in the village, possessed lands widely dispersed. From Thals being unknown at Takli it is probable that the village at one time was entirely depopulated and the village papers lost. As stated above, existence of Thals was denied also at Belwandi until an old Thalzada was produced, and as they are found to exist in majority of villages, the presumption is that they also once existed at Takli. Such an impression was carried by the revenue authorities, for the whole of the lands of the village had been newly divided into Thals, and the lands of persons of similar surnames, however, widely separated, were classed under one Thal. The village papers presented the almost unprecedented feature of a total grant of Gat-Kul lands."



*Mīrāsī right defined*

The word *Mīrās* is of Arabic origin. According to Wilson's Glossary *mīrās* means, inheritance, inherited property. The term is used to signify lands held in absolute hereditary proprietorship in South India under one of the three contingencies either as a joint co-parcenary tenure in the lands of the village, as one of several shares or lots in which the village lands are divided, or as a whole estate where all the lands of the village are the property of one proprietor. The term *mīrās* also applies to the fees and perquisites receivable by the officers and servants of the Community and to hereditary succession to such offices, privileges and emoluments.<sup>27</sup> In fact "*Mīrās*", appears to have been used in Marathi documents to indicate any kind of hereditary and transferable interest acquired by descent, purchase, gift, etc.<sup>28</sup>

*Hereditary landholder's rights*

The landholders, holding land under *Mīrāsī* tenure were called *Mīrāsdārs*. The lands classified under the *Mund*, were held by *Mundkarī* tenure. Those under Kunabava were held by *Kunabāvēkar*, or *Dhārēkarī* and *Mulawarg* as *Mulawargadār* or *Mulgā*.<sup>29</sup> Of these types of landholders, we have got some information regarding rights and immunities etc. We may suppose that similar rights might have been enjoyed by other classes of landholders.

*Mīrāsdār's rights and privileges*

The *Mīrāsdārs* were of two types—the descendants of ancient *Thalakārīs* and occupants of *Gata-kul* estates of the village. The descendant *Mīrāsdārs* had no title-deeds except their entry in the *Thalzādas* or ancient land list of the villages. The latter class had in their possession *Mīrāspatras* or *Mīrās* deeds attested not only by the authorities of the Village Community where the deed was granted but by those of neighbouring villages and by *Dēshmukh* and *Dēshpāndē* of the district.<sup>30</sup> This practice attestation of the *Mīrāspatra* was in conformity with the ancient usage laid down in the *Smritis*.<sup>31</sup>

27 Wilson, *Glossary* (1940), 541

28 Robertson's observations on *Gata Kul* lands and *Mīrāspatras* from *Selection from Records at the East India House*, Vol IV, pp 531-41, *Shiv Charitra Sāhitya* II, 94, *Atihāsik Sankirna Sāhitya*, III, 306. The *Mīrāsī* tenure has been described in details later. The 'Gaonki Vritti' or 'Waṭan' was probably renamed as 'Mīrās' during the Sulṭānate period. The *Gāonkār* had hereditary right to a share in the lands of the village, and this was not affected even by long absence (Wilson, *Glossary*, p 260)

29 Baden-Powell, *op cit*, III, 147, also note 20, above. In the Konkan, particularly in the southern districts, *Kumba* signifies hereditary landed estate like *Thal* or *Mund*. *Mund* denotes a very ancient division or distribution of village lands and is noticed in some districts of Berar and also Ahmadnagar, Poona etc., from Western Maratha Country. The word *Mund* refers to slums and roots in the uncleaned soil, and the term by implication indicates *Mundkar* or first clearer of land or wood like *Thalakārī*.

30 *Vide* note 26, above

31 Kane, *op cit*, III, 309, footnote

*Mīrāsḍārs* had various rights in different parts of the country. Their lands were subject to the payment of permanent tax to government called *Swasthidhāra*. Government could levy extra cesses of *Mīrāspatī* and the like periodically, and thus neutralise the advantages of the permanent tax. The *mīrāsḍārs* were owners of the village lands in general and could levy rent in money or service from any person who lived within their bounds. Their families had the right to vote in the village assembly the *Gotasabhiā*. The elderly member of the family was entitled to that right according to Hindu coparcenary family system. They were exempt from marriage tax, widow's marriage tax, buffalo tax and house tax. They had certain claims to precedence in village festivities and ceremonies.<sup>32</sup> They thus had a higher social status than their fellow villagers who had no *mīrās* and the petty *mīrāsḍar* who laboured with his own hands was preferred for a marriage alliance to a wealthy person without a *mīrās*.<sup>33</sup> *Mīrāsḍārs* from the Maratha region did not seem to have claimed any seigniorial or *zamīndārī* rights in the produce of the cultivator not of his class like *Mālīkānā* of the North or *Swāmubhōgam* or *Tundawaram* of the South of India.<sup>34</sup> The concept of hereditary property in soil was very deep-rooted amongst the class of village landholders. If any one of them was compelled to abandon his fields due to his inability to satisfy heavy government demands, he was still considered a proprietor of his field, and his name retained on the village record of land rights contained in the *Thalzādā*. His descendants were entitled to reclaim them after a lapse of hundred years or three generations, on the payment of his arrears to government.<sup>35</sup>

#### *Landed rights held collectively*

The landed rights of the families of *Mīrāsḍārs* where the ancient *Thal* system continued to exist were held by them in common. The village coparcenary, thus constituted, had clear demarcation of the shares held by members of different families along with corresponding rights and immunities arising out of their interest in the soil. The original thals were divided into a number of shares according to lineal descendants of the first occupants who were collectively termed as *Jathā*. They were thus responsible as a body corporate for the cultivation of land and payment of dues to government and others in respect of the whole estate. If any member of the *Jathā* died without an heir, his portion of land was divisible among the surviving relations according to Hindu Law of inheritance. At the same time an individual member of the *Jathā*, or sharer of the land of the *Jathā* was at liberty to deal with his own

32 Sykes, *op cit*, *JRAS*, II (1835), 213-15. *Swasthidārs* probably held his land on fixed assessment thus left secure about government dues. *Swastha* now means safe or secure.

33 Elphinstone, *op cit*, 73.

34 *Ibid*, 272.

35 *Ibid*, 73.

portion of land. However he was responsible for his contribution to make up the whole amount payable by the *Jathā* for the entire estate. It was therefore for the sharers of the *Jathā* to see that an individual member did not by extravagance or carelessness ruin himself and so burden others with the payment of his shares of tax or payment to government. It was not also open to such an individual to sell his patrimony (*Bāp-Rōti*) to his relatives in the *Jathā*. If compelled to sell it he could do so only to a *Kunbi* of another *Jathā* or a Brahman or a Muslim according to whoever might offer to purchase it.<sup>36</sup> The sale or mortgage of the portion of land took place only with the sanction of the Village Community.<sup>37</sup> The members of the *Jathā* were connected by family relationship and were called *Ghar Bhāu* or *Home-Brothers* and new members or purchasers were termed as *Buādarī Bhāu* or brothers by village coparcenary, and they had to accept all the obligations of the original holders.<sup>38</sup> If the family or *Jathā* became extinct its share returned to the common stock of the Village Coparcenary.<sup>39</sup> The Pātils and Village Corporation had at their disposal the *Gata-Kul* or abandoned lands of the village.<sup>40</sup>

The villages developed since ancient times on the pattern of Joint Family System of the Hindus, disintegrated with the passage of time and also due to political changes. In many villages managers from elderly branch of family (*Jathā*) responsible for the joint working of all the members of the family and also for payment of the share of their family in Government dues left the villages. Individual members of the families constituting the village coparcenary thus managed their own affairs. The village headman fixed the individual contribution of each of them towards the share of their family (*Jathā*) in the entire collection of Government dues from the village. These villages had to some extent lost their collective working. The system of assessment on the whole village introduced by Malik 'Ambar did to some extent help in restoring collective enterprise.

Due to the extinction of numerous families of *Mirās-dārs* holding thals, a class of tenant-cultivators came into existence. Elphinstone observes that "An opinion prevails in the country that under the old Hindu government all the land was held by *Mīrās*, and the *Uparīs* were introduced as old proprietors sunk under the tyranny of the Mohamedans."<sup>41</sup>

The tenants were called *Rayats*, *Uparī* or *Praja*. The *Rayat* (*Ra'iyat*) is an Arabic word and means a subject. Here it is used to indicate a person paying

36 *Robertson's Report*, vide, note 7, above *Selection*, iv, 53, Gune, *The Judicial System of the Marathas*, 385

37 Elphinstone *op cit*, 72

38 *Vide*, Note 36, above

39 *Vide*, ote 37, above

40 Sykes *op cit*, 26

41 Forrest, *Elphinstone* 279 ff. For extract, Gune, *op cit*, 53, footnote 3

revenue, cultivator in general or a tenant. With reference to the person of whom they hold these lands, there are called his *Āsāmīs* <sup>42</sup>

There were two types of tenant-cultivators who rented the lands of the village landholders or *Mīrāsdārs* (where they were such), and those of government where there was no such intermediate class.

*Upārī* means stranger or one who cultivates land in a village in which he has no separate rights. In practice he held land on the *Uktī* tenure i.e. a lease by a verbal agreement for one year. The rates were not fixed but some *Swasthi* rates of *Mīrāsdār* were often insisted on. At the end of the year the *Upārī* was free to make a new bargain. He was described as a happy cultivator or *Sukh-vastu* tenant. The *Mīrāsdārs* were also allowed to hold other lands on *Uktī* tenure <sup>43</sup>. In our documents the word *Prajā* is often noticed along with *Rayat* and it also carries the same meaning. It seems that *Prajās* were specially associated with *sanadī* landholders i.e. *In'āmdārs*. They were perhaps permanent occupants of their lands and they are often found in the list of attestation to documents made by the *Gōtasabdhā* <sup>44</sup>. The rights enjoyed by these tenants are not quite clear from our documents. However it seems that after about 30 years' period the *Upārīs* or *Rayats* were recognised as *Mīrāsdārs* <sup>45</sup>.

#### *Kaul-Istawā*

The other land tenure of a tenant-cultivator was that of *Kaul-Istawā*, *Kaul* (Qaul) means an agreement or contract and *Istawā* was applied to land let under it. In practice, in order to induce cultivators to break up land that has long lain waste, a lease was given for five, seven or nine years. The rent was increased from year to year according to the rate contracted for. It was not imperative on the cultivator to carry on the cultivation of the land after the expiry of the agreement. The hereditary head of the district, the *dēshmukh* had the authority to issue the *Kaul Istawās* for bringing land under cultivation and he was entitled a commission in the form of land at the rate of five bigahs to one hundred and twenty bigahs of land newly brought under cultivation <sup>46</sup>. Any inhabitant of one village cultivating land in a neighbouring village was called *Onandkārī*. The rate was *Uktī* so fixed by verbal agreement <sup>47</sup>.

#### *Rate of rent*

We have no information regarding the rate of rent claimed from the *Rayyat*, *Upārī* or *Prajā* by the State or the *Mīrāsdārs*. The system of special

<sup>42</sup> Elphinstone, *op cit*, 73, 273

<sup>43</sup> Sykes, *op cit*, 216

<sup>44</sup> Gune, *op cit*, 63

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, p. 54

<sup>46</sup> Sykes, *op cit*, 217

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*

*Zamindari* rights such as *Mālikānā* etc., did not seem to have existed in the Maratha Country <sup>48</sup> From Sykes's observation it seems that there were only single families of landholders in small villages and not many in large ones. It is possible that each family had branched out into so many members. In such circumstances there was very little scope for the development of the village labourer and tenant class. The barter system of exchange was quite common. Probably the land had no saleable value except some house sites in large towns <sup>49</sup> The occupancy rights of the *Upai* were recognised within a generation or two and there was thus no scope for the development of particular rights of landlords and tenants especially in the western districts of the Deccan.

### *Watan* rights

The hereditary offices of the Village Community were called *Wātans* and the officers holding them were known as *Wātandārs*. They received emoluments in the form of rent-free (*In'ām*) lands and other customary rights and perquisites in kind. About one-fourth of the total produce of the landholder went to *Wātandārs* (*Haqdārs*) including *Balutās*, as part of their remuneration in kind <sup>50</sup> Thus *Wātandārs* formed by themselves another important landholder class of the village community.

The word *watan* is of Arabic origin and means "country, native country, place of residence house" <sup>51</sup>. The ancient hereditary offices were confirmed by the Muslim rulers in the form of *Wātans*. Under the Hindu rulers their emoluments were called *Vrittis*. The annuities in the form of various rights and perquisites attached to their offices and received in money or in kind, were, called *Nibandhas*. According to the *Smritis* and later digests the *Vrittis* were treated as property for legal purposes like lands and houses <sup>52</sup> The *Wātans* were therefore generally subject to the Hindu law of inheritance, partition, sale, mortgage etc. We may now briefly notice the powers of *wātandārs* about land administration, nature of their landed rights and its effects on the corporate working of village societies.

### *Pāṭil's Coparcenary*

The *Mokadam* (Muqaddam) or *Pāṭil* was the headman of the village. He was more a representative of the Village Community than a government

48 *Vide*, note 33, above

49 Sykes, *op cit*, 215

50 Sykes, *op cit*, 225

51 Wilson, *Glossary*, 889. The term '*Baluta*' signifies yearly allowance of grain for services rendered to the Village Community and also denoted persons who get '*Balutas*' from the village. The '*Mera*' or '*Meras*' allowance in Tilangana seems to be the counterpart of *Balutā* in the Maratha Country.

52 Kane, *History of Dharmashastra*, II, fn 860, 2023, *Nibandha* III, fn 575, 1082 (*Vritti*) Derrett, *op cit*, 197, 234, Wilson *op cit*, 878

servant In re-establishing deserted or depopulated villages he was probably appointed by the government on the recommendation of the *dēshmukh* who was in general responsible for the cultivation of lands in the parganah In joint villages of *Mīrās-dārs*, the *Pātil* s *jathā* or family, as the case may be, was entitled to name the person to be *Pātil*

During the Sultānate period the elder branch of the family who looked after the settlement of the revenue claims was styled by them as *Muquddam* or leader In course of time some *Muquddams* sold some of their privileges to meet the demands from the government The *Muquddam* privileges were thus partitioned into two or three shares Thus the families of *Jathās* constituting the joint village came to be distributed proportionately among the *Takshimdār* (*Taqsimdārs*) or sharers of the *Muquddam* to receive the fees '*Mān pān*' and other dues from them They had also an equal share in cultivation of the village *Gata-kul* lands <sup>53</sup>

#### *His rights and powers*

The families of *Mīrās-dārs* were jointly as well as severally responsible for the payment of revenue to government through a *muquddam* As observed by Elphinstone, he was the keystone by which the other parts of the structure remained compact He was the magistrate by the will of the Community as also by government appointment, he enforced the bye laws of the village corporation, in consultation with the village assembly, he raised contributions for village expenses by granting *Gāon-nisbat-mīrās* lands the proprietorship of which rested in the community jointly, he promoted cultivation by allotting lands which had no fixed occupants, he rationed irrigation water and settled disputes of cultivators if referred to him He was so much identified with the village that he was personally responsible for all its affairs, and was liable to be thrown into prison in all cases of resistance or failure of revenue <sup>54</sup> The *Pātil*, *Kulkarni* and *Chaugula* together hold about one twenty-fifth of the village land rent-free or *In'am* The *Patil*'s *in'am* was called *Pasodi* In addition he received a small annual allowance from the government The greater part of his income was derived from perquisites paid in kind by the village community and also by artisans <sup>55</sup> The office was saleable, but the owner seldom parted with it entirely, always reserving the rights about the allotment of village lands and presiding over certain ceremonies <sup>56</sup>

53 *Robertson's Report* see note 17, above *Mān pān* denoted hereditary rights and perquisites to which *waṭandārs* were entitled by virtue of their *waṭan*

54 See note 34 above

55 Duff, *op cit*, 17

56 Elphinstone, *op cit*, 69, Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas* 183-88

*Gaunda and Kulkarni Viittis*

The village headman was called *Gaunda* or *Gauda* in Karnatak, *Reddi* or *Nattar* in the Andhra and Kainatak region respectively<sup>57</sup> The *Gaunda Viittis* is referred to in an inscription of A D 1085<sup>58</sup> The Village accountant, *Kulkarni* was known as *Karnam* or *Senabova* The earliest mention of the *Kulkarni* will be found in an inscription of A D 1060 from Dhārwar<sup>59</sup> In the southern districts of the Deccan from the Kainatak and Andhra the village headman and *Kulkarni* formed part of the village body of twelve officers called *Āyagārs*<sup>60</sup>

As has been noted above the *Kulkarni* kept the records of the village lands, with names of the former and the existing holder, and the rent and other terms of occupancy As a corporate body the village managed the "*Gata-Kul* lands, granted 'Village *In'āms*' or *Gāon Nisbat-In'āms* and collected funds for its external defence etc These accounts were also maintained by the *Kulkarni* He acted as a notary in drawing deeds for them and wrote private letters of the villagers He was paid his fees in kind, just as the *Pātil*, and had an allowance, the *mushāhūā* and assignment of *In'ām* land from the government In a *Kanuzābta* or regulations of 1688 it is stated that the *Pātil* and *Kulkarni* together were entitled to five bigahs to every 120 bigahs as *In'ām* or gift of the entire land brought under cultivation by their efforts<sup>61</sup>

The *Chaugula* assisted the *Pātil* in his work and had a small land grant, but he generally received his fees in grain from the cultivators

*Balūtā tenures*

The tenures of village servants were known as *Barā Balūtā* in Maharashtra In the Karnatak and Tilangana they were called *Āyagārs* The names of the twelve *Āyagārs* differed from the *Balūtās*, and the village headman and accountant were included among them

The *Balūtēdārs* had to perform services for the cultivators required for themselves individually and for the village collectively The carpenter and the smith had to mend their implements of agriculture, the pot-maker had to supply pots and pans while others also performed their customary duties in a similar way They were supported by an yearly allowance in grain termed *Balūtā* in Maharashtra and *Mīrās* in Tilangana Some of them, like *jōshī* and *māhar*

57 Baden Powell, *op cit*, III, 88 footnote, Wilks, *Historical Sketches*, I, 73 4

58 *Ec*, vii, *Sh 10 Ka*, 21, Dikshit, Local self government in *Medieval Karnatak*, 63

59 Dikshit, *op cit*, 66

60 Wilks *op cit*, I, 73 4 Baden Powell *op cit*, III, fn 88

61 *Selection from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol 31 p 90

held in addition rentfree lands as a part of their emoluments. As already mentioned above, about twenty-five per cent of the total produce of the landholder went to *Haqdārs* of villages, district officers and the *Balūtās* <sup>62</sup>

The *Balūtās* were divided into three classes, the holders of each class being the *Balūtā* entitled to a fixed quota. The three groups were (i) carpenter, shoemaker, smith (probably a blacksmith), *māhār*, (ii) washerman, potmaker, barber, *mang*, (iii) water carrier, astrologer (*jōshī*), *guarav* and silversmith. Their classification and order of priority differed from village to village and their number depended on the size and importance of the village. Along with *guarav*, *maulānā* (Muslim priest) was probably added during the Muslim period. The tenure of *Mahār* is important as its holder had to ensure customary usages about land boundaries. They held *In'ām* lands in all villages, divided into *Hadī* and *Hadōla* or *Sisola*, the first was a rent-free small piece of land, while the *Hadola* was held on quit rent. *Mahār* *Balūtēdāis* could mortgage or sell their portion even though it was granted to them for performance of certain duties, these portions were sometimes mortgaged or sold to a *Dēshmukh* or *Patil*. In addition to the landgrant, the *mahār* *balūtēdāis* had their share of *balūtā* grain. They had to perform customary services for the village as well as to the government officials or *Jāgīrdāis*. A kind of trifling yet oppressive cess called *Rābīa* was levied from them, when they were not required to perform their customary duties. At *Khēd* in Ahmadnagar district the *Mahār* held 180 *bigahs* of *In'ām* land on which the *Rābīa* was Rs 10. The *Mahārs* were the guardians of the village boundaries. They had to be familiar with the customary landmarks of the limits of each village and acted therefore as referees in boundary disputes. They supplied wood and grass to cultivators, officers and travellers, worked as porters and messengers and were responsible for village watch and ward. The village documents were attested by the members of the village council by the symbols of the occupation followed by each of them. The *Rābīa* *Mahār* supplied grass or wood etc., to cultivators. The sickle or hatchet was used to cut the grass and the rope for tying it into bundles. The sickle and rope were thus the symbol of his attestation to documents made by the village council <sup>63</sup>

### *Nāikwārī* tenure

The hereditary office of *Nāikwārī* is found in a *Karyāt* or *Taraf* composed of a few villages. His duties were to assist government officers in the collection of taxes. The cess levied from the cultivators in kind was called *Nāikwārī*. The rate of the cess was customary and varied from place to place. In *Taraf*

<sup>62</sup> Sykes, *op cit*, 225 6, *Balūtā*, Duff, *op cit* 14, Gune, *op cit*, 57 60, *Āyagār* see note 56 above

<sup>63</sup> Sykes, *op cit*, 225, 227



Kānūr (Ahmadnagar Collectorate) *Nāiknārī* fees were twelve seers of grain for every thirty bigahs of land under cultivation. It seems that the chief town of the *Taraf* was exempted from the cess and it was levied only from villages. In some *Tarafs*, *Hawāladārs*, appointed under the Muslim rule for the collection of revenue appear later to have become hereditary. They replaced the ancient office of *Nāiknārī*.<sup>64</sup>

### *Qasba tenures*

In a *Dēsh* or *Paiganā* about twelve to twenty-five villages were placed under a larger village with market centre called *Kasba* (*Qasbā*). It was also an ancient fiscal division where customary imposts were levied on goods coming to the market which were divided among the hereditary officers of the village communities. Similar levies were made in villages according to ancient customs. Transit duties were collected by government.<sup>65</sup> The hereditary offices of the *sēth* and *mahājan* supervised the work of the market centre. The professions which developed the centre were called *khooms* of *Pūtha* and were in charge of the *sēth*. They also enjoyed certain concessions regarding taxes on shops etc., if they were hereditary.<sup>66</sup>

### *Dēshak or Zamindārs*

About eighty-four to a hundred villages formed the *Dēsh* or *Prānt*, which was headed by *Dēshmukh* and *Dēshpāndē* who are often referred to in our documents as *Dēshaks*.<sup>67</sup> Under the Muslim rule the *Dēsh* formed part of their division of *pargana* and the *deshaks* came to be known as *Hakkadārs* (*Haqdārī*) or *Zamīndārs*.<sup>68</sup>

The *Dēshmukh* was mainly responsible for the supervision of cultivators and police of his district, collection of government revenue and implementation of government orders. He was in fact to the *pargana* what *pātil* was to a village. His customary rights or *haqs* included five per cent of revenues of the cultivated land under his jurisdiction. He had also share in grain called *Ghugari*, and also a share in *ghee*, *gul* and other products of local manufacture. He had authority to grant *Qauls* or contracts for bringing land under cultivation, and acquired in course of time a large number of rent-free lands in different villages as his commission for the supervision of the cultivation in his jurisdiction. But

64 Sykes *op cit*, 230. *Shiva Charitra Sahitya*, II, 139.

65 Duff *op cit*, 17.

66 Gune, *op cit*, 57-60.

67 See, *Paragana Dēshak*, Appendix AI, Nos 2, 6, 13, 33, 35, 36, 66, 73, 88, 126-8.

68 Duff, *op cit*, 17. See N A Siddiqi "The Dastūrū'l 'Amāl-i-Baikas, an Administrative Manual of Muhammad Shāh's Reign" *IHC*, 1960, 243 ff, which mentions a *muchalka* or undertaking to be given by a *zamīndār* for the performance of his duties.

he was not the proprietor of all lands in his jurisdiction like other *zamīndārs* <sup>69</sup> The *Dēshmukh* and *Dēshpānī* could not sell their offices or the fees of the offices, but they were free to dispose of their lands. Economic necessity sometimes forced them to part with portions of their land by sale and in course of time these lands were divided amongst different families. But the rights and privileges, such as issuing *Qauls* or the use of the seal of the office were always retained by the original family <sup>70</sup> The *Dēshmukh* being the hereditary chief of the village community, his position was rarely affected by political or administrative changes. The office was held in such high esteem by the Maratha communities that even then *Chhatrapatī's* like Shivaji and Shāhū coveted it <sup>71</sup> Shivaji claimed for himself the *Sardēshmukhi* rights from the Mughal subahs of the Deccan.

In the 'Ādil Shāhī districts in Konkan and former Bombay-Karnatak the office is named *Dēsāī* or *Nādgāuda*. It is also noticed in coastal districts of Gujarat <sup>72</sup> The *Dēshpāndē* was the writer and accountant of the *Dēshmukh*. He kept detailed accounts of the revenues of the district and supplied copies of the documents to Government and also to the public whenever demanded. He was the registrar of all land transactions in his district. Like the *dēshmukh* he had the right to percentages on revenue, *in'ām* lands and other perquisites of *ghugari* and a small share in the produce of local manufacture. His fees and perquisites were about half of those of the *dēshmukh* <sup>73</sup>

#### *Mirāsī-Watanī rights distinguished*

The landed rights and immunities of the village landholders or *Mīrāsḍārs* should not be confused with those of hereditary officers or *Watanḍār*. Though the same person may hold both, they are in their nature quite distinct. The proprietary rights of the *mīrāsḍārs* are derived from their interest in soil. The *waṭandārs'* rights arise only from the service they are required to perform towards the village communities, and these were transferable along with the service to any other person at the pleasure of the employer i.e. the village community or the government <sup>74</sup> The *Waṭandārs* were *Mīrāsḍārs* to the extent they held their *In'ām* lands on hereditary tenures. Whenever they were required to share their *Watan* with other parties, due to indebtedness caused from heavy demands of the government, or due to any other reasons they used to sell their *Mīrāsī* rights in their lands, reserving to themselves the rights and

69 Forrest, *Elphinstone* 278, Baden-Powell, *op cit*, 3 133-34

70 Sykes, *op cit* p 221, Forrest, *Elphinstone*, 278, 283

71 See note 10 above

72 For detailed history of the office of *Desai* from Gujarat under the Mughals see, Grover "The position of *Desai* in the Pargana administration of Subha Gujarath under the Mughals" *IHC*, 1961, 150, ff

73 Forrest *Elphinstone*, 283

74 Elphinstone, *op cit*, 278, Sykes *op cit* 216

perquisites of the *Watan* <sup>75</sup> The *Watan*dārs thus acquired a kind of superior authority over the village communities because of the administrative powers and responsibilities attached to the *Watan*. The *Mirās* and *Watan* laws served the requirements of the agricultural communities and thus became the law of the land or common law of the Deccan during Medieval period. The brotherhood of *Mirās*dārs and *Watan*dārs, thus constituted, is designated in our documents as the *Gōta* in Maharashtra, *Samasta Mandalī* in the Goa territory and *Daiva* or *Mahanad* in the North Western tract of the Karnatak <sup>76</sup> The word *Gōta* is derived from the Sanskrit *Gōtra*, which means family.

### *Gōta-Majlis*

The *Gōta* was an autonomous body which implemented the *Watan* and *Mirās* laws. The assembly of the *Gōta* was called *Sabhā* or *Majlis* <sup>77</sup> It had jurisdiction over administrative, judicial and fiscal matters of the village, *Qasba*, *Dēsh* or *Pargana* divisions, and the composition of their majlises varied accordingly <sup>78</sup> The local government officials formed the administrative body of the *pargana* known as *Dīwān*. The *Gōta* and *Dīwān* sat together in an assembly or *Majlis* to settle *Watan* and *Mirās* disputes referred to them by the members of the village communities <sup>79</sup> The *Qāzī* acted as intermediary between the *Dīwān* and the *Gōta* and he thus seems to have fostered the development of the majlis system under the Muslim rule <sup>80</sup> All awards passed by the *Majlis* were named as *Mahzars*. The ancient system of naming them according to nature of the transaction was discontinued <sup>81</sup> The award had to be attested by the members of the *Majlis*, with their customary signs or symbols of attestation, before it became a legal document <sup>82</sup> Our information about the *Gōta* or *Majlis* institutions is limited to the western part of the Maratha districts and pertains to the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century. At present, we have got no source of information about the working of similar institutions in other parts of the Deccan <sup>83</sup>

### *Survivals of landed rights*

The *Mirāsī* tenure formed the basis of the corporate working of the village and the *Dēsh*. By the end of the eighteenth century, *Mirās*dārs numbered more than half of the cultivators in the Maratha region. In the Commissioner's

75 Gune, *op cit*, Appendix A-I 78 138 Elphinstone, *op cit*, 70

76 Gune, *op cit*, 54

77 *Ibid*, 17

78 *Ibid*, 56

79 *Ibid*, 61-5

80 *Ibid*, 18 139

81 *Ibid*, 79, 94, 101, 138, Kane, *op cit*, III 310-11

82 *Ibid* 63 79, footnote 54

83 *Ibid*, 136 7, 255

divisions of the Deccan about 1822, the proportion of *Mīrāsīdārs* to *Uparīs* was three to one in Poona, two to one in Satara, and nearly equal in Ahmadnagar. In *Khāndēsh* there were only a few *Mīrāsīdārs* in the *mahals* which formed part of the territories controlled by *Malik 'Ambar*.<sup>84</sup>

They were almost extinct at the advent of the British rule in most of the Telungana or *Āndhra* region.<sup>85</sup> In the *Āndhra* region the feudalisation of local administration had already started under the rulers of *Wangal* who adopted the system of *Nāyamkara* i.e. local government, through semi-military chieftains or *Nāyaks* who were allotted some villages as their estate or *Sthala Vritti*s for maintaining troops. The village assembly had already been substituted by a body of twelve village officers called *Āyagārs*.<sup>86</sup> The territory remained under the rule of the Deccan *Sultānates* for a long period and went under the domination of the *Mughals* in 1686-1687.<sup>87</sup> As a result of the farming system of local government adopted by these rulers, an intermediary class of landlords, or *Zamīndārs*, *Reddīs* and *Palaigars* came into existence.<sup>88</sup> In the absence of the formal recognition of the cultivators' rights by the State, the cultivators were reduced to the position of mere tenants<sup>89</sup> by this intermediary class of *Zamīndārs*.

### *Muslim State and landed rights*

The cultivators are referred to in our documents as *Rayyats* or *Rayats*.\* In Indian usage it has acquired a meaning of persons paying revenue, a cultivator in general or a tenant.<sup>90</sup> Their right to property in soil i.e., ownership of their lands, was not recognised formally by Muslim rulers except *Malik 'Ambar*'s recognition of *Mīrāsī tenure*. This may perhaps be due to the Muslim legal theories regarding the rights of conquered races or tributaries. One of the duties of a Muslim ruler was supposed to be to wage a war against lands occupied by non-Muslims i.e. *Dārul-harb*.<sup>91</sup> But these tenets were modified later, and all conquered races who agreed to pay tribute were protected in return, without any liability to serve in the army. They were called *dhimmīs*\*\*. The author of

84 'Selections of papers from Records at East India House', Vol. IV (1826), 477-8, Gune *op cit*, 60-61.

85 Elphinstone, *op cit*, 271 (E) (F).

86 Yazdāni, *Early History of the Deccan*, 662, 668, 675.

87 Sarkar *Aurangzeb*, IV, pp. 388, 451, Setu Madhava Rao, *Eighteenth Century Deccan*, p. 3.

88 Sherwāni, "The reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh," *JIH*, XLII, II, 467.

89 Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar*, 96, 129, also see Note 73 above.

\*(*Ra'iyat* really comes from a root meaning 'to superintend the grazing of a flock', later meaning 'guardian of a flock' ('*Rā'i*') "Superintendence" led to superiority' *Ed*).

90 Elphinstone *op cit*, 273.

91 Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, III, 249 (3rd Ed.).

\*\*[The word '*dhimmī*' is derived from the root "*dhimmah*" which means "charge", "*dhimmīs*" meant people whose protection was the particular responsibility of the State. *Ed*].

traditional Islamic *fiqh*, *Hidāyā*, lays down that, "if a prince conquers a country, he is at liberty either to divide it amongst his soldiers in the manner prescribed by the Prophet or to leave it in the possession of the inhabitant on their agreeing to pay the capitation tax (*Jizīa*)\* and land-tax (*Kharāj*), in the latter case the right of property remains with the inhabitants" <sup>92</sup> The *Kharāj*, to be paid by the *dhimmīs* amounted to one half the produce of land, while the Muslims were to pay a tenth called '*ushr*, and *zakāt*' <sup>93</sup> 'Alāu'd dīn *Khajī* claimed land tax at the rate of half the produce. Under the Mughals the demand of the State on the peasant varied from half to one third <sup>94</sup> Though no direct evidence about the Sultanates of the Deccan exists, similar assessment rates might have existed under them <sup>95</sup> The cultivators were thus treated as *rayats* or tenants

### *Hindu State and landed rights*

The claims of the Hindu rulers to the entire wealth of their realm are reflected in a contemporary juridical work, "*Parashurāmpratāp*" compiled by Sabaji Pratāp Rājā, the protégé of Burhān Nizām Shāh I (1510-54). He says "Brahma arranged that the King was to be the owner of all wealth, specially (wealth) that is inside the earth" <sup>96</sup> Thus by qualifying the ownership of the King to his realm by restricting it to the wealth inside the soil, Sabaji Pratāp Rājā has maintained by implication the existence of the proprietary rights of cultivator in his land as laid down by the *Smṛitis* and followed in practice by the *Rashtrakutās* and *Yādavās* who never claimed the ownership of the entire soil <sup>97</sup> Malik 'Ambar recognised the hereditary rights of the *thalakari* in the soil in the form of *Mīnāsī* and thereby restored the ancient coparcenary village institutions <sup>98</sup>

\*[*Jizīa* was the tax levied in lieu of Military Service. It has been wrongly treated as Capitation Tax. Ed.]

92 Vans Kennedy on "Muhammadan Law" *JRAS*, II (1835) 107-8

\*[In a number of verses, the Qurān lays great stress that the ownership of everything, moveable or immovable, belongs to God, and both the rulers and the citizens hold 'wealth' in trust for God, and for practical purposes in trust for the Community. For an enunciation of this doctrine see Sherwani, *Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration*, 1968, 182, 255-56. Ed.]

93 *Ibid*, 91

94 Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar*, 96, 98-9, 129, Sarkar, *Aurangzēb I*, 192-3

95 Joshi, 'Adilshahi Administration', *IHC*, 1940, 8

96 Kane, *History of Dharmashastra*, 3:196. Gode, 'Sabaji Pratap Rājā' *BORI, Annals* XXIV III-IV, 156-64

97 Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and their times*, 237, Yazdani, *op cit*, 562, Panse, *Yadava Kalinga Maharashtra*, 88

98 Baden-Powell *Land System*, III, 205, 256. Baden-Powell *Indian Village Community* (1896) 380, fn., *Imperial Gazetteer* (Bombay) I 400, Lyall, *Gazetteer of Berar* Chap VIII 90

Under the Marathas the Hindu traditions were maintained. The proprietary rights of the cultivators were recognised as *Mīrāsīdār*. The village coparcenary and the *Gōta* institution continued to function during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as already noticed. Captain Robertson has quoted a deed of sale of land by some private villagers transferring their *Mīrāsī* rights to the Pēshwā himself. He has also quoted a grant from the village community conferring the lands of an extinct family on the same prince for a sum of money guaranteeing him against the claims of the former proprietors.<sup>99</sup>

Nilakantha (1610-45), the author of '*Vyavahārmayūkha*' whose authority is respected in Western India even by modern courts sums up the ancient tradition that the State is not the owner of all lands but is only entitled to levy taxes from the holders of the land. It says

"It is said in the 6th chapter of *Jaimini* that the whole earth cannot be given away by the emperor and the province by a feudatory chief. The ownership in several villages and fields in the entire earth or in a province belongs to the holder of the land alone while kings are entitled only to collect taxes. Therefore when kings now make what are technically called gifts of fields no gift of land (soil) is effected thereby, but only provision is made for the maintenance of the donee (from the taxes alienated by the king). When however houses and fields are purchased from holders thereof (by the king) he has also ownership (over the fields etc.) in those cases and he in such cases secures the full merit of the gift of land."<sup>100</sup>

It was also usual under the Marathas to refer in the grant to eightfold rights of the King in the soil mentioned in *Parashurāmpīṭāpa*, cited above, i.e. of water, trees, grass, wood, stones, treasure trove and deposits when the property in soil was transferred to the grantee.<sup>101</sup>

Nilakantha has further classified *vrittis* or *watans* of our documents as private property of their holders for legal purposes just as land and houses, and thereby confirmed the usage of the *Gōta Majlis* regarding inheritance, partition, sale, mortgage etc. of *watan* properties. Under the British Regulations of 1827 the *watans* have been treated as immovable property.<sup>102</sup>

#### *Rate of revenue assessment*

The fluctuations in the rate and method of assessment of government share in the land produce affected the landholders' right to the use of the productive power of the soil and disrupted the functioning of the village coparcenary. The demand of the early rulers, the Hoysalas seems to have been limited to

<sup>99</sup> *Selections from Papers, op cit*, IV, 474

<sup>100</sup> Kane *op cit*, 2 866

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid* 2 865

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid*, 3 575, note 1082, Gune, *op cit*, 136 7

one-seventh of the gross produce. In addition, there were customary small cesses levied to meet the expenses of the village and *nādū* administration.<sup>102</sup> Under the Yādavas, who were contemporary with the Hoysalas, a similar tax, *udrang*, seems to have been levied.<sup>103</sup> Under the Vijayanagar empire the incidence of government assessment seems to have varied from one-sixth to one-fourth. It was arrived at after measurement of dry soil, and it varied according to the fertility of the soil and irrigation facilities. It was called *Rāyā Rēkha* or Royal Line.<sup>104</sup>

After the conquest of the Deccan, 'Alāu'd-dīn *khālji* levied one half of the produce as land tax.<sup>105</sup> There was another lenient form of division of produce claimed by the Muslim sovereigns and known, as *Muqāsima*.<sup>106</sup> The Bahmanis levied *Mukāsā* from their rayyats but the incidence of their levy is not known. The land settlement of western Maharashtra districts was made by them during the early part of 15th century. A Brahman, Dādū Narasū Kālē, was associated in the work with their officers. The assessment was based on progressive rates and thus it seems that their demand was not as oppressive as that of the Delhi Sultāns.<sup>107</sup>

The practice of levying *Mukāsā* rates is found in the five Sultānates of the Deccan. *Rāyā Rēkha*, seems to have been taken as basis by 'Ādil Shāhī government while fixing revenue demands in the southern districts of the Deccan and Konkan, acquired after the defeat of Vijayanagar in 1565.<sup>108</sup>

#### *Malik 'Ambar's assessment*

In the Nizām Shāhī kingdom Malik 'Ambar introduced a new system of revenue settlement. It was based on the correct knowledge of the area of the fields cultivated and the money value of the crop produced. The State demand in kind was about two-fifth and in money one-third of the total value of the crop. The assessment was made on the whole village. The hereditary rights of the peasants in the soil were recognised under *mirāsī* tenure, and the ancient village coparcenary was thus restored. Malik 'Ambar's system combined two great merits of a moderate and a certain tax and the possession by the cultivator of an interest in the soil. Instead of reserving the ownership of the entire land in favour of the State, Malik 'Ambar sought to strengthen the government

102 Derret, *the Hoysallas*, 197

103 Yazdani, *Early History of the Deccan*, 562

104 Appadorai, *Economic Condition in southern India*, II, 683-5

105 Baden Powell, *op cit*, I, 267

106 *Ibid*

107 King, *History of the Bahmant Dynasty*, p 7, for *mokāsā* tenures under Bahmanis, see Gune, *op cit*, 12, 13

108 Appadorai, *op cit*, 685, *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Bombay,) II, 64

by giving the people definite interest in the soil they tilled <sup>109</sup> Shivaji followed Malik 'Ambar's system. He measured the village land by a standard rod, and fixed his assessment permanently at a moderate rate—two-fifth of the produce or actually its equivalent in money was levied on the whole village which amounted to one-third of the total value of the produce <sup>110</sup> He abolished miscellaneous cesses and re-fixed the dues of hereditary officers in money as far as possible, which were paid to them from government treasury <sup>111</sup> The Emperor Shah Jahān introduced Tōdar Mal's settlement in the Mughal *ṣūba* of the Deccan after the annexation of the Nizām Shāhī territories in 1637. The Mughal share was about one half of the produce <sup>112</sup> The rise in the price of produce gradually reduced the State's share in the out-turn of the land and in order to make good this loss special cesses were levied by the Marathas on several occasions. Balājī Bājirāo introduced a new system called *Kamāl* or maximum land tax. This was fixed and charged only on lands actually under tillage while remissions were made in bad season. The amount of revenue therefore fluctuated according to the yield of the crops <sup>113</sup> The Marathas levied *Sandēshnukhī* or Overlord's Rights and *Chauth* or one-fourth of the revenues, from Mughal *ṣūbas* of the Deccan which did not form part of their homeland or *Swaraj* <sup>114</sup>

### *Effects of the farming system*

There was no limit to the demand of the State, and when the imposition of the burden became unbearable the village communities abandoned their lands. Some of them tried to seek alternative means of livelihood and sometimes joined the banditti. The mode of settlement could not be carried on without interference with the internal constitution of the community. The village headman, who was responsible for the levy from amongst the members of the village community, was sometimes suspended, and thus under a bad government, the privileges of the community were reduced to insignificance <sup>115</sup> These evils were aggravated by farming out the revenue—a system which was fairly common under the Sultānates of the Deccan. The revenue collection of the districts in such cases was entrusted to the farmer who engaged to give security for the largest annual payment to the Treasury. The contractors in like manner farmed out smaller portions to the highest bidder who in their turn, contracted with the headman for a fixed payment from the villages leaving each of them to make what profit he could for himself. If the headmans

109 *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Bombay) I, 400, 499, Duff, *op cit*, 4, Baden Powell, *op cit*, III, 205

110 *District Gazetteer, Ratnagiri*, 214-5 Sane, *Sabhasad Bakhar*, 27

111 *Ibid*

112 Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, I, 192-3

113 *Imperial Gazetteer* (Bombay), I, p. 499

114 Duff, *op cit*, 119-20

115 Elphinstone, *op cit* 78



refused the terms offered to him the contract was farmed out to any stranger who was willing to accept the terms. But such things happened rarely. It is by adopting the farming system that property rights of landholders suffered and they became mere tenants at least in the southern and north-eastern districts of the Deccan.<sup>116</sup>

### *Methods of revenue collection*

For the purpose of the collection of the revenue (*mukāsa*) the districts were generally divided into (i) those paying the dues directly into the treasury and, (ii) those paying them to grantees of the State in lieu of their services. The lands included in the former category were called *Khalsa* or Crown lands, *Jāgirs*, *Inām* or *Dumala*, according to the nature of the assignment.<sup>117</sup> The districts under the direct management of the State were placed in charge of a *Mokāsdār*. This officer was liable to be transferred but there are instances when the same post was held by a *mokāsdār* for a long period and even inherited by his successor, but the decision in this respect always rested with the Sultān. A *mokāsdār* was mainly a civil officer. A part of his *mokāsa* was allotted to him as his remuneration.<sup>118</sup> The districts set aside for the expenses of the troops were called *Jāgīr* and the holder was called *Jāgīrdār*. The military chief was placed in the situation of the governor of a revenue division, and in addition he exercised all functions of the *mokāsdār*. The power to interfere for the protection of the subordinates' rights was always retained by the government which also decided claims of *mokāsdārs* to any revenue in excess of the sum assessed in respect of a given area. Under the Marathas, the *jāgirs* were called *Saranyāms* and their conditions were enforced by the appointment of two or more civil officers by the government to inspect accounts and report on the management of lands. *Jāgirs* were discontinued or were liable for resumption at the will of the ruler. The *Jāgīrdār* had a right to waste lands in the district brought under cultivation by him during the tenure on the resumption of his *jāgīr* by the State.<sup>119</sup>

Extensive *Jāgirs* became unmanageable when the power of the State became weak. This led to further deterioration in the administration. The *mokāsdārs* and *jāgīrdārs* in charge of districts (*sīma*, *sūba* or *pargana*) were subordinated to the *Tarafdārs* or provincial governors under the Bahmanis. The *tarafdārs* were vested with the highest civil and military powers.

116 *Ibid*, Sherwanī, 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh Economic Aspects' *JIH*, XLII, 11, 467

117 King, *History of the Bahmanī Dynasty*. Cf. Letters from *Patra Sara Samgriha*, Gune *op cit*, 10 to 13. Under the Delhi Sultāns instead of *jāgīr*, there was an *iqṭā* tenure, see Baranī, *E D*, III, 244, See also, Qureshī, *Administration of Sultānates of Delhi*, 123

118 Cf. Letters from, *Patra Sara Samgriha*, Gune, *op cit*

119 Elphinstone, *op cit*, 81-2

a system which weakened the centre and thus contributed to the dismemberment of the empire by the end of the 15th Century <sup>120</sup>

### *Zamindārs' encroachments*

The dēshmukhs acted as intermediaries between the villages and the district officers, the *sarsimts* or *sarhawāladārs*, for the collection and payment of government dues. The collection were made generally by farming the district to the highest bidder, as already seen <sup>121</sup>. The revenue farmer held the post of *hawāladār* next to the *sarsimt* under the Quṭb Shāhī government <sup>122</sup>. The intermediary agency of the dēshmukhs and muqaddams, entrusted in the work of collection of revenue, made lawless exactions from the villages where they were not joined or united into coparcenary. The dēshmukhs and the muqaddams also tended to assume superior powers to themselves. In a contemporary correspondence there is a reference to a claim made by a certain dēshmukh that according to ancient usage of the district "the *Dēshmukh* was the *Pātīl* of a village having no *Pātīl* and similarly *Dēshpāndē* was its *Kulkarnī*" <sup>123</sup>

The semi-independent zamindārs or *palaigars*, who had retained the internal administration of their districts, became proprietors of their districts in the natural course of events. These territories, now included in the present Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Karnul districts, were shared between Bijapur and Golkonda after the fall of Vijayanagar. The palaigars (eighty in number) of this area practically set at naught the authority of the two Sultānates and assumed autonomous powers till they were subjugated by the British in 1800 <sup>124</sup>. In the Konkan the Khōts who were farmers of land revenue under the 'Ādil Shāhī government became in course of time landlords of their villages <sup>125</sup>. The Mughals tried to curb the tendencies of the zamindārs by reserving to themselves the right to control thier succession and to partition their jurisdiction, if necessary, among brothers and other relations <sup>126</sup>. Shivaji relieved the rayats from the jurisdiction of waṭandārs by making payment

120 King, *op cit*, 100, Sherwani, *Mahmūd Gāwān*, 146-50, *Bahmanis*, 324-25, Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh, Political and Military Aspects," *JIH*, XI, 1, 113-14

121 Sherwani, "Abdu'l lāh Quṭb Shāh Economic Aspects," *JIH*, XL, II, 467-8, Joshi, *Adil Shāhī Administration*, 8

122 Sherwani, *JIH*, XLII, II, 467-8

123 Shiva *Charitra Sahitya*, III, 611

124 Baden Powell, *Land System*, III, 8, no. 2, p. 20. For palaigars see *ibid*, 15, footnote. For Reddis and Nayudus p. 125 footnote

125 Baden Powell, *op cit*, III, 287-88

126 Nurul Hasan, *Zamindārs in the Mughal Empire* (1964), 16, 17, n. 1, Original *Nishān* dated 15 Ramazān or 23rd regnal Year of Shājahān Central Record Office, Hyderabad, *Shājahān Register* 40/608

of their customary dues to the latter directly from the Treasury <sup>127</sup> The zamīndārs ceased to be the principal agents of the rayyats under the Maratha Rulers They were still utilised as a check on the government revenue officers like *Kamāndārs* or *Māmladārs* and thus accounts were not passed unless corroborated by corresponding entries from the accounts of the dēshmukhs and dēshpāndēs <sup>128</sup>

The alienations of government revenue made for charitable or religious purposes or in recognition of personal merits were held under *In'āms* or *Dumala* grants Though they were numerous their area was not always large Religious grants were given in perpetuity and seldom interfered with *In'ām* lands were held by hereditary officers as a part of their remuneration for the service to the village community or government There were also held in perpetuity In all these cases of alienations, only the State's right to the share in the produce of the land was made over to the *In'ām* holders The rights of the village landholders and permanent tenants as well as village officer and persons holding lands by grants from former authorities remained unaffected <sup>129</sup>

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127 Sane, *Sabhasad*, 28

128 Elphinstone, *op cit* , 283

129 Elphinstone, *op cit* , 84



## CHAPTER X

### CONTEMPORARY SOURCE MATERIAL

*by* DR. P. M. JOSHI AND P. B. PROF. H. K. SHERWANI

#### *Synopsis*

1. Authorities pertaining to the Deccan and the Sultanate of Ma'bar.
2. Vijayanagar.
3. The Bahmanis.
4. Chronicles compiled in Bahmani Succession States.
5. Marathi Sources.
6. North Indian Chronicles with a bearing on Deccan History.
7. The Portuguese.
8. European Travellers and Trading Companies.



The contemporary source material pertaining to medieval history of the Deccan is truly vast. When the Tughluq Empire broke up it gave place in the Deccan to three independent kingdoms, namely Ma'bar, Vijayanagar and the Bahmanis, of which Ma'bar was soon swallowed up by Vijayanagar. There is very little data available for Ma'bar besides coins and some notices in Ibn-i Batūṭah's *Rihlah* and not very much for the Bahmanis, but the plethora of facts and figures contained in the chronicles of Bahmanī Succession States as well as in the histories written under the aegis of the Mughals has to be examined to find out the truth. In the case of Vijayanagar the data consists mostly of copper plate grants, local records, personal memoirs and notices in the Indo-Persian authorities which have to be pieced together. In the case of the Marathas we have some solid material consisting of histories, personal memoirs and Bakhairs, particularly dealing with the phenomenal rise of the Maratha power in the person of Shivaji and the Pēshwās. Lastly and importantly, are contemporary documents and books in European languages mainly Portuguese, Dutch, English and French.

Naturally in the compass of a small chapter much has to be put aside and only the most important source material can be mentioned and very briefly discussed. For the purpose of convenience the chapter has been divided into the following sections:

- 1 Authorities pertaining to the Khaljis and the Tughluqs in the Deccan, and the Sultānate of Ma'bar
- 2 Vijayanagar
- 3 The Bahmanis
- 4 Chronicles compiled in Bahmanī Succession States
  - (i) Ahmadnagar
  - (ii) Bijapur
  - (iii) Golkonda-Hyderabad
- 5 Marathi Sources
- 6 "Mughal" or North Indian Chronicles with a bearing on Deccan History
- 7 The Portuguese
- 8 European Travellers and Trading Companies

1 *Authorities pertaining to the Khajis and Tughluqs in the Deccan and the Sultānate of Ma'har*

*Amir Khusro*

Khawājā Abu'l Hasan, surnamed Amīr Khusrō, was the son of a Turkish father Amīr Mahmūd Lāchīn and an Indian mother. He was born at Patālī (Etah district) in 1253 and died in 1325 the year of Muhammad b. Tughluq's accession. He was a man of many parts: poet, courtier, musician, story-teller, man of wit and a narrator. He has left five *diwāns* and four historical *mathnavīs* of which *Khazā'inu'l Futūh* has a direct bearing on the history of the Deccan. Amīr Khusrō was essentially a poet and so far as historical themes are concerned he perhaps over-simplified political sequences. In fact this very quality made him take interest and describe the social and cultural conditions of the period which set off his lack of political historicity. In spite of this his historical compositions, either in prose or verse, have a fund of detailed information. It must however be said that he was not always impartial in his judgment, for, apart from his native restraint and poetic bent of mind he either wrote at the instance of the Sultān or else in order to curry favour with him. It is not true, as a modern English author has said, that he wrote poetry not history, but the fact is that he wrote history with a poetical veneer running right through. He is definitely our source of information for many facts pertaining to Deccan history and the *Khazā'inu'l Futūh* may be regarded as a primary source book of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khajī's campaigns in the Deccan.

The *Khazā'inu'l Futūh* was edited, printed and published at Aligarh in 1927. An English translation by Prof. Habib first appeared in the Journal of Indian History, and later published in a book form as "The Campaigns of 'Alāu'd dīn Khajī" in 1931. The references to the *Khazā'in* in Chapter II of this volume are to this translation.

Another work of Amīr Khusrō useful for Khajī history in the Deccan is the *Nūh Sipihr*. The Persian text was edited by Wahced Mirza and published in 1950. This work, along with Baranī's *Tārīkh-i Firōz Shāhī*, helps us in understanding the final subjugation of Harpāla Dēva and the annexation of Dēvagrī in 1318.

*Baranī*

Ziāu'd-dīn Baranī's *Tārīkh-i Firōz Shāhī* practically covers the rule of the Khajis and the Tughluqs in the history of the Deccan. He was born at Baran (modern Bulandshahr) in 1285, five years before the accession of Jalālu'd-dīn Khajī, and died in 1359, eight years after the accession of Firōz Tughluq. He was thus an eye-witness to some of the stirring events of the reigns of Khajī and Tughluq Sultāns. He begins his narrative with the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Balban and ends it in the sixth year of the reign of



**Firōz Tughluq** His style is mostly lucid and it is quite often that he uses purely Indian words in the course of his Persian narrative. His is not merely political history, for he also gives lists of historians, poets, saints, philosophers, men of medicine and religion making the book a kind of political and cultural encyclopaedia of the period. He is a partisan of the Tughluq cause and is as one-sided towards the Tughluqs as 'Isāmī is towards the founder of the Bahmanī Kingdom, 'Alāu d dīn Bahman Shāh. Baranī's memory was prodigious and the book is replete with facts and dates. He probably lost favour with his partom Firōz Shāh and died a poor man. He is one of our two main authorities for the independence of the Deccan and if we were to read his book along with 'Isāmī's we would discover a correct measure of contemporary Deccan history.

*Tārī kh-i Firōz Shāhi* was published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series Calcutta, in 1862.

### *Ibn-i Batūtah*

Abū 'Abdu l-lāh Muhammad Ibn-i Batūtah's *Rihlah* or Travelogue is one of the most comprehensive books of its genre existing, for it covers practically all the lands known in the fourteenth century, including north Africa, Western Asia, Persia, India, the far North, the Ottoman Empire and Spain. It is remarkable for the wealth of facts and figures which it gives. For our purpose he gives an eye witness's account of the events at the court of Muhammad bin Tughluq and the only account of the Sultānate of Ma'bar, which flourished from 1333 to 1378.

Ibn-i Batūtah was born at Tangier in 703/1303-4 and died in Morocco in 1377-8, strangely the year of the dissolution of the Sultānate of Ma'bar. He left Tangier with the intention of performing his pilgrimage to Mecca, on 2 Rajab 725/15 June 1325, not to return till 753/1353. From Fez he went overland to Alexandria, Cairo, Aleppo, Damascus, Basrah and then to Persia, again to Mecca, then Yemen and the Gulf States. Taking boat at Sinope he crossed over to South Russia travelling to the coldest climes of the country. Returning he visited Constantinople, then the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, Jerusalem, **Khurasan**, Afghanistan and finally to India.

He arrived at Delhi the capital of Tughluq Empire in 734/1333 and was appointed Qāzī by Muhammad bin Tughluq, a post which he occupied for eight years. He was sent as the Sultān's envoy to China, but his ship was wrecked by a storm and he betook himself to the Maldive Islands where he stayed for a whole year. From here he wended his way to Madura, then the capital of the Sultānate of Ma'bar founded by Jalālu'd-dīn Ahsan Shāh. He had married Ahsan's daughter, Hūr Nasab, when he was at Delhi, and this must have been the reason why he was attracted to Madura. He reached Madura during the reign of Sultān Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Dāmghān Shāh, who ruled

Ma'bar from 740/1342-3 to 745/1344-5, and left the southern Sultānate probably in the reign of Nāsiru'd-dīn who ascended the throne in 745/1344-5 and reigned to about 748/1347-8

Besides numismatic evidence, Ibn-i Baṭūṭah is our main authority not merely for the Sultānate of Madura and the last flickers of the Hoysala Kingdom but also for the small Muslim principalities of South India. What he relates about Madura is as an eye witness or what he has gathered from first-hand sources.

The *Rihlah* was printed in original Arabic at Cairo in 1287 H. It was translated into French by Deffrémery and Sanguinetti and published in four volumes in 1893. It was rendered into English for the first time by Samuel Lee and published in 1829, while a condensed translation was rendered by H. A. R. Gibb and published in 1929. It was translated into Urdu by Muhammad Husain and published at Delhi in 1898. A new English translation by H. A. R. Gibb is now being published by the Hakluyt Society. The first two volumes have already appeared but these do not include Ibn-i Baṭūṭah's Indian travels. These have been rendered into English by Āgha Mahdī Husain and published in the Griekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda, 1953.

## 2 Vijayanagar

Barring Nuniz's short chronicle there are no full length contemporary histories of Vijayanagar in existence, and a historian has to fall back upon unconnected inscriptions, general literature with historical flashes here and there, eulogistic poems and village records, *kaviles* and *kaifiyats*. It is not always easy to piece together such heterogeneous data. Sometime even the dates are not clear while at other times the original has been altered and imagination has had full play. Quite early the Portuguese and other European nations came on the scene, and they have left interesting details—though by no means objective—about the rise and progress of the Empire. Then there are the Indo-Persian authorities such as *Burhān-i Ma'āthir* and *Tārīkh-i Ferishta* but they are not always exact regarding the names and even the status of the various Rāyas. They are prone to exaggerate the success of the Sultāns and perhaps minimise the success which Vijayanagar might have had. In this section we will deal mainly with Telugu sources.

Inscriptions in the Telugu region are myriad and some of them are important in their own way. Most of them are votive offerings adulating the achievements of the donors some of which are not founded on facts. There are also forgeries about donations. In spite of this, in the absence of continuous historical records they are of great importance, provided full care is taken to sift the real from the artificial.

Many of the inscriptions throw considerable light on the history of Vijayanagar. Thus the Bitraguntā inscription corroborates the existence of the five sons of Sangama who contributed to early history of Vijayanagar, the Vilāsū grant of Prōlaya Nāyak gives an account of the devastation caused by the onrush of Malik Kāfūr's forces, while a copper plate inscription found at Guntūr informs us of his conquests. In the same way the Srīrangam plate of 1434 is important as it gives a list of taxes levied, and the Śrīsailam plate of 1465 confirms the usurpation of the Kingdom by Virūpāksha as he himself proudly asserts that he had vanquished his (internal) enemies at the point of his sword (*Further Sources*, I, 125), while the Dēvalapalli plates of 1507 give the genealogy of Immadi Narasimha and give us information of the replacement of the Sangama dynasty by the Sāluvas.

These and most other epigraphs are important though generally unconnected. But there is a record containing a charter in which Queen Anittali of Rajahmundry gives an account of the history, topography, boundaries, economic conditions etc, not merely of her family and her relations but of the whole of Tīlangana and the north Andhra region. The charter also gives a brief history of the region from the time of the Kākatīyas right up to the expulsion of the Tughluq armies and the foundation of the principalities centered at Kondaviḍu and Rajahmundry. This charter is an exception to the general rule and gives us a bird's eye-view of the general conditions of the region as well as their background.

But not all epigraphs are so straightforward and the connotation of some of them has been controverted. One such is the record from Gozalaviḍu (Nellore district) which refers to a Bukkāraṇya Vodayalu and is said to demonstrate that he was the progenitor of the Sangamas and held parts of the present Nellore district on behalf of Pratāparudra Kākatīya. The *Vidyāranya Kālaṇṇana* "describes in brief compass the history of the Kings of Vijayanagar" (*Further Sources*, I, 1). These two epigraphs ascribe the foundation of Vijayanagar to the Andhras. But the whole thesis is controverted by the protagonists of the Kannada origin of the city and the Empire. Even the story of Harihara and Bukka being the officers of Pratāparudra Kākatīya is refuted by P B Desai who avers that the book *Vidyāranya Kālaṇṇana* belongs to late fifteenth century and further that there is no mention of the presence of two brothers in any of the inscriptions of Pratāparudra Kākatīya. He says that the Gozalaviḍu epigraph is clear that Bukka's rule over Vijayanagar commenced about fifty years after the end of the Kākatīya dynasty. He avers that the record is really dated S 1296/1374 and is not a Kakatiya record at all, and that the progenitor of the dynasty, Sangama was really a native of the Hampi region and his son Harihara was an officer under Ballāla III (Chapter IV Appendix, above).

Passing from stone and metal epigraphs we come to the historical material contained in non historical works which have again to be patched together. "The foundation of Vijayanagar coincided with a period of religious revival" including commentaries *kāvyas* *dīpas* *faucis* etc. containing historical data here and there (*Further Sources*, I, 2). Thus the commentaries of Mādhava, Sāyana and others deal with the origin of the Sangama dynasty. Lakshmaṇa Pandit, who was Bukka's court physician gives us the history of the dynasty in the Introduction to his *Vaidyaśajavallabham*. Lakshminārāyaṇa gives a short résumé of the victories of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and the Tuluvas in the Introduction to his work on music namely *Sangita sūtrōḍayam*.

Gangā Dēvi's *Madhurāvijayam* is a work with an individuality of its own. Gangā Dēvi was the wife of Kumāra Kampana who played an important part in the history of south India. It deals primarily with Kumāra Kampana's conquests, the capture of Kāंची, the devastation caused by the Sultāns of Madura and finally the end of that Sultānate. Quite naturally Gangā Dēvi is partial towards her husband in his exploits but we can cull historical fact from her narrative.

We can also glean some important historical material from Introductions to a number of literary works in Telugu. Thus Vallabhrāya who was in the service of Bukka and Harihara II, compiled *Kṛdābhīrāmam* in the latter's reigns and included some information about his patron in the Introduction to his work. The famous poet Srināthā who flourished under Pedā Komati Vēma gives us some interesting particulars about the Reddī Kingdoms in the Introduction to his *Kāshikhādam* and *Bhimakhādam*, and "his *chattūs* contain vignettes of social life and the court during Dēvarāya's reign (*Further Sources*, I, 3).

Another series of the works, which began with purely eulogistic pieces were recited at the palaces of feudal lords every morning and handed over from generation to generation till they contained rudiments of historical facts mixed with fiction. Such were the *Velugōtivarivamsāvali*, *Rāmarājyam*, *Aravitivamsācharitram* and other works of a like nature, which give us some information on the Rāyas of Vijayanagar and their struggles with the Bahmanī Sultāns. Some of the entries are no doubt trustworthy but others, in works like *Rāmarājya-Bakhar* exaggerate facts and make it obvious that "the author of the Bakhar could not have been contemporary with Rāmarāj at all."

The last but important Telugu sources of Vijayanagar history are the village *Kaṭiyats* collected by Colin Mackenzie, known collectively as the Mackenzie Collection. The *kavilēs* or village registers, containing agricultural, economic, political and other conditions and events of the villages were compiled and kept by the village *karnam*, and these were handed over by one *karnam*

to his successor who added on to the data, and this continued generation after generation. What Mackenzie wanted was to collect all these *kavilēs* but he did not succeed as some of the *Kainams* of his day would not part with them. His clerks therefore prepared general data from them, and these were known as *Kaifiyats*. These *Kaifiyats* contain facts, figures, history and local legend and "these works must be read with great caution as facts and fiction are sometimes inextricably mixed together" (*Further Sources* I, 8).

This is so far as the more important local sources are concerned. We have then travelogues of foreign travellers who have written about the conditions of the empire of Vijayanagar as they saw them. Among them are the travels of Niccolo Conti, 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, (the envoy of Sulṭān Shāh Rukh of Hirāt to the court of Zamorin of Calicut who visited Vijayanagar in 1443 and who gives a graphic account of the city and the government of Vijayanagar) and Varthema who was at the capital in 1503 and who describes the affluence of the Rāya and his Court. But it fell to the Portuguese Fernao Nunes (Nuniz in the English translation) to write down in however short compass (80 pages) the whole of the history of Vijayanagar (*Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*), a work which was continued by Domingo Paes in another 53 pages, to bring the history of Vijayanagara to about 1535. The manuscripts were edited by David Lopes and published in Lisbon in 1897. They were translated by Sewell and incorporated in his book, *A Forgotten Empire*.

Indo-Persian Chronicles such as *Bihān-i Ma'āthir* and *Tārīkh-i Ferishta* have continuous notice of Vijayanagar history but quite naturally their enunciation of that history, so far as political alignments are concerned, is from the point of view of the Sulṭānates.

### 3 The Bahmanis

With the Bahmanis begin chronicles and compilations which throw some light on the political events of the period, and the fashion is continued in the States which succeeded them.

#### 'Isāmī

'Abdu'l-Malik Isāmī's *Futūhu's-Salātīn* is a source book for the foundation of the Bahmanī Kingdom and its antecedents. 'Isāmī was born at Delhi in 711/1311 during the reign of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī. His ancestor, Fakhrū'l Mulk, had been a minister at the Abbasid Court of Baghdād but had migrated to India during the reign of Iltutmish. The book, *Futūhu's-Salātīn* is a poetical compilation and scans nearly four hundred years of Muslim rule in India from 390/1000 to 750/1349. It comprises nearly 12,000 verses, which the author says, it took him barely five months (between 10 December 1349 and 14 May 1350) to complete. Having lived during the period of rise of

'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh at whose instance he wrote this book, he is all praise for that monarch, while he is uncomplementary to Muḥammad bin Tughluq whom he calls a tyrant. He is an eye-witness of many of the events leading to the independence of the Deccan from the Tughluq yoke. The part of the book dealing with the events of the Deccan also touches the social history of the period as when the author gives details of the menu of the food served at the marriage of Prince Muhammad. He also describes the court ceremonials of the newly-established monarchy. Although he is not particular about actual dates there is little flaw in the sequence of events.

'Isāmi's book fills many gaps and was utilised by Nizāmu d-dīn Ahmad in his *Tabaqāt-i Akbar Shāhi* and was also used by Ferishta in his *Gulshan i Ibrāhīmī*.

*Futūhu's-Salātīn* was edited by Āghā Maḥdī Husain and published by him in 1938. It was re-edited by M. Usha and published by the Madras University ten years later.

### *Ri'āzu l-Inshā*

This is a collection of the letters of the Bahmanī wazir and commander-in-chief, Khwāja-i Jahān Maḥmūd Gāwān (1411-1481) written either on his own behalf or on behalf of his master the Bahmanī Sultān Muḥammad Shāh III surnamed Lashkarī. There are 148 of these letters, nearly half of which have a direct bearing on Bahmanī history. Fourteen of them are actually from the battlefield addressed to the high officials of the Kingdom, thirteen to ministers of certain foreign countries, eleven to the Kings of Indian kingdoms like Malwa, Gujarat and Jaunpur, thirty-two to rulers of non-Indian States such as Gilān, 'Irāq and Egypt and the Sultān of Turkey. In these letters we get most valuable first-hand information of the campaigns of Maḥmūd Khālji of Malwa against the Bahmanīs and negotiations between the representations of the two kingdoms culminating in "perpetual" peace. They give detailed information regarding Maḥmūd Gāwān's campaigns in Konkan and the conquest of Goa in February 1472. They also throw valuable light on the Minister's private life, his diplomatic dealings, factious politics and party alignments at the capital, and are thus indispensable for the history of the Kingdom towards the later part of the fifteenth century.

The manuscripts of this valuable collection are found in many important European libraries such as the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale and at Istanbul as well as a number of Indian libraries like the State Central Library (Aṣafīyah) of Hyderabad and the Maulana Azad Library of the Aligarh Muslim University. It has been ably edited and annotated by Shaikh Chānd bin Husain and published by the Persian Manuscript Society of Hyderabad in 1948.

4 *Chronicles compiled in Bahmanī Succession States*(1) *Ahmadnagar**Burhān 1 Ma'āthir*

The author of this comprehensive work, Syed 'Alī bin 'Azīzu'l-lāh Tabāṭabā, originally a native of Samnān, arrived in the Deccan from 'Irāq about 1580. He started his career in the service of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and was present at the siege of Naldurg which continued till the first year of the reign of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh. But he seems to have found patronage at Ahmadnagar, and it was Burhān Nizām Shāh II who commissioned him to write this chronicle in 1000/1591-2 which incidentally was the year of the foundation of Hyderabad. The name of the book, "*Burhān-1 Ma'āthir*" is a chronogram answering to the date of the commencement of its writing. Syed 'Alī says that he completed the work on 14 Rabi' II, 1003/17-11-1594, but the actual narrative is continued right up to the prolonged peace conference between the Nizām Shāhīs and the Mughals which culminated on 27 Rajab 1004/14 3 1596, while the manuscript was finally completed by the author's son, Abū Tālib on 23 Muharram 1038/11 9-1628.

The book is divided into three chapters of unequal size. The first chapter (52 printed pages) deals with the Bahmanīs of Gulbarga, the second (118 pages in print) with the Bahmanīs of Bidar and the third with the Sultāns of Ahmadnagar as the central theme (458 printed pages). At the beginning of the section on the Nizām Shāhīs Tabāṭabā says "That which has come before the eyes of the writer of these lines is some works on the history of the Sultāns of the countries of the Dakan, and which he heard from experienced old men of the country, has been used by me for the preparation of history." He also mentions the "*Historians of Ahmad Nizām Shāh*" but does not mention the names of the writer of these books. He was an eye-witness of the exciting times of the Mughal invasion of Ahmadnagar in 1594-5 and was present in the capital during the protracted negotiations between the Mughal and the Nizām Shāhī delegates.

While there is no doubt that *Burhān* is a corrective of *Ferishta* in many details regarding the Bahmanīs and its author was an eye-witness to many events at Ahmadnagar, it is prone to hyperbole and bombast as was the vogue in Persian in those days. Thus Tabāṭabā invariably praises the reigning monarch, whether a Bahmanī, a Qutb Shāhī or a Nizām Shāhī, sky-high and passes from one to the other with facility even when one is a murderer and the other a murdered one. Wolseley Haig is perhaps right when he says that Syed 'Alī's work as a historical document is impaired by his "unscrupulous partiality", but as King has done in his abridgment of the book in his "*History of the Bahmanī Dynasty*" and Haig in his "*History of the Nizām Shāhī Kings*" we have to extricate

facts from Syed 'Alī's hyperbole, for there is no doubt that *Burhān* contains some very valuable information

*Burhān-i Ma'āthir* was printed at Delhi and published in Hyderabad in 1936 from the manuscript in the British Museum

(ii) *Bijapur*

*Tuhfatul-Mujāhidīn*

This is one of the few source books of Deccan history in Arabic and was compiled by Shaikh Zaynū'd-dīn al-Ma'barī when 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I was reigning at Bijapur. The Shaikh moved from one place to another till he finally settled down at Ponāni in Malabar. The book must have made a mark on subsequent chroniclers as it is one of those which Ferishta consulted for his history and to which he acknowledges his obligation while writing his history of Malabar Muslims.

*Tuhfatul-Mujāhidīn* stops at the year 1583. It is divided into four chapters of which chapter 4 is historical and gives an account of the Portuguese from their arrival in Malabar in 1498 right up to 1583. It describes the shifting relations of the Portuguese and the Zamorin of Calicut, their relations with Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat and their defeat at the battle of Shāliyāt in 1571. The author dwells with great emphasis on the unity of the Sultānates in an effort to drive out the Portuguese from the peninsula.

The work was translated into English by Rawlandson and published in 1833, while another English translation by Muhammad Husayn Nainar with full index, names of places and their geographical location was published by the Madras University in 1945. The original Arabic text was edited by Shamsu'l-lāh Qādirī and printed in his *Risāla Tārīkh* for October-December, 1930, along with a map and index of geographical names. This publication is mentioned by Nainar in his preface, but the date of the publication is wrongly stated to be 1931 without reference to the Journal in which it was published.

*Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* or *Nauras Nāmā*

(Generally referred to as *Tārīkh-i Ferishta*)

The author of this all-embracing chronicle, Muhammad Qāsim Hindu Shāh, surnamed Ferishta, was born at Astrābād on the Caspian Sea about 1570. His father Ghulām 'Alī Hindū Shāh was the tutor to Prince Mīrān Husain, son of Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. Ferishta left Ahmadnagar on the dethronement and murder of the parricide Mīrān Husain in 1589 and migrated to Bijapur where he was well received by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. He was at Bijapur from 1591 to his death in 1623.

Ferishta's monumental history deals with practically every Muslim monarchy of medieval Deccan. In the beginning he is careful to list the past



chronicles, numbering thirty-five, which he had consulted. Of these four deal with the Bahmanīs viz, *Ādhari's Bahman Nāmā*, Mullā Muhammad Lārī's *Sū'ajū't-Tawārīkh*, Mullā Dāwūd Bidī's *Tuhfatū's-Salāḡīn*, and Hājī Muhammad Qandhārī's *Tārīkh*, not one of which has survived. As regards Bijapur he mentions only Shaikh 'Amu'd-dīn Bijāpurī's *Mulḡiqāt*. In the case of the Quṭb Shāhīs he mentions two source books, one by Khurshāh who wrote his "History" during the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh," and *Waqā' Quṭb Shāhiyah*, but he confesses that he did not have an opportunity of consulting either of them. In fact Khurshāh's History, known as *Tārīkh Ēlchī Nizām Shāh*, does not deal with the history of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty at all. Ferishta's description of Quṭb Shāhī history is most sketchy. In the same way his treatment of the Barīdīs and the 'Imād Shāhīs is very sketchy and he treats with these rulers only as a sort of *obiter dictum* when he describes the annals of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur.

*Tārīkh-i Ferishta* is divided into an Introduction and twelve chapters of which chapter 3 deals with the Sultānates of the Deccan. He completed this part of his history in 1018/1619-20, i.e., just three years before his death.

Ferishta is profuse in giving the dates of the events, some of which were passing before his eyes, and most of them, at least so far as Ahmadnagar and Bijapur are concerned, are correct. But he has committed many a slip in his brief description of the history of the Quṭb Shāhīs. Thus he says that Muhammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh ascended the throne in 989 H. at the age of 12, when he himself gives the date of his birth as 975 H. Again, writing in 1018/1609-10 he says that the envoy of Shāh 'Abbās Safawī of Iran, Aghuzlū Sultān, was still in the Deccan waiting for the acceptance of the proposal of marriage of the Shah's son to Muhammad-Qulī's daughter Hayāt Bakshī Bēgam, although the princess had already been married to Sultān Muhammad. In the same way he makes certain wrong statements when he is relating the history of the Bahmanīs. He is also prone to exaggerate when dealing with battles in which his patron or the ruler towards whom he was inclined took part. Thus after the Tilangana campaign of Muhammad I Bahmanī he makes bold to say that not a trace was left of the subjects of the vanquished ruler of the region!

In spite of these and other shortcomings Ferishta's History contains a mass of facts, figures and dates unsurpassed in the existing chronicles of medieval India.

The Persian text was edited by Briggs with the help of Mir Khairāt 'Alī Khān Mushtāq and published in two volumes by the Government of Bombay in 1831-32. Two years before the Persian text was published, appeared in 1829 in four volumes the monumental English rendering of Ferishta's history by Briggs. The work was published in London. It was later reprinted in India and a fresh reprint is currently being issued. The Nawal Kishore Press,

Lucknow also published the Persian text in two volumes in 1272 H and also an Urdu translation. An Urdu translation by Fida' Ali was also published by the Osmania University, Hyderabad.

### *Tadhkirat-i-Mulū*

The author of this work, Mir Rafi'ud-din bin Nuru'd-din Taufiq Husain Shihāzī, was born about 947/1540-41. He came to Bijāpur as a merchant and gyrated into 'Ādil Shāhī service in the time of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I, rising to the post of royal Secretary and Mint Master. He rose in the estimation of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II who sent him on an important diplomatic mission to Ahmadnagar. He says that he began to write the *Tadhkirā* on 19 Rāmāzān 1017/17-12-1608 and completed it on 8 Jamādī II, 1025/23-6 1635.

The *Tadhkirā* is primarily a chronicle of the early 'Ādil Shāhīs but the author prefaces it by a short history of the Bahmanīs and ends it with an epilogue on the Mughals from Timūr to Akbar. Incidentally while describing the history of the 'Ādil Shāhīs he deals with the Nizām Shāhīs, the Sultāns of Gujarat, the Quṭb Shāhīs as well as the Safawī of Persia with whom the 'Ādil Shāhīs had close diplomatic relations. He is most valuable for the reign of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. He accompanied 'Alī at the battle of Bannihattī and gives an eye-witness account of the aftermath of that battle. Ibrāhīm II appointed him governor of Bijapur and guardian of his son Fath Khān. It is interesting to note that he calls the first three and even the fourth ruler of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty by their names without the epithet Shāh, although there are definite inscriptions of the fourth ruler Ibrāhīm I wherein he is called Shāh. It is also interesting that he has traced the genealogy of the founder of the dynasty, Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān to Mahmūd Bēg of Sāwah in Central Asia, not to Mahmūd the Ottoman Sultān as is sometimes asserted.

About his method he says: "It was necessary to put on record the activities and dealings of certain rajas of the country who were ruling here from the days of the infancy of I lam. In this way I made extensive investigations and carried on thorough research and have linked them after close examination with the thread of the narrative. And whenever I happened to observe personally I have compiled that matter as well." He gives an account of Malik 'Ambar, throwing new light on his life and career, and has some highly interesting observations on the Ellora cave temples.

But there are certain matters which the author has included on hearsay, and they have to be discounted. Thus like Ferishta he gives a position of authority to "Gangū Pandit" during the rule of the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty and narrates some supernatural stories about Hazrat Sirāju d-dīn Junaibī, the patron-saint of the early Bahmanīs. There is one rather significant

remark about Tājū d dīn Firōz Shāh which runs counter to the Sultān's private life as given by Ferīshṭa and that is the observation that he had only one wife. On the whole some of the details in *Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk* are well worth consideration and fill in certain lacunae left by other chroniclers.

Except for the first chapter of the book, which was published in the Hyderabad Journal "*Tārīkh*", many years ago, the book has not seen the light of print while some manuscripts are found in the Salar Jung Library at Hyderabad and in the British Museum. The late Sir Jadunath Sarkar had also a copy and it was probably made for him from the British Museum copy. Only the portion relating to the Bahmanīs has been translated into English by Major King as a supplement to his translation of portions of the *Buhān-Ma āthi*.

### *Futūhāt-i 'Ādil Shāhī*

This work was compiled by Muhammad Hāshim Fuzūnī Astrābādī in compliance, with the orders of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh, between 1051/1641 and 1054/1643. As its name shows it is the history of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty and it is particularly valuable as the sources book for the reigns of Ibrāhīm II and Muhammad. It gives glimpses of the literary life at the court and adds to our information about Malik 'Ambar. The work is divided into six chapters dealing respectively with the reigns of Yūsuf 'Ādil, Ismā'īl 'Ādil, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, Alī 'Ādil Shāh, Ibrāhīm II 'Ādil Shāh and Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh, the last two chapters covering nearly two-third of the whole. At the end of the fifth chapter are notices of the poets who lived at the court of Ibrāhīm II.

The only known copy of the *Futūhāt* is in the British Museum, and a photostat copy is in the Bombay Record Office, while a hand written copy was in the library of Sir Jadunath Sarkar. It is probably due to the uniqueness of the manuscript that it is only rarely mentioned by research scholars. It is again only in 'Abdu'n-Nabī's *Maikhānah* that a notice of the author's life appears.

### *Muhammad Nāmā*

This book by Zuhūr bin Zuhūrī was compiled during the reigns of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II and Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh and brings down the chronicle to 1646. An interesting feature is that it gives the dates of certain social functions, marriages, 'urses of Muslim saints and construction of some royal palaces. It thus throws considerable light on the social history of Bijapur. It also describes the southern campaigns of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh.

Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Zubairī has utilised a part of *Muhammad Nāmā* in his *Basā'ir-nu's-Salātīn*, but he says that it was only stray leaves of the book which

he could collect. He says (p. 343) that it was in Shuhūr 1051 (corresponding to 1061/1650) that Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh commissioned Mullā Zuhūr to compile a history of the reign on the basis and model of Rafī‘u’d-dīn Shīrāzī’s *Tadhkiratu’l-Mulūk*.

*Muhammad Nāmā* is a rare book. A copy is preserved in the collection of Sir Jadunath Sarkar which is itself a copy of the manuscript stocked in the Kapuithala Library, dated 1782. There are two other copies of *Muhammad Nāmā*, one in the Bijapur Museum and another in the Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad.

An English rendering of all the historical material in this book was made by B. D. Verma and published under the title “History in Muḥammad Nāmā” in *Shivaji Nibandhavalī*, II, Poona, 1931, 73-134. It is this translation that has been laid under contribution along with the Sarkar MS. loaned by the late Sir Jadunath Sarkar on more than one occasion. References in Volume I, Chapter VII are to Prof. Verma’s translation.

#### *Guldasta Gulshan-i Rāz*

The full name of the work is *Guldasta Gulshan-i Rāz dar ta’rīf Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh*. It covers the reign of Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shah up to 1648 when probably it was compiled. But the unique manuscript in the Cambridge University Library is defective towards the end. Many facts given in the manuscript corroborate the events described in Zuhūr’s *Muhammad Nāmā*.

#### *Tārīkh ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāhī*

The author of this work is Qāzī Nūru’l-lāh whose ancestors migrated to Bijapur from Gujarat on its occupation by the Mughals in 981/1573. *Basāṭī nu’s-Salāṭīn* mentions it both in the Introduction (p. 4) and while giving short sketches of the lives of eminent personages who flourished in the time of Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh (p. 334) and says that Qāzī Nūru’l-lāh was one of the prominent persons present on the occasion of ‘Āli’s burial (p. 431).

This book, which was written by the order of the Sultān, deals with events up to 1071/1659. Like *Hadīqatu’s-Salāṭīn* the author uses some highly bombastic words and sentences to describe even matter-of-fact events, but we can glean some valuable facts from the book. Four out of ten chapters are devoted to purely political and military affairs, while the remaining chapters deal with the social activities of the Court which are of importance to a student of the social history of the period. The book is also called *Inshā-i ‘Ādil Shāhīyah* owing to its ornate composition and diction.

It was edited by Abu’n-Naṣr Muḥammad Khālīdī and printed at Hyderabad in 1964.

A manuscript copy of this work was made for Sir Wolseley Haig at Hyderabad early in this century. This is now with Dr P M Joshi. References in Chapter V are to this manuscript copy.

### *‘Alī Nāmā*

*‘Alī Nāmā*, a long poem in Dakhnī—one of the first historical poems in that language—is by the famous Dakhnī poet Mīr Nusrat whose *takhallus* was “Nusratī”. The author lived right through three reigns, viz., of Muhammad, ‘Alī II and Sikandar, and died in 1086/1675. The poem, which contains odes and laudatory pieces, was compiled in 1075/1674. From its very nature it is full of exaggeration in the description of royal exploits, but it must be said that the language is so vivid that it visualises actual action, proceedings of the royal councils, recruitment and equipment of the Bijapur army and other matters of interest to a student of history.

*‘Alī Nāmā* was edited by ‘Abdu’l-Majeed Siddiqui and published at Hyderabad in 1959.

### *Basātīnū’s-Salatīn*

This comprehensive history of the ‘Ādil Shāhīs, ranging from the foundation of the monarchy to its dissolution in 1686, and carried on to British hegemony consequent on the last Maratha war in 1818, is by Mirza Ibrāhīm Zubairī. As is clear from p. 571 of the printed edition, it was compiled eight years before the occupation of the Maratha region by the British, and this answers to 1811. It was printed in 1310/1892-3. Though it is a late work and not contemporary to the medieval period, it has the value of an original source as the author has utilised some of the most important sources of the ‘Ādil Shāhī history namely *Ferīšta*, Zuhūr’s *Muhammad Nāmā*, Shīrāzī’s *Tadhkiratu’l-Mulūk*, Syed Nūru’l-lah’s *Tārīkh-i ‘Ādil Shāhī*, Khāfī Khān’s *Muntakhabu’l-Lubāb*, and Shaikh Abdu’l-Hasan’s *Hālat-i ‘Ādil Shāhīyah*, and has sometimes quoted the very words of his source book. As regards Zuhūr’s *Muhammad Nāmā* and Abu’l-Hasan’s book, Zubairī says that he could only get stray leaves of these two and has put them into some kind of order.

There is a controversy regarding the authorship of the *Basātīn*, and Rieu (I, 319) ascribes the book to one Ghulām Murtaẓā, and under MSS. Add. 24082 and 25421 it is related that the author was known to Grant Duff who calls him a “Pīrzādah and Sāhib-i Hazrat”. But this surmise of Rieu regarding the authorship of the *Basātīn* seems to be wrong as Grant Duff nowhere ascribes the authorship to “Sāhib-i Hazrat”. Evidently Rieu mixes up the work with another one entitled *Salātīn-i Bijapur* by Ghulām Muhiyū’d-dīn Sāhib-i Hazrat who completed his History in 1227/1821. It might be mentioned that *Basātīn* was completed in 1811 not 1227/1821, the date suggested by Rieu.

The only manuscript of *Aḥwāl-i Salāṭin-i Bijapur* is housed in the British Museum. It was completed in 1221/1806 not 1821 as Grant Duff has it.

An Urdu rendering of the *Basāṭin* in dēvanāgarī script was prepared by Muhammad Fazlul Haq (Ahmadmīyan) and published at Baroda in 1895. A very fine translation of the whole work was made in Marathi by Bābā Narsingrao Parasnis at Satara in 1850 under orders from Sir Birtle Frere. The MSS of this translation are in the Modi script. Dr Joshi had the opportunity to compare this translation at the India Office Library with the Persian text. He has in his possession one of the copies made at Satara. This excellent work was published in 1968 by the Ithā, Samshodhan Mandal of the *Mumbai Marathi Grantha Samgrahālaya*.

(iii) *Golkonda-Hyderabad*

*Nisbat Nāmā-i Shahryārī* (Asiatic Society)

*Nasab Nāmā-i Qutb Shāhī* (Asiatic Society)

*Tawārīkh-i Qutb Shāhī* (India Office)

*Tawārīkh-i Qutb Shāhī* (Siraj Jung)

The reign of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh seems to have been prolific for the compilation of versified histories of the dynasty as the four books (all in manuscript) were compiled in his reign.

The *Nisbat Nāmā-i Shahryārī* or *Nasab Nāmā-i Qutb Shāhī* is mentioned under No. 22 in Sprenger's Catalogue of the Manuscripts which were housed in the Mōṭī Maḥal Library of Wājid 'Alī Shāh, the last King of Oudh. Sprenger says that the name of the author Fursī occurs on page 5 line 6 but "in the postscript the authorship is ascribed to Hirālāl Khushdil Secretary to Prince Haidar-Qulī Khān."

Sprenger himself refers to a faithful copy of the work in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, done at Lahore, but here at the very commencement the name of the book is mentioned as *Tawārīkh-i Qutb Shāhī*. There are in fact two voluminous books of the name *Nasab Nāmā-i Qutb Shāhī* in the Asiatic Society (Ivonow, 690 and 691), both ending in the first year of Muhammad-Qulī's reign, and both once belonged to the College of Fort William in Calcutta. Ivonow says that the name Husain 'Alī is mentioned only at the end of a certain ode dedicated to Imām Husain and it may well connote "Husain-i 'Alī" or Husain son of 'Alī and may have nothing to do with the name of the author.

The work is divided into four maqālās or cantos, the first two dealing with the Bahmanī Sultāns, the third bringing the narrative down to Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and the fourth relating to the first year of Muhammad-Qulī's reign.

The other manuscript, also called *Nasab Nāmā Qutb Shāhī* (Ivonow, 691) is a poem of the same content but half its size, while the name *Fursī* appears in three places,

The third manuscript, *Tawārīkh-i Qutb Shāhī* (Ethe 1486) is similar to the above two, and is like them dedicated to Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh. The author, who chooses to remain anonymous, says that he was engaged in the work for ten years. He also divides his narrative into four cantos bringing the narrative to the reign of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh.

The fourth manuscript (Salar Jung, Adab-i Fārsī, 1011) is like the three preceding works, a metrical history of the Qutb Shāhīs and was also completed in the reign of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh. It is written in beautiful *nasta'liq*, covers barely 55 folios with 29 lines to a page and is evidently incomplete as frames are left for vignettes to be introduced later. It ends its narrative with Muhammad-Qulī's accession. The manuscript contains certain useful data not found anywhere else such as Jamshīd's remorse for his father's murder and some interesting details of the "Battle on the banks of the Krishna" of January 1565. The name of the author is nowhere mentioned, and it is possible that the colophon has either been lost or left out.

*Tārīkh-i Sultān Muhammad Qutb Shāh, or Tārīkh-i Qutb Shāhī*

This comprehensive history of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty was compiled under the orders of Sultān Muhammad Qutb Shāh and brings the narrative to 1026/1617. The author, who chooses to be anonymous, says in his Introduction that he had before him "a larger history by one of the officers of the Sultān" which he condensed and added to it other facts bearing on the history of the period. In spite of this condensation the author has a full data regarding various events. He traces the genealogy of the dynasty from the Qarā Qūyunlū tribe, and gives us information about the motive which first brought the founder of the dynasty, Sultān Qulī to the Deccan. He not merely describes the events at the court and the campaigns undertaken but also surveys the public works of the dynasty and their patronage of literature, giving details of the *raison d'être* of the foundation of Hyderabad and the scheme of its lay-out with many details. The author completed this work in Sha'bān 1026/July 1617.

It is noticeable that in the table of contents of the book the first three rulers of the dynasty, Sultān-Qulī, Jamshīd and Subhān are without the royal title while the first with the title of Shāh is Ibrāhīm. The author gives a full data regarding the events in Tīlang right up to the compilation of the work which is indispensable for a student of Qutb Shāhī history.

*Ma'āthir-i Qutb Shāhī*

The above narrative was later brought up to 1038/1629 by Muhammad b 'Abdu'l-lāh Nīshāpurī in his *Ma'āthir-i Qutb Shāhī*. The author entered the service of Muhammad-Qulī Qutb Shāh in 995/1587 and began to write the book in 1033/1624 completing it in five years. Although the book is named after

the Qutb Shāhī dynasty and brings the narrative down to the year of Muḥammad Qutb Shāh's death: it deals in some detail with the history of Iran in which he stops at the death of Shāh 'Abbās II. Only a portion of the original work which was in three volumes, has come down to us, and its unique copy is in the India Office Library (Eihe 436)

### *Hadīqatū's Salātīn*

The voluminous though pompous history of the first 19 (not sixteen as in Storey) years of the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh was written by Mirzā Nizām al-dīn Ahmad at the instance of the pēshwā Muḥammad ibn Khātūn. It purports to be a chronicle of events from the birth of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh on 21 November 1614, to 1 January 1644. The period was one of the political decline of the Kingdom which had become a virtual protectorate of the Mughals by the Deed of Submission of 1636, and the Sultān had to seek favour from those in power at Delhi by abject letters written to them. Yet the author of the *Hadīqā* represents him a mighty monarch describing him with great bombast and giving details of various functions at the capital and the progress of the Sultān to the east coast. Muḥammad Sa'id Mir Jumla was unfurling the Qutb Shāhī flag at Gandikōta and on eminences as far south as St Thomas Mount and perhaps preparing for the day when he would cross over to the Mughal camp as Mu'azzam Khān.

The book has its useful points. It is like a diary of the court in which day to day postings of court and military officers, the duties and functions of the Pēshwā and other ministers, the affairs of *Majlis-i Dīnāndārī* or Privy Council and other affairs of state which are described with considerable punctiliousness. It also gives a fairly correct picture of the social life of the people, their ceremonies and the cordial relations which existed between various sections of the population, the position of hājibs or envoys, both permanent and extraordinary. Thus the book is a veritable storehouse of the data, at times exaggerated, of the Qutb Shāhī Kingdom under 'Abdu'l-lāh

### *Hadā'iqū's-Salātīn*

The full name of the book is *Hadā'iqū's-Salātīn fī Kalāmu'l-Khawāqin* or "The Gardens of the Sultāns and the poetical compositions of Kings." The author, 'Alī b. Taifūr Bisṭāmī, says that it was at the instance of Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shāh that he completed the work in 1092/1681. It is not a book on political history but a compendium of the biographies of eminent personages of Iran and India (including the Mughals) who wrote Persian poetry or were eminent prose writers. Our interest also lies in the letters of some of the kings, ministers and others of eminence which have been reproduced. Although the times were fast moving towards the final dissolution of the Qutb Shāhī monarchy in 1687, there was sufficient life and hope in the air, for the author



ends the narrative with a prayer that "the power and prestige of His Majesty should last for ever more!"

*Collections of Official Letters of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh*

- (1) *Makātib-i Sultān 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh* (Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad)
- (2) *'Aīā'iz wa Ittihād-nāmā-jāt wa Farāmīn-i 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh* (Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Karachi)
- (3) *Inshā-i 'Abdu'l-'Alī Khān Tāliqānī*, (Salar Jung Library)

These three very important collections of letters and farmāns of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh and certain important personages of his reign give us valuable information about the political position of the Kingdom after the Deed of Submission of 1636 which virtually sealed the fate of the Kingdom. The Karachi manuscript is a transcript of the Salar Jung manuscript with minor deletions and additions. The last actual date mentioned in the collection is Rajab 1072/February-March 1662, being the day of the marriage of the King's third daughter to Mīrzā Abu l-Ḥasan who was destined to be the last ruler of the dynasty. The third collection contains letters common to the other two but also others some of which have no bearing on the history of the Deccan. The three collections contain 'Abdu'l-lāh's letters, among others, to Shāh 'Abbās II of Iran, Shah Jahan, Dara Shikoh, Prince Aurangzeb, Princess Jahanārā Bēgum, 'Alī 'Adil Shāh II, the Qutb Shāhī envoys to the 'Adil Shāhī and the Mughal Courts and other highly important personages of the period. They are extremely valuable as they furnish us an objective estimate of the domestic and State policy in the later part of the reign.

*Ādab 'Ālamgīrī*

These letters of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr written by him firstly as the Viceroy of the Deccan and then as Emperor, are a kind of counterpart of 'Abdu'l-lāh's letters so far as the Deccan is concerned. They were compiled by Qābil Khān who was Private Secretary to the Emperor. There are at least two copies in Hyderabad, one at the Salar Jung Library and another at the State Central (Asafiyah) Library. A dozen other copies are interspersed in other important libraries and they have been listed by Najīb Ashraf Nadawī in his valuable book *Ruqqa'āt-i 'Ālamgīr*, where he says that the dated Asafiyah copy of 1115/1703-4 is the oldest. In the Salar Jung Library copy there are 39 letters addressed to "Qutbu'l-Mulk" by the Emperor while there as many as 73 letters addressed to Muhammad Sa'id both before and after he defected to the Mughal camp.

These letters are important as they show the inner psychology of the Emperor regarding the problems he had to face in the Deccan, and it is interesting

to note how their tone varies with the ebb and flow of Imperial fortunes. But his attitude of disdain and contempt towards the Quṭb Shāhī monarchy remains constant.

### *Telugu poems bearing on the Quṭb Shāhīs*

There is no history proper of the Quṭb Shāhīs in Telugu but there are some long poems which have a bearing on Quṭb Shāhī history, and owing to the paucity of connected material in that language they are of importance. Thus Addankī Gangādhara Kavī's *Īpātī Samvāranamu* describes the extent of the conquests of Sultān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk as also Ibrāhīm's campaigns against Rajahmundry and Srikākulam and further up to the confines of Orissa. He offers encomiums on Sultān Qulī as a monarch and gives us an insight into Ibrāhīm's court. In the same way the anonymous author of the large poem *Chaturpādyamanī manjari* describes in some detail the patronage accorded to Telugu by Ibrāhīm. A third important poem with a mythological subject matter, *Yāyatī charitamu* by Pennaganti Teleganāra has a bearing on the social set-up of the Kingdom. From the purely historical point of view we are concerned with its dedicatory Introduction for in it the author gives a fairly long account of a court official of Ibrāhīm named Amīn Khān, his social service and the general set-up of the village society.

As has been noted above, an interesting set of compositions in Telugu are long laudatory poems which were recited in the courts of Kings and feudal nobles, such as those collected in the form of *Velugōtivarivamsavali*. From the very nature of these odes we have to expect only praise, at times exaggerated, of the subjects of the poems.

We have then a mass of village *kāfiyats* which had their origin in the *kavīlēs* kept by the village *karnam* or revenue officers containing conditions of the village in all its aspects as well as contemporary events having a bearing on the locality. The collection is named after Colonel Mackenzie who collected them or else had their copies prepared. It was only the gists of these *kāfiyats* or narratives which are collectively known as Mackenzies Manuscripts. These *kāfiyats* are "an admixture of legend and history", the legendary elements preponderating in the accounts of the early period, and the research worker has to sift one from the other.

### *5 Marathi Sources*

The compositions of the poet saints of Mahārāshtra are useful source material as they give information about the life of the people and tell us how Muslim rule affected its tenor. The *Jñānēśwari*, composed in 1290 by the greatest of the Maratha poet saints, helps in understanding social conditions and life of the people at the advent of the first Khajī raid in 1296. Nāmadēva, a contem-

porary of Jñānēswar, outlived him and passed away at Pandharpūr in 1350 after the declaration of Bahmanī independence. His poetic compositions, the *Abhangas* make some references to the iconoclastic zeal of the 'Turukas'. Both the *Jñānēswari* and the *Abhangas* describe a part of Maharashtra life and are held in veneration to this day. They helped the people in coming to an understanding with the ways of life of the invaders during the period of confrontation.

The books of the *Mahānubhavas*, a dissident sect of Hinduism, are important as they vividly portray the phases of the people's life at the time of the incursions of Malik Kāfūr and under Muhammad bin Tughluq. The earliest of these, the *Rukminī Swayamvara* of Narēndra, recited first at the court of Rāmadēva Yadava, makes vivid references to the valour and speed of the 'Turuka' horsemen known in the Deccan even before they descended on that land. The consternation caused by the armies of Malik Kāfūr during the second Khaljī expedition to the Deccan is described in the *Smṛitisthala* which also tells us about the captivity of Rāmadēva Yadava, his being taken to Delhi, his return to his capital and the subsequent peaceful period. It also mentions how Muhammad bin Tughluq used to hold theological and philosophical discussions with Hindu sophists and ascetics. This work is a corpus of the reminiscences of memoirs of *Mahānubhava* elders and covers the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, being finally put into shape towards the close of the fourteenth. References in Volume I, Chapter II are to the second edition edited by W N. Deshpande and published in Poona in 1960.

The *Sthānapōthi* is another *Mahānubhava* work completed about 1353. It is useful for its topographical details. It has been edited by V B. Kolte and published at Malkāpūr, Berar.

The *Riddhipura Varnāna* of Nārāyan Vyas Bahaliyē or Naro Vyāsa, written after 1363, is valuable for information regarding feasts and festivals and the general food habits of the people. It also gives useful glimpses into the political set-up in the *Khāndesh* region during the last half of the fourteenth century. It has been edited and published by Y K. Deshpande.

The *Riddhipura Mahātmya* of Kṛishṇa Munī, known also as Dimbh Kavi, composed in the fifteenth century gives information about the geographical extent of medieval *Mahārāshtra*. It has been edited by Y M. Pathan and published by the Prāchīn Sāhitya Prakāshan, Sholāpūr, 1967.

The spread of the Dattātreya cult in the Deccan was due to the preaching of Nṛsiṃha Saraswatī, the sage of Gangāpur. It sought to bring about a synthesis of Hindu and Sūfī mystic ideas by giving the Hindu deity the garb of a Malang or Muslim faqīr. The sage lived during the fifteenth century and had a disciple named Sayamdēva. A descendent of this Sayamdēva, Saraswatī

Gangādhara, composed during the second half of the sixteenth century a work named *Gurūcharitra* describing the career of the sage of Gangāpūr his relations with the Sultāns of Bidar and his miracles. The work was based on the oral traditions and information passed on by Sayamdēva to his son and grandson, the latter of whom handed over this corpus to his grandson Saraswati Gangādhara. It is a composition of great human interest and an important source material for our study. Like the work of the poet-saints of Mahārāshtra, the *Gurūcharitra* has won for itself a place in the spiritual life of the people of Mahārāshtra throughout the centuries and is held in great veneration as a sacred text by a large number of the Maratha people. It is published by many agencies and has passed through a number of editions. The work is a document of historical and social interest and helps us in seeing Bahmanī rule in its proper perspective. The references in Volume I Chapter II (Appendix) are from the sixth edition brought out by Ramachandra Krishna Kamat and published by Dhavale, Bombay, 1968.

Except in the Quṭb Shāhī Kingdom Marathi seems to have been the most dominant language in the states of medieval Deccan. State documents of Bijapur, Bidar and Ahmadnagar though issued in Persian, were as a rule accompanied by a Marathi version in mōḍī script. A large volume of such documents has been published by Rajwade in his *Marāṭhī ānchya Itihāsachi Sādhane* as well as by the Bhārata Itihāsa Samshōdhaka Mandala, Poona in its quarterly Journal and other publications.

Inscriptions in Marathi, pertaining to medieval period, though only a few in number, supplement the sources indicated above. These have been edited by S. G. Tulpule in *Prachīn Marāṭhī Kōṛiva Lēkha* and published by the University of Poona in 1963. Barīd Shāhī bilingual inscriptions, Persian and Marathi, have been published in the *Epigraphia Indo-Islamica* 1937-38 and other issues. The *Jēdhē Shakāvalī*, a chronological record of notes of historical interest kept by the Jēdhē family of Karī is a factual document covering the seventeenth century. The Jēdhēs were a prominent dēshmukh family under the 'Adil Shāhīs who threw in their lot with Shivaji after his rise to power. This family chronicle mentions many events in which Malik 'Ambar, Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II and their contemporaries played a part and it goes on to deal with the events connected with the career of Shivaji and his successors. The first entry in this chronology records the birth of Aurangzeb and the last relates to the siege of Jinjī by the Mughals in 1697. It has been published in *Proceedings of the Bhārata Itihāsa Sanshōdhaka Mandala*, Poona, 1917, and also in the *Shiva charitra Pradeep* published by the same Mandala in S 1847/1925.

A careful study of the Marathi material reveals that the rule of the Sultānātes in the Deccan was generally beneficent and showed regard for the welfare of the subjects to whatever persuasion they belonged.

6 "*Mughal or North Indian Chronicles with a bearing on Deccan History*"

While we have some detailed chronicles of the Deccan Sultānates with a certain amount of hyperbole, and encyclopædic works like *Tārīkh-i Ferishta* written in the Deccan, such works stop when the period of decadence and struggle for survival sets in. Henceforward we have to fall back on chronicles and histories compiled in north India either at the command of Mughal Emperors or else in the hope of reward from them. There are two traits running almost right through these chronicles. Most of them relate events in a strictly chronological order giving not only years and months but actual dates of various events related, and secondly they are derogatory when mentioning the names and territories of the Bahmanī Succession States. They completely ignore the royal status of the Sultāns and write about them simply as 'Ādil Khān Nizāmu'l-Mulk, Quṭbu'l-Mulk and collectively as "Dunyādārān-i Dakan" or "Marzbānān-i Dakan".

The practice of having the chronicles based on reports from Imperial officers started with Akbar, and this naturally resulted in correct chronological sequences. But it also meant partiality towards the acts and character of the Emperor on the throne, good or bad, and an attempt to raise him above everyone else. This has reached its acme in Abu'l-Fazl's *Akbar Nāmā*, which is full of exaggerations albeit its extreme value as a source of information. The third volume of the *Akbar Nāmā*, the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* is a social, administrative and economic encyclopaedia of the Empire under Akbar. So far as Mughal relations with "Nizāmu l-Mulk" "the Marzbān of Khāndēsh", "'Ādil Khān" and "Quṭbu'l-Mulk" are concerned he brings their history up to the Battle of the Godavari where the Imperial army defeated the confederacy of the Deccan powers in 1597.

The text was published under orders of the Maharaja of Patiala at Lucknow in 1867. *Akbar Nāmā* has been translated by Beveridge and *Ā'in-i Akbarī* by Blochmann and Jarret. It is interesting to note that the first fully edited and lithographed edition of *Ā'in-i Akbarī* was brought out by Syed Ahmad Khān in 1855.

*Akbar Nāmā* revolves round the person of the Emperor and may be said to be his life history up to the forty-fourth year of his reign. But it can hardly be called a general history of India, a title which may well be accorded to *Tabaqāt-i Akbar Shāhī* (*Tārīkh-i Nizāmī*), by Nizāmu'd-dīn Ahmad who was the Bakhshī or Paymaster of Gujarat. The book was completed, as its name shows, in Akbar's reign, in 1001/1592-3. There is not a great deal about the Deccan Kingdoms in the *Tabaqāt*, and the author casts a mere glance over the history of Ahmadnagar up to Burhān I, Bijapur up to Ibrāhīm II and Tīlang up to Muhammad-Qulī. In spite of the paucity of space he devotes to them he is not always correct.

As its name shows *Ma'āthir-i Rahimī* was written under the patronage and direction of 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān Khān-i Khānān, who played such an important part in history of medieval Deccan. The author 'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nihāwandī was born in a village near Nihāwand in Persia and reached Burhānpūr, then the capital of Mughal Deccan in 1614. The Mughal Viceroy 'Abdu'r Rahīm Khān Khān-i Khānān welcomed him and commissioned him to write a comprehensive history, which he completed in 1616. It is practically a record of 'Abdu'r Rahīm Khān's work as a general and an administrator, with a long prologue of the history of Medieval India as a backdrop. The work is divided into an Introduction and four parts, the second dealing partly with the history of Gujarat, the Deccan and Khāndēsh. He accepts his obligation to *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī Shāhī* for the accounts of the period 963/1556 to 1002/1593-94. The text of the *Ma'āthir* was published in Calcutta in 1924.

As is well-known the Deccan came into full lime-light in the reign of Jahangir, and we have detailed information about the stirring events of the Deccan in the Emperor's *Tōzūk*. This and Muhammad Hāshim's *Iqbāl Nāmā-i Jahāngirī* are two indispensable records of the whole of Jahāngir's reign although they are, naturally, prejudiced against the "black faced" 'Ambar and speak derogatingly of the rulers of the Deccan. The *Tōzūk* was dictated by the Emperor himself for the first seventeen years of his reign, and was, at his command, completed by Mu'tamad Khān. The *Tōzūk* is a work of great value as the Emperor describes even his weaknesses and is candid almost to a fault, such as when he takes the full responsibility of Abu'l-Fazl's murder on himself. Mu'tamad Khān's *Iqbāl Nāmā* is an independent work though as far as the record of the first nineteen years of the reign are concerned it is an abridgement of the *Tōzūk*. The form of book is, as is in the case of Mughal histories, chronological. It is in three volumes the first two being a short of prologue to the third dealing with the reign of Jahangir. Apart from other matters pertaining to Deccan history it gives the text of the Malik 'Ambar's letters to Imperial officer at Burhānpūr.

*Tōzūk-i Jahāngirī* was translated into English by Rogers and Beveridge and published in London in 1909, while the *Iqbāl Nāmā* was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The two chief chronicles of Shah Jahan's reign, 'Abdu'l-Hamid Lāhōrī's *Bādshāh Nāmā* (Bibl. Indica, 1867) and Muhammad Swāleh Kambō's *Amal-i Swāleh* (Bibl. Indica, 1927-39) contain valuable information about Bijapur and Hyderabad. The former was compiled by the order of the Emperor and was completed in 1654 bringing the annals to the twentieth year of his reign. It gives details of events date-wise and includes the Emperor's relations with the Deccan States, the internal conditions of Sultānates, the details of the transactions leading to the two Deeds of Submission of 1636 and many other

matters of importance to the historian. It gives the interesting information that the village of Kherāpurā was the frontier between the Qutb Shāhī dominions and Mughal Orissa.

The '*Amal-i Swāleh*' was completed eleven years after *Bādshāh Nāmā*, in 1665. It is more concise than Lāhōrī's book but is as particular about dates. Some of the facts mentioned, however, are interesting, such as the details of the defection of Muhammad Sa'id Mīr Jumlā to the Mughal camp, the march of Prince Aurangzeb to Golkonda and its siege and the conditions imposed on the hapless "Qutbu'l-Mulk". At the end of the book the author gives valuable information about poets, physicians and writers of Shah Jahan's reign. Although Kambō does not go into as many details as *Bādshāh Nāmā* still he fills many a blank in the general record of Deccan history in Shah Jahan's reign.

Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr's reign is primarily represented by Mīrzā Muhammad Kāzīm's '*Ālamgīr Nāmā*' and Muhammad Sāqī Musta'id Khān's *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*'. '*Ālamgīr Nāmā*' is the history of the first ten years of the Emperor's reign and was compiled on the basis of State papers, reports of news-writers and other valuable data furnished by Imperial officers. But when the tenth year was reached the Emperor suddenly forbade not only its further continuity but also the publication of what had already been written. This he did because "the cultivation of inward piety was preferable to the ostentatious display of one's achievements" (E and D, VII, 174). Even the department of official history was closed. It was not till the Emperor's death in 1707 that Muhammad Sāqī Musta'id Khān took it upon himself to complete the history left incomplete by Muhammad Kāzīm. This he did in the form of *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, Musta'id Khān had held a number of offices and also acted as *waqā'i-navīs*.

Like all official chronicles the *Ma'āthir* has been written in a chronological order. It consists of two parts and an appendix, Part 1 is a condensation of Kāzīm's '*Ālamgīr Nāmā*', Part 2 is a record of the last forty years of the Emperor's reign, while the Appendix consists of the Emperor's anecdotes and *bons mots*. While the whole book is extremely valuable for the reign, the Deccan campaigns are particularly full and cover Aurangzeb's campaigns against the Marathas, the subjugation of Bijapur and Golkonda and the establishment of Mughal hegemony in south India. It is interesting that the book was first rendered into English by Henry Vansittart as early as 1783.

Perhaps the last chronicle, if chronicle it may be called, written in the period under review is that of Mīrzā Nūru'd-dīn Ni'mat Khān (*takhallus*, 'Ālī), entitled *Dānishmand Khān*, and later Muqarrab Khān, whose well-known work, variously called *Waqā'i' Ni'mat Khān-i 'Ālī* and *Waqā'i' Hyderabad*, is a satirical account of the final siege and capture of Golkonda and the end of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty. It is partly in prose and partly in verse, and the facility

with which he passes from the serious to the jovial makes it difficult to disentangle facts from imagination. He was, however, an eyewitness of the facts he relates, and being the keeper of Aurangzeb's jewels and his confidant, he was present, right through the siege of Golkonda. He died three years after the Emperor and lies buried in the great Shī'ah necropolis of Hyderabad, the *Dā'irā* of Mīr Mu'min.

The last important work, not contemporary with the period under review but which is a gist of works which preceded it, is Muḥammad Hāshim Khāfi Khān's *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb*, which was completed in 1733. It has already been related that after the tenth year of his reign Aurangzeb did not want an account of his rule to be put into writing, and Muhammad Hāshim had to wait till the reign of Muhammad Shāh before he could publish this great work. Hāshim's father had been in the service of the ill-fated Prince Murād Bakḥsh and was later employed by Aurangzeb, on whose death he was made *dīwān* by Nizāmu'l-Mulk Āsaf Jāh I. He took the opportunity of recording what was going on in the Empire, but under the interdict of the Emperor he could publish it only after his death. It is in the third volume of this voluminous history that Khāfi Khān deals with the history of the Deccan from the invasions of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khālji to the Bahmanīs and the Bahmanī Succession States, and apart from *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī* he is our chief authority on the history of the Mughals in the Deccan ending in the establishment of the Āsaf Jāhī dynasty.

## 7 The Portuguese

The Portuguese were the first European nation to have come to India with the avowed ambition to create an Empire on this subcontinent, and the last to have left it. As is well-known, it was Vasco da Gama who rounded the Cape of Good Hope and, on the east coast of Africa, procured the services of the pilot Aḥmad ibn Mājīd who brought him to Calicut which was reached in May 1498. But it was not till 1510 that Goa was captured by Affonso de Albuquerque, and with him date the impact of the Portuguese on Indian geography and history. Now that Goa has shed off its isolation and is a part of India it is hoped that its vast archives extending to four centuries would be brought to light, edited, translated and published.

### *Letters and Commentaries of Don Affonso de Albuquerque*

Affonso de Albuquerque was born in 1453 and died in 1515. He was the conqueror of Goa from the 'Ādil Shāhīs and the first Governor-General of Portuguese India. Our major interest in his work lies in his profuse letters, all full of most useful information, which he wrote, among others, to Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān (whom he calls Shaikh Ismā'īl), the ruler of Ormuz, the Rāya of Vijayanagar, and very detailed letters to Dom Manuel, King of Portugal and to high officials both of Portugal and of Bijapur.



It was his natural son, also named Affonso, but known as Bras de Albuquerque (1500-1580) who edited the Governor-General's letters with profuse commentaries in 1557. They were divided into four chapters according to the dates on which they are written. In these letters the reader would find not merely an account of the progress of Portuguese arms in India and administration of Portuguese India but also certain important facts about the history of Vijayanagar, Bijapur and other southern States.

*Garcia de Oita*

It is strange that neither the exact date of the birth or death of this great exponent of Indian botany, who has left such valuable "Colloquies" about India, are known. He reached India in September 1534 and was at Goa till his death which occurred about 1570. He was a Doctor of Medicine. The primary object of his visit to India was to collect data about Indian medicinal drugs, but as a physician he was privileged to visit the courts of Portuguese Viceroys and Indian princes which were barred to most commoners. Thus, almost immediately on his arrival at Goa his services as a physician were requisitioned by Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar who came to have a particular regard for him and who summoned him to his capital many times. He had the opportunity to visit the chief towns of the Kingdom such as Daulatābād and Bidar and to have contact with learned men as well as the commonality of the Deccan. He pays special attention to the Muslim Nawāyats and the Pārsīs and their origin. So far as the early history of North India and of the Deccan Sultānates is concerned his information is second-hand, but he is to a large extent accurate regarding the social, cultural and academic atmosphere of the Deccan of his days.

The "Colloquies" was printed at Goa in 1563 and a facsimile was published at Lisbon in 1963. His comprehensive biography, *Garcia de Oita e seu tempo* was compiled by Ficalho and published in 1886. Passages relating to the history of the Deccan have been translated by Rev. Anthony d'Costa and published in the form of an article entitled "Garcia de Oita as a source of Indian History," in *Indica*, Bombay, for September 1970. An English translation of the "Colloquies" by Sir Clement Markham was published, in a limited edition of 250 copies, in London in 1913.

*Dom João de Castro*

De Castro was born in 1500 and died as the fourth Governor General of Goa at Goa on 5 June 1568. His main work as a source book of Indo-Portuguese history is the *Roteiro* or Log Book of the voyage which the Viceroy de Noronha made from Diu to Goa in 1538-39. De Castro accompanied de Noronha as captain of the ship. The information contained in this Log Book was added on by de Castro himself which he collected during the voyage he made to Goa in 1545, as well as certain letters describing the prevalent

conditions of India. In a letter to Prince Luiz he says that the motive for his own voyage was to collect notes which might be useful to others, such as pertaining to distances between cities and ports, seasons, the condition of the tides etc. In a letter to King John of Portugal he gives an account of the work of the Portuguese in India.

Closely connected with de Castro is his biography by Jacinto Friere de Andrade who was born in 1597 and died in 1657. The book is in four volumes and it gives an objective description of the events of de Castro's life with a complete description of his Viceroyalty right up to his death and burial, and is therefore a veritable storehouse of information about the Viceroy and Portuguese India of his time.

### *Camoëns*

We are not sure of the exact date of the birth of this great Portuguese chronicler. The majority of the writers give 1524 as the date of his birth, and he definitely died on 19 June 1580. In his early years he was attached to the court of King John III of Portugal but it was in 1544-5 that he began composing his great epic *Lusiadas* which deals mainly with the discovery and conquest of Goa by Vasco da Gama. In 1553 he set sail for India arriving at Goa in September. From Goa he went to Malacca and thence to Macao where he wrote a part of his *Lusiadas*. While returning to Goa he was shipwrecked off the Cambodian coast, and it is remarkable how he saved his precious work by holding the bundle in his teeth and swimming ashore. The work describes Vasco da Gama's voyage in ten cantos, each canto itself divided into eight parts. The stress is on da Gama's voyage and his adventures, but at the same time the author depicts his knowledge of the geography of Malabar, the manners and customs of the Indian population, the distribution of the Muslims of Malabar, and the caste system and all that was familiar to him. His work exposes to us a mine of information regarding the social and religious system of south-western India in general and Malabar in particular.

### *João de Barros (1496-1570)*

Barros was attached to the courts of King Manuel and King John III of Portugal. While still barely twenty he was commissioned by Manuel to write a history of India which he compiled in the shape of *Decadas da Asia* in four books. When he was barely twenty-nine he was appointed Treasurer of the House of India and thus had access to all State papers.

The *Decadas* are the history of four decades of Portuguese power in India. The first *decada* deals with Portuguese discoveries in the East, the second with Albuquerque's capture of Goa and his wars with Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, the third with Portuguese wars with Ismā'il 'Ādil Khān and the erection of a fortress at Chaul with the permission of Burhān Nizām Shāh, and the fourth with wars between the various rulers of the Deccan and the unsuccessful attempts by

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I and Asad Khān to drive the Portuguese out of Goa. *Decada* I was published in 1552, *Decada* II in 1553, *Decada* III in 1563, but *Decada* IV was not published till 1615.

Barros had the knowledge not only of his mother tongue and Greek but also of Persian and Arabic, and had the use of the chronicles of the kings of Gujarat and the Deccan as well as the history of Vijayanagar.

He retired in 1567 and died in 1570.

### *Diogo de Couto*

Diogo was really a continuator of Barros. He was born in 1542. His father's death forced him to quit academic learning to take the profession of arms, and sail to the East. He served in the army for eight years after which he shifted again as a civil servant at Goa where he continued his classical and historical studies.

After the accession of Philip II to the Portuguese throne in 1581, Diogo de Couto was appointed to continue the *Decadas* of João de Barros as Chief Chronicler of the Kingdom. It was on 25 February 1595 that he founded the Goa Archives and was nominated its first keeper, in which capacity he had ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with original documents and sources of Indo-Portuguese history. The *Decadas da Asia* consist of the history of nine *Decadas* and as many as ninety books bringing the history down to 1600.

In *Decada* V Diogo de Couto gives a description of the beliefs, rites and ceremonies of the Hindus, the books which are taught in their schools and the differences which existed between their castes. He also describes their marriage ceremonies and general social customs. The following has a modern flavour: "When the bride goes to her husband's home, on no account must she speak to her husband nor they speak to their wives before their parents nor can they name one another before them nor eat together."

Diogo de Couto was the first to identify the legend of Barlaam and Joseph with that of Buddha, in *Decada* V, while *Decada* VI deals with the events of Portuguese India during the Viceroyalty of de Castro, Cabral and de Noronha, particularly the wars with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I and the taking of Diu. *Decada* VII deals with the League of the Sultāns against Vijayanagar culminating in the great battle of January 1565. *Decada* IX deals, among other things, with the relations of the Portuguese with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. *Decada* XI relates the struggle of the Portuguese with the Sultānates of the Deccan, the Zamorin and the Malābārīs in general.

Diogo de Couto could write only up to 1601 in *Decada* XII when he died. This *Decada* describes the condition of north India as well as the relation of the Portuguese with Pegu, China and Japan. He died, aged 74, on 10 December 1616.

8 *European Travellers and Trading Companies*

The Quṭb Shāhī Kingdom saw at least three distinguished Frenchmen who visited it almost simultaneously in the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh. The first, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Baron d'Aubonne, made six voyages to the East ranging from 1638 to 1663. His book, *Travels in India*, first appeared in 1676, and it has been edited by V. Ball and published in 1889. He is not a court chronicler and makes quite a number of mistakes regarding the events at the Palace. But his observations regarding the life of the people in general are extremely valuable. He has traced the roads by which he travelled, the method of transport, the cities through which he passed, the stages on the way and the formalities he had to undergo. Being a dealer in diamonds his detailed description of the mines he visited is unique.

Jean de Thevenot visited the Quṭb Shāhī dominions in 1666-1667. He is careful to note down in his book things he saw, the difficulties he had to undergo and his experiences. He mentions the letters of credit he had to carry which were honoured in outlying parts of the Kingdom, like the modern bills of exchange and travellers' cheques. He also gives a fair description of the Quṭb Shāhī army, the frontiers of the Kingdom as well as its economic conditions. But like Tavernier, his account of the history of the dynasty is meagre and unreliable. Thevenot's work now forms part of the volume *The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, published at New Delhi in 1949.

François Bernier was a doctor by profession and was attached to the court of Shah Jahan. His *History of the late Rebellion in the State of the Great Mogul*, first published in 1670, gives a survey of the economic and political condition of the Mughal Empire. After the battle of Samūgarh he joined the service of Mīrzā Rājā Jai Singh and accompanied him to the Deccan as Captain of Artillery. He became the court physician to Prince Shah 'Ālam (later Bahādur Shah I) in 1678 and was again in the Deccan with him. But mercurial disposition made him join service of the Portuguese at Goa and then of Abu'l-Hasan Quṭb Shāh, and he was at Golkonda when Aurangzeb occupied the citadel. He later moved on to Madras where he died in 1717. Bernier's book has been published by the Oxford University Press with title *Travels in the Mogul Empire*.

Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, which runs into four volumes, is full of his personal observation. Although at times the treatment is slightly exaggerated, it is full of data which is most useful to the historian. He was at Golkonda as physician to Abu'l-Hasan Quṭb Shāh and as such had ample opportunities of observing what was happening at the court. Among his contributions are the two famous groups containing the portraits of all the Quṭb Shāhī and 'Ādil Shāhī Kings respectively which were copied from individual portraits at the Imperial palace by his friend the artist Pīr Muḥammad. The English

translation of the *Storia* was edited by W Irvine and published in four volumes in 1906

Lastly, we have the accounts left to us by the Dutchmen Schoerer and the Englishman Methwold. Schoerer was a factor at the Dutch factory at Masulipatam from 1609 to 1614, and in that capacity had occasion to visit Hyderabad. Being a merchant himself he has given us useful information about the coins current in the Kingdom, the rate of exchange, weights and measures. He also describes the cargo which was loaded and unloaded at Masulipatam, the chief part of the Kingdom.

Methwold, who rose to be the President of the English factory at Surat, was originally employed at Masulipatam and was there from 1619 to 1622. He informs us about the social set-up of the State, its produce and its cattle wealth. The Sultān was so well disposed towards him that he permitted him to visit certain forts of the Kingdom. He gives us an account of the clothes the people wore, their religion and the religious freedom enjoyed in the Kingdom.

Both Schoerer's and Methwold's memoirs have been included in Moreland's *Relations of Golconda*, published in 1931.

A very important source of the economic and cultural history of Medieval Deccan are the records of Dutch, English and French East India Companies. They are essentially "private" records and do not deal directly with the political affairs of the region except in so far as they affect the business of the companies. Still they contain certain data not found in our chronicles and throw considerable light on the social and economic aspects of the life of the people and incidentally on the internecine feuds of the Sultānates of the Deccan. The Dutch stole a march over the English and the French, due mostly to the outlet for their trade at Batavia (mod Jakarta) in Java which soon became a Dutch colony and an emporium for their trade. Although the companies were essentially commercial and interested only in import and export business, they were allowed to fortify their factories, which became small fortresses, and to man them by their own soldiers. They had their "residentiaries" at Indian Courts. These residentiaries did not enjoy ambassadorial immunities, but they were the means of communication between the kings and the factors. The letters they wrote to their principles in India and to the Directors at home register important economic, social and even political data.

The more important records of English Factories have been collected by W Foster and published in eight volumes as *English Factories in India*, 1618-1669, (Oxford, 1906-27) and continued to 1684 by C Fawcett (Oxford, 1936-55). Tapan Rayachaudhuri's *Jan Company in Coromandel*, 1605-1690, contains an analysis of Dutch records relating to India. In the same way S P Sen's *French in India, their Establishment and Struggle* has a fairly clear account of the early French establishments.



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# PLATES





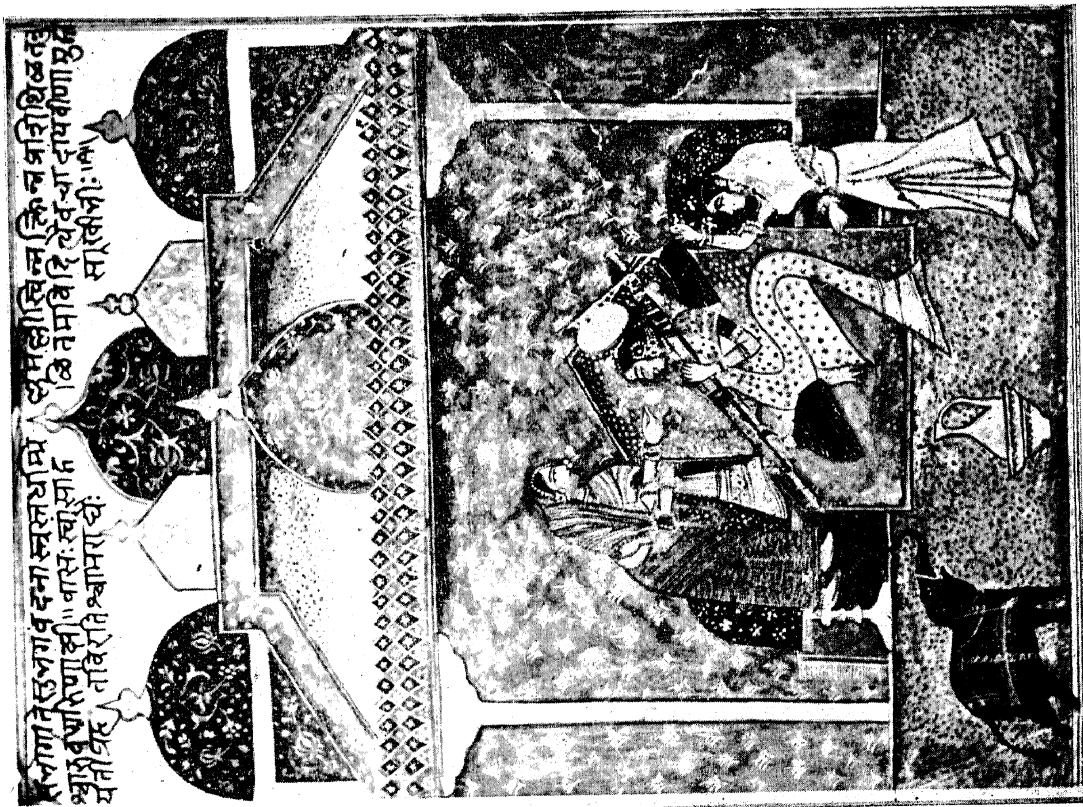
(a) Portrait of Burhān Nizām Shāh II ;  
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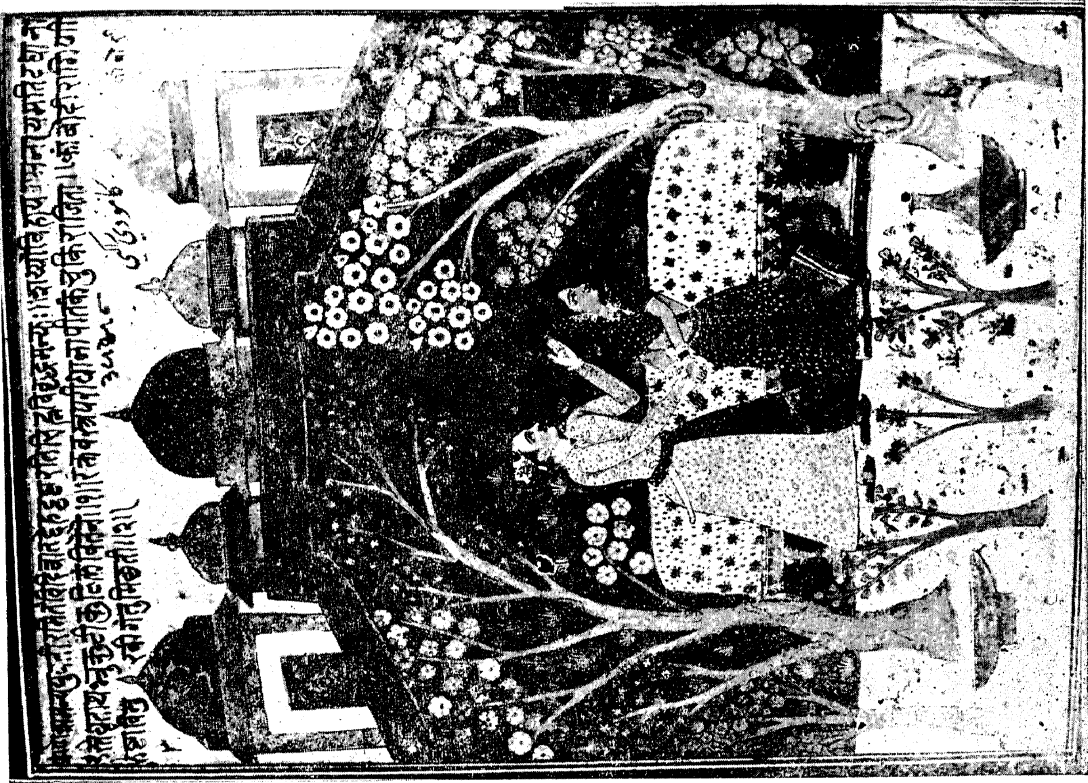
(b) Portrait of Burhān Nizām Shah II ;  
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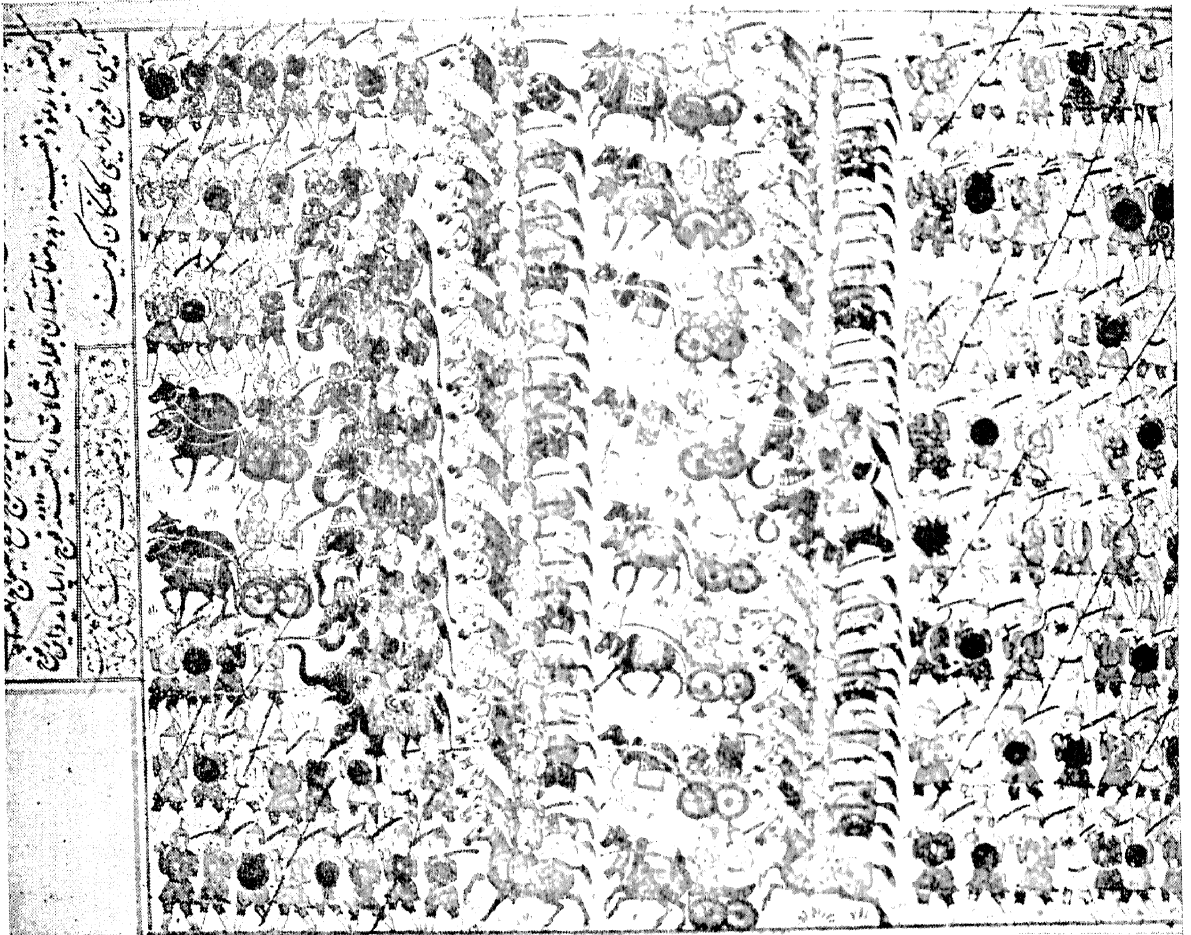
“Battle Scene”; a page from the *Ta'rif Husain Nizām Shāh Bādshāh Dakan*; MS., Ahmadnagar, c. 1565-69; Bharata Itihāsa Sanshodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona.



(a) "Ragini Pata Hansika"; Ahmadnagar, c. 1590 ;  
National Museum, New Delhi.



(b) "Ragini Kambodi"; Ahmadnagar, c. 1660 ; Victoria  
and Albert Museum, London

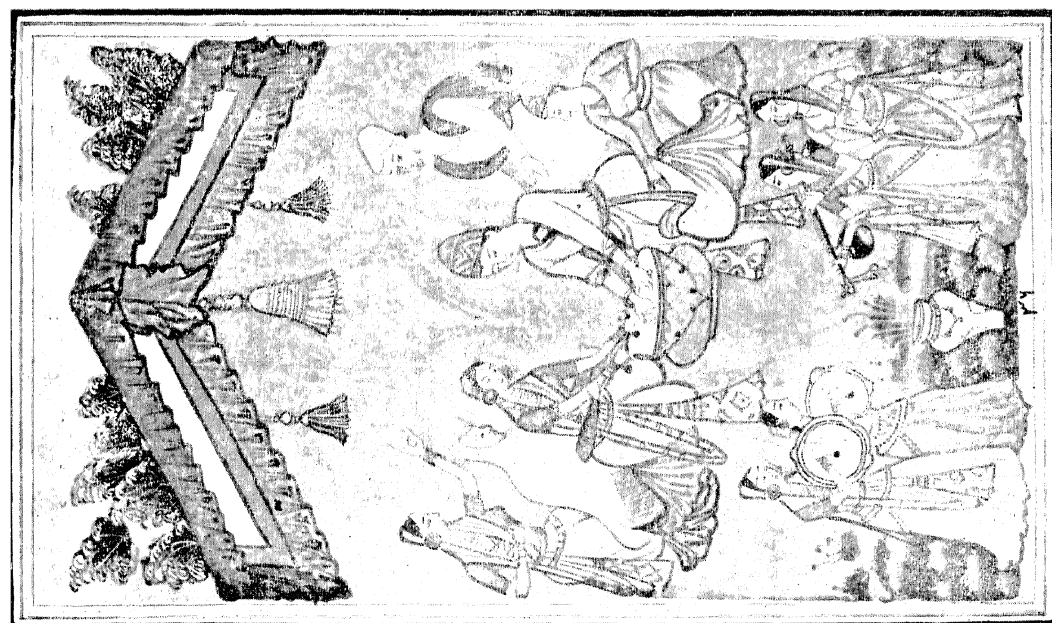


(a) "An army on March": a page from the *Nujūmī'l-'Ulūm*, MS., c. 1570; Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.



(b) "An angel": a page from the *'Ajāibu'l-Makhlūqāt*; MS., Bijapur, c. 1560; Jagdish Mittal Collection, Hyderabad.

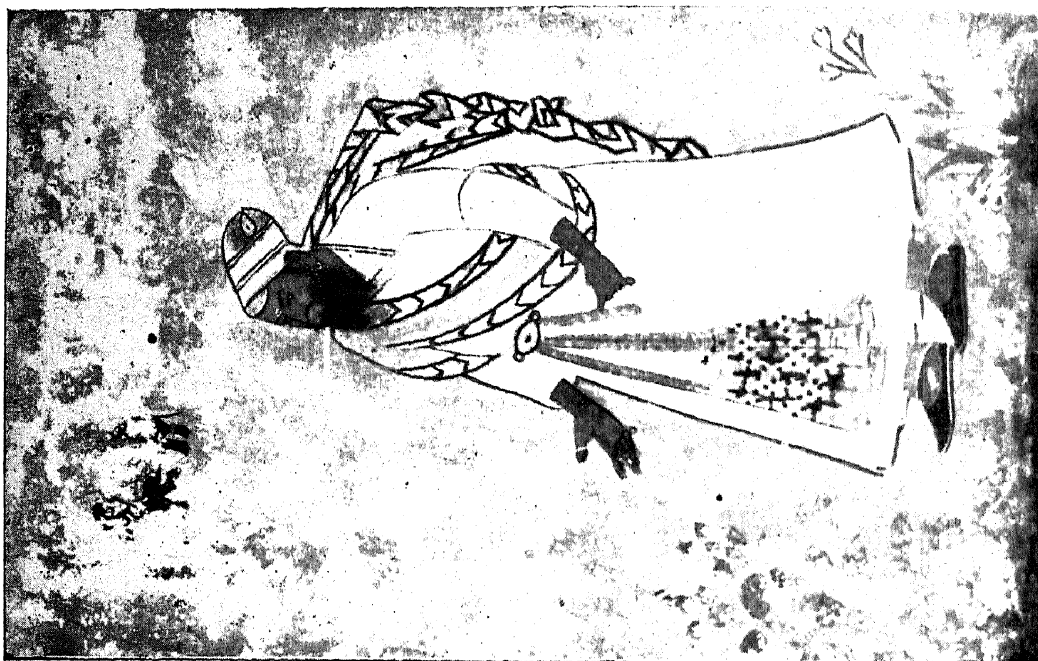




(a) "Bride and bridegroom"; a page from the *Ratan Kallān*; MS., Bijapur, 1592; British Museum. London.



(b) "Woman with a baby"; Bijapur, c. 1600; Musée Guimet, Paris.



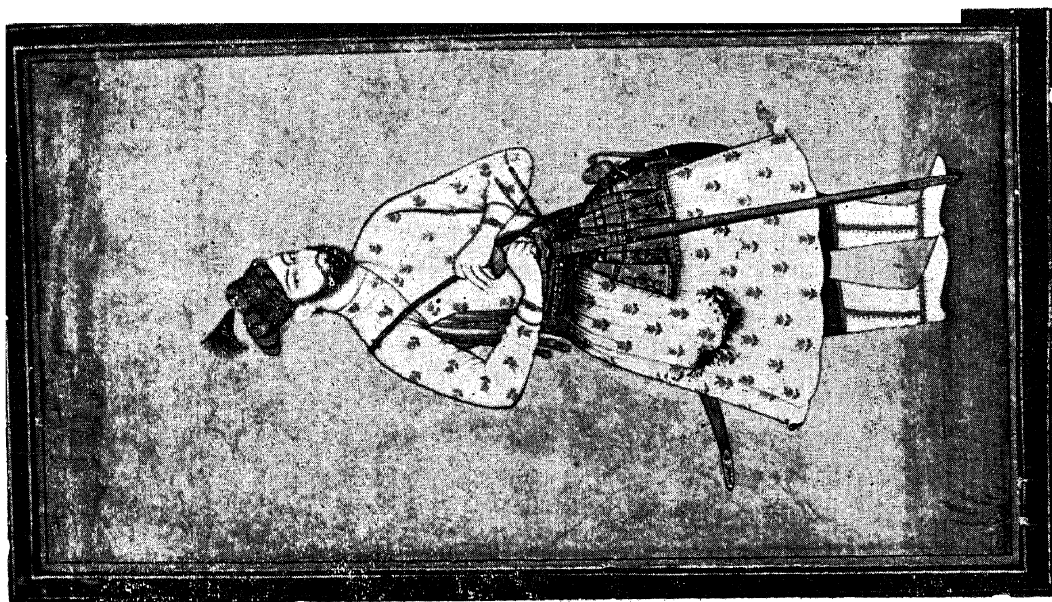
(b) Portrait of a Bijapur Noble ; Bijapur, c. 1600 ;  
Collection of Edwin Binney III,  
Brooklyn, U. S. A.



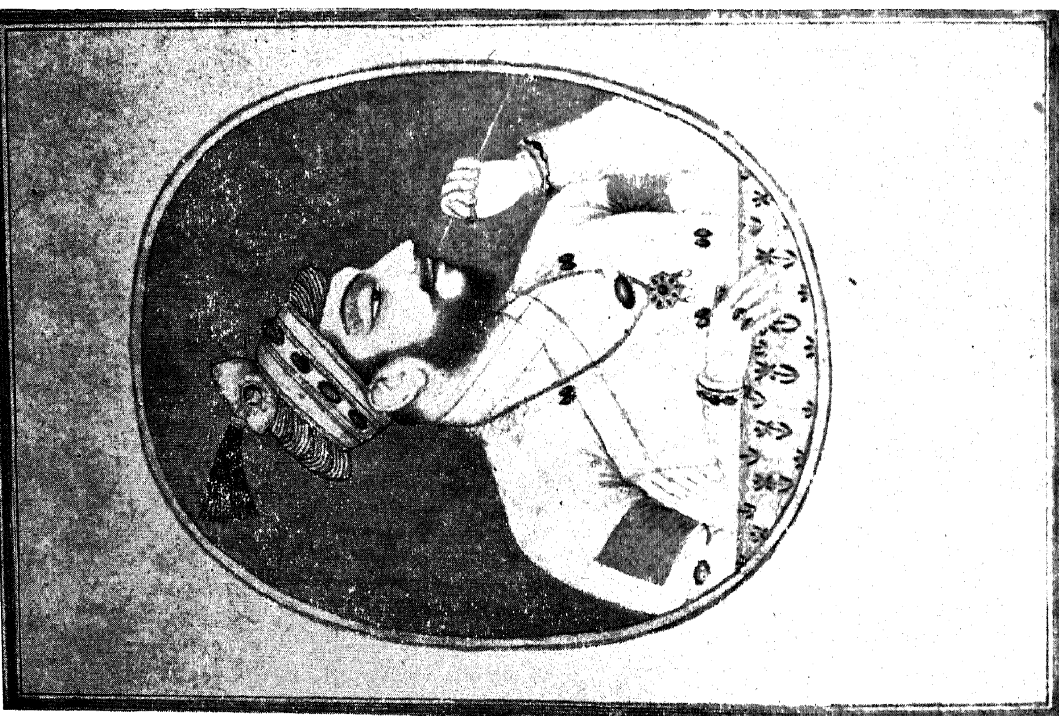
(a) Portrait of Ibrahim 'Adil Shāh II; Bijapur,  
c. 1596 ; Lalgarh Palace, Bikaner.



(a) "Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II (?) and a Noble"; Bijapur, c. 1660; Collection of Edwin Binney III, Brooklyn, U S A



(b) Portrait of Irach Khān; Bijapur, c. 1660; Jagdish Mittal Collection, Hyderabad.



(a) Bust Portrait of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II ; Bijapur,  
c. 1660 ; George P. Bickford Collection,  
Cambridge, Mass.



(b) Portrait of the Bijapur Noble Abu'l-Hasan ;  
Bijapur ; Musée Guimet, Paris.





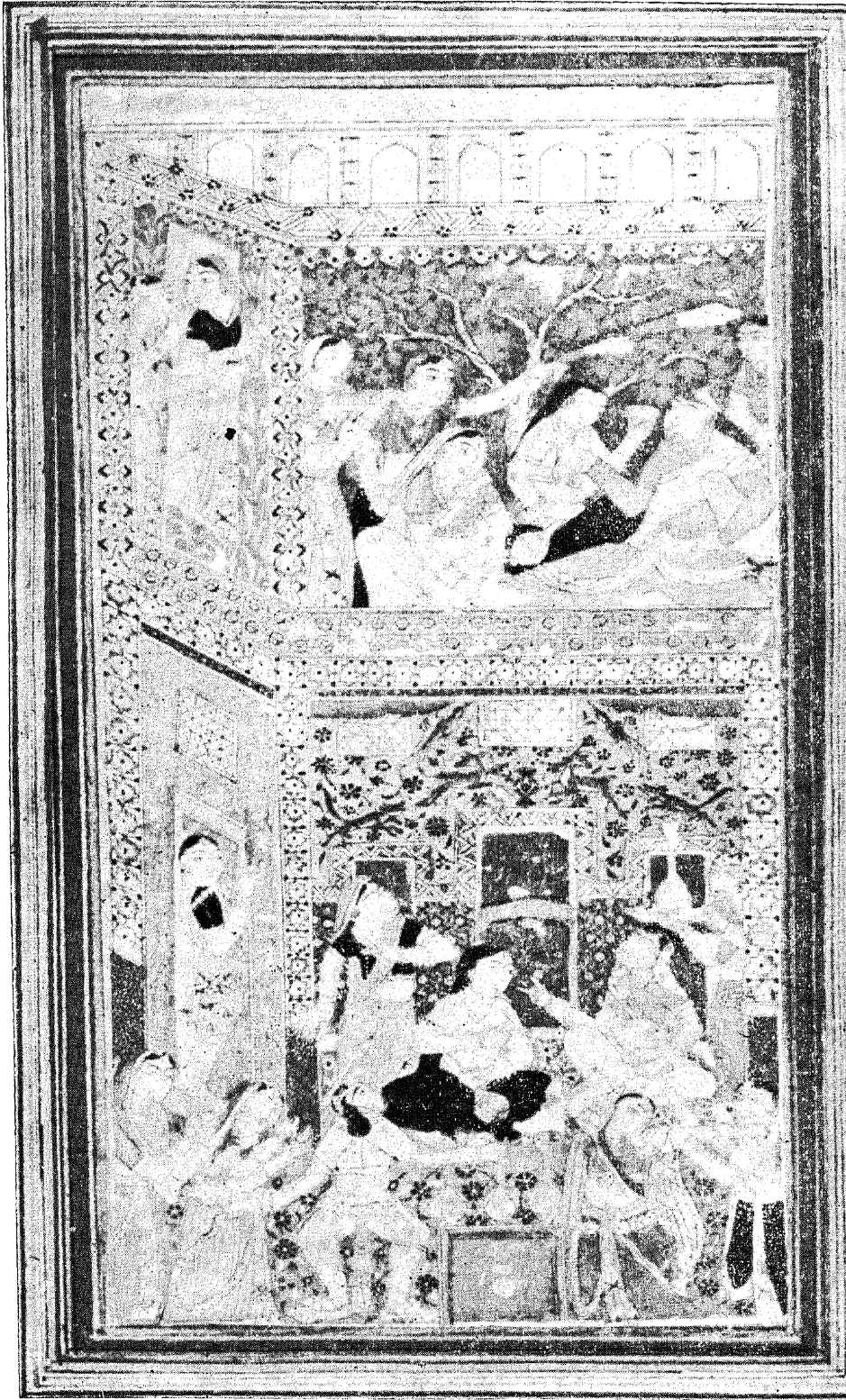
(a) Detail of frontispiece to the MS. *Zākhirah Khwārasm Shāhi* ; Golconda, c. 1572 ; Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.



(b) “Padmini” ; a page from the MS. *Bhōgphal* ; Bidar, c. 1602 - 1609 ; Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.



“ Court of King Solomon ” ; a page from *Dī wān of Muḥammad - Qulī Quṭb Shāh*;  
Golkonda, c. 1590. Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.

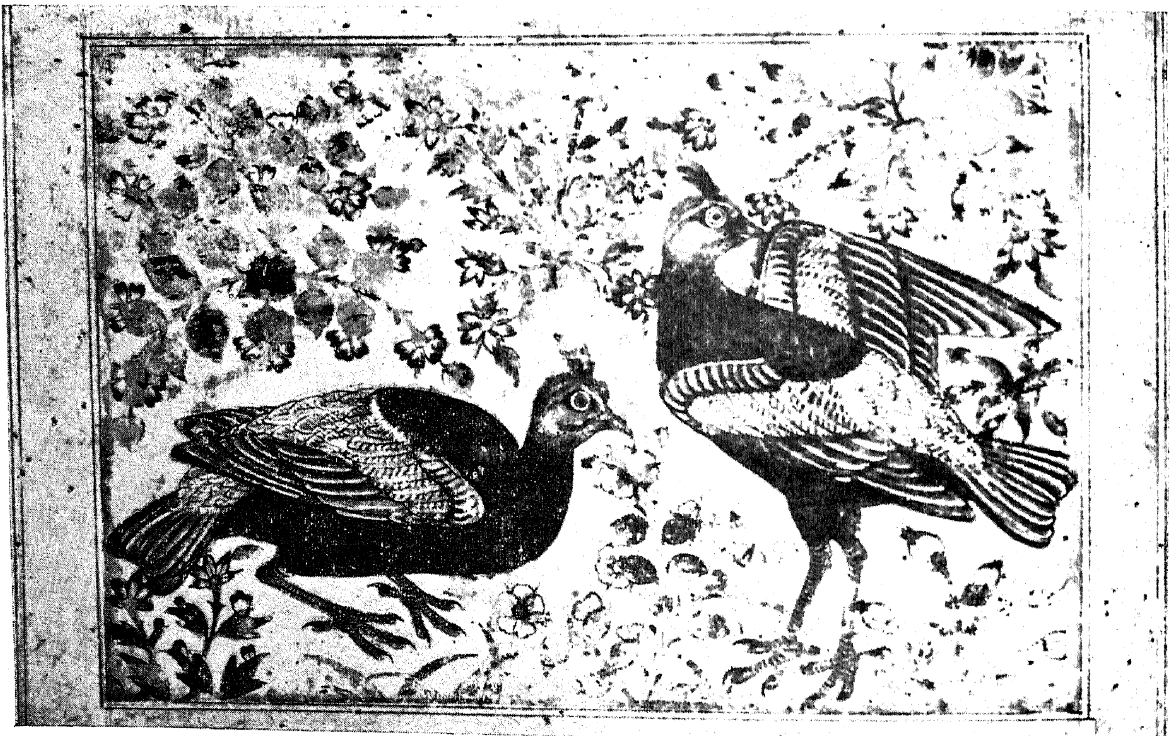


“A prince carousing” (above) ; “Dance performance” (below) ; a page from  
Diwān-i Ḥāfiẓ; MS., Golkonda, c. 1590; British Museum, London.



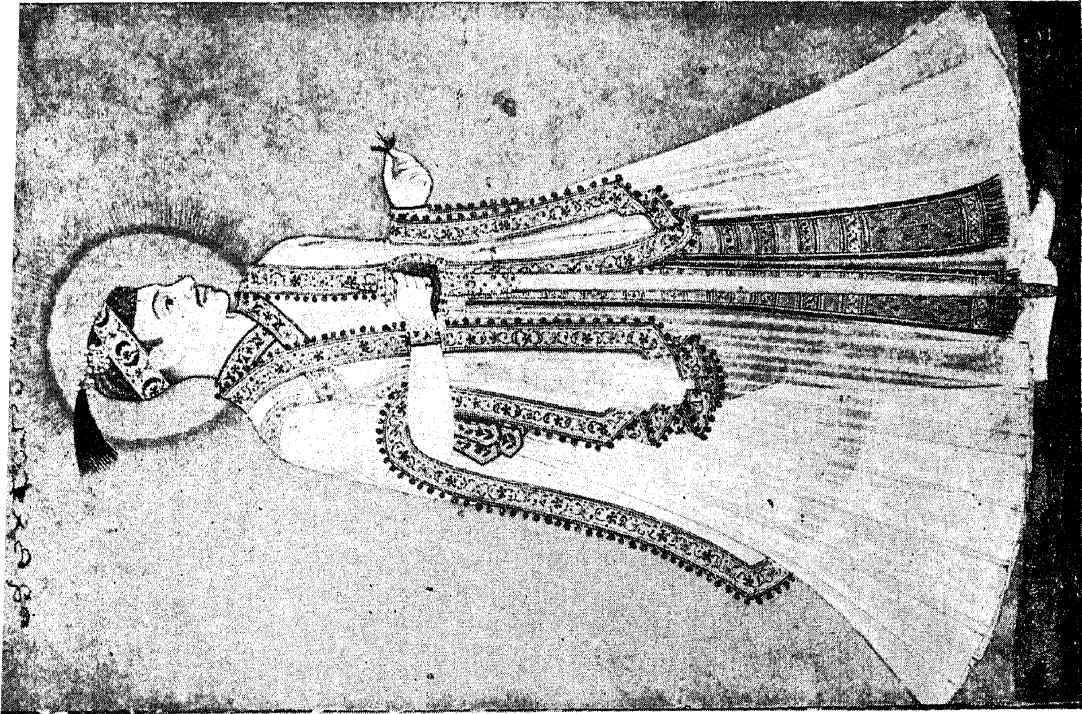
PLATE XII

(a) "Prince on horseback,  
hawking" Golkonda,  
c. 1610-20 ; India Office  
Library, London.

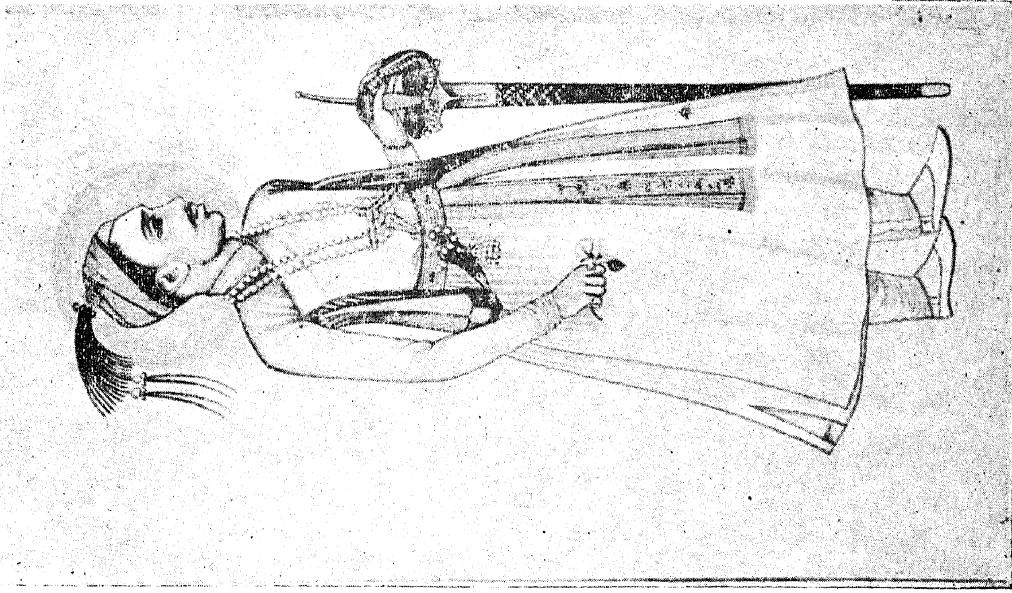


(b) "Two Birds" ; Golkonda, c. 1640 ; Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.





(a) Portrait of Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shāh ; Golkonda, c. 1675;  
Mahārānī of Vijayanagaram Collection, Varanasi.



(b) Portrait of Muhammad Qutb Shāh ;  
Golkonda, c. 1625 ; Rijksmuseum,  
Amsterdam.



(a) A page from the MS. *Khāwar Nāmā*; Golkonda. 1645; Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



(b) A page from the MS. *Gulshan-i 'Ishq*; Golkonda, c. 1675; Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.



Portrait of Khwāja Naṣru'l-lāh ; Golkonda, c. 1685 ; Rare Book  
Department, Free Library of Philadelphia, U. S. A.





(a) Portraits of Qutb Shāhī rulers, Jamshīd and Ibrāhīm, and a prince ;  
Golconda, c. 1675 : Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.

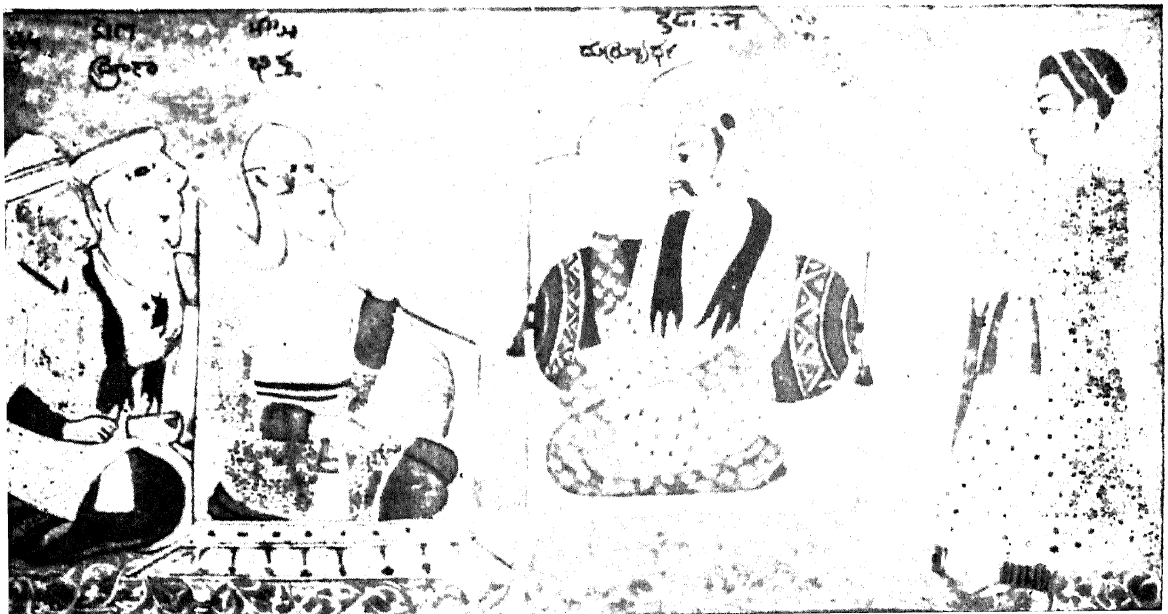


(b) “ Ḥusain Khān out hawking ” ; Golconda, c. 1685 : Sir Cowasji  
Jehangir Collection, Bombay.

(a) “‘Abdu’l-lāh Quṭb Shāh seated on a chair with a mistres.”; painting on cloth; Golkonda, c. 1675; National museum, New Delhi.



(b) “Drōṇa and Bhiśma seated before Duryōdhana”; a page from the MS. *Udyoga Parva*, c. 1680; Reddy, Hostel Library, Hyderabad.

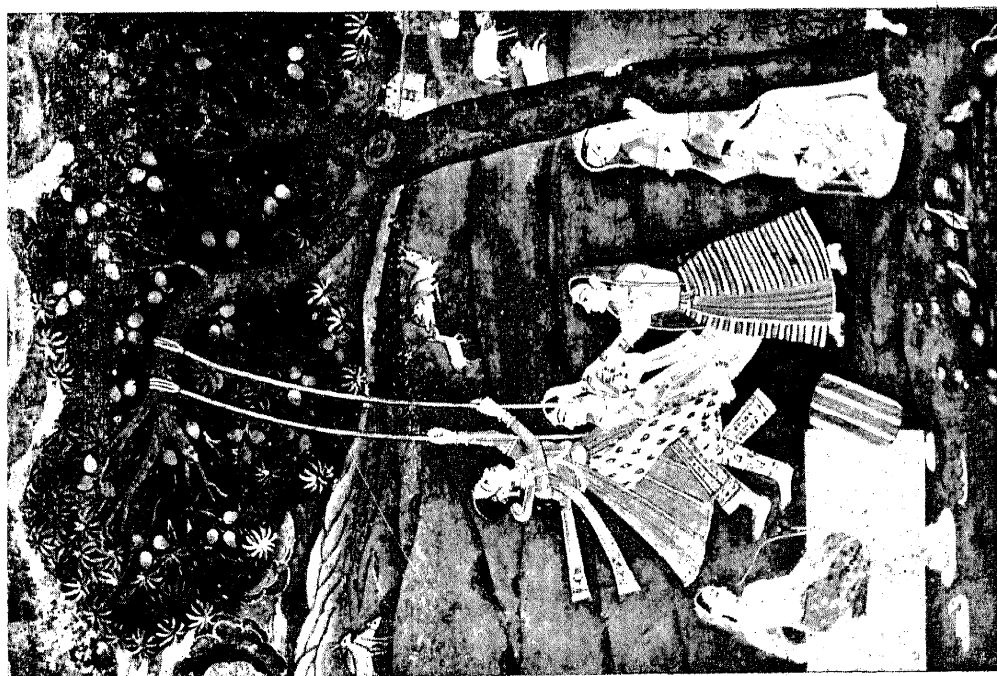




(a) Portrait of Mirzā Irach Khān ;  
Golkonda, c. 1680 ; Collection  
of Edwin Binney III, Brooklyn,  
U. S. A.



(b) Portrait of Shaikh Muḥammad  
Ibn Khātūn ; Golkonda, c. 1680 ;  
Collection of Edwin Binney  
III, Brooklyn, U. S. A.



(a) "Ladies on a swing" : Hyderabad, c. 1710;  
National Museum, New Delhi.



(b) "Tōdī Rāgini"; Golkonda, c. 1650; Maharāni  
of Vijayanagara Collection, Varanasi.



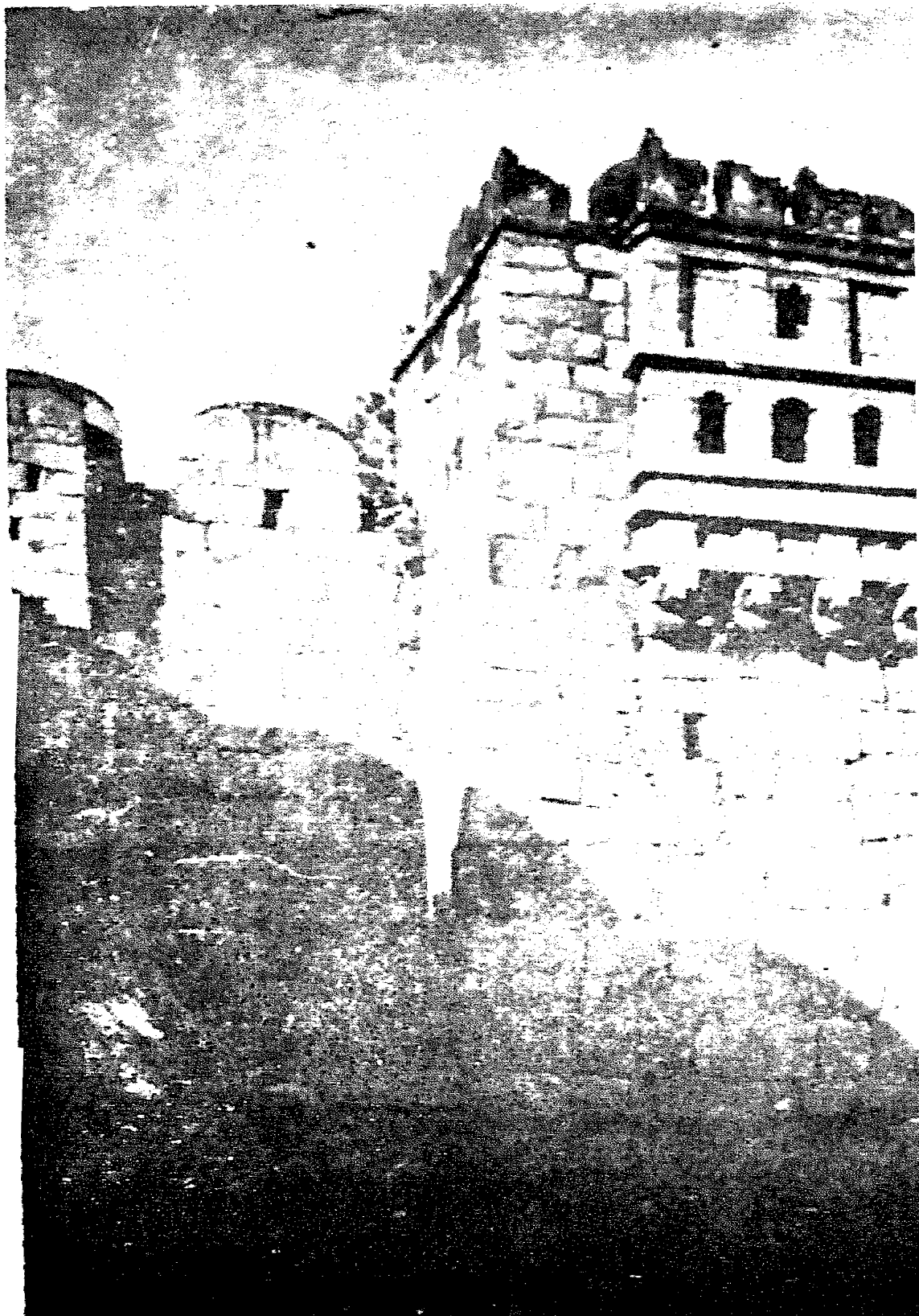


(a) "Group of saints"; Aurangābad, c. 1710; Howard Hodgkin-Sven Gahlin Collection, London.

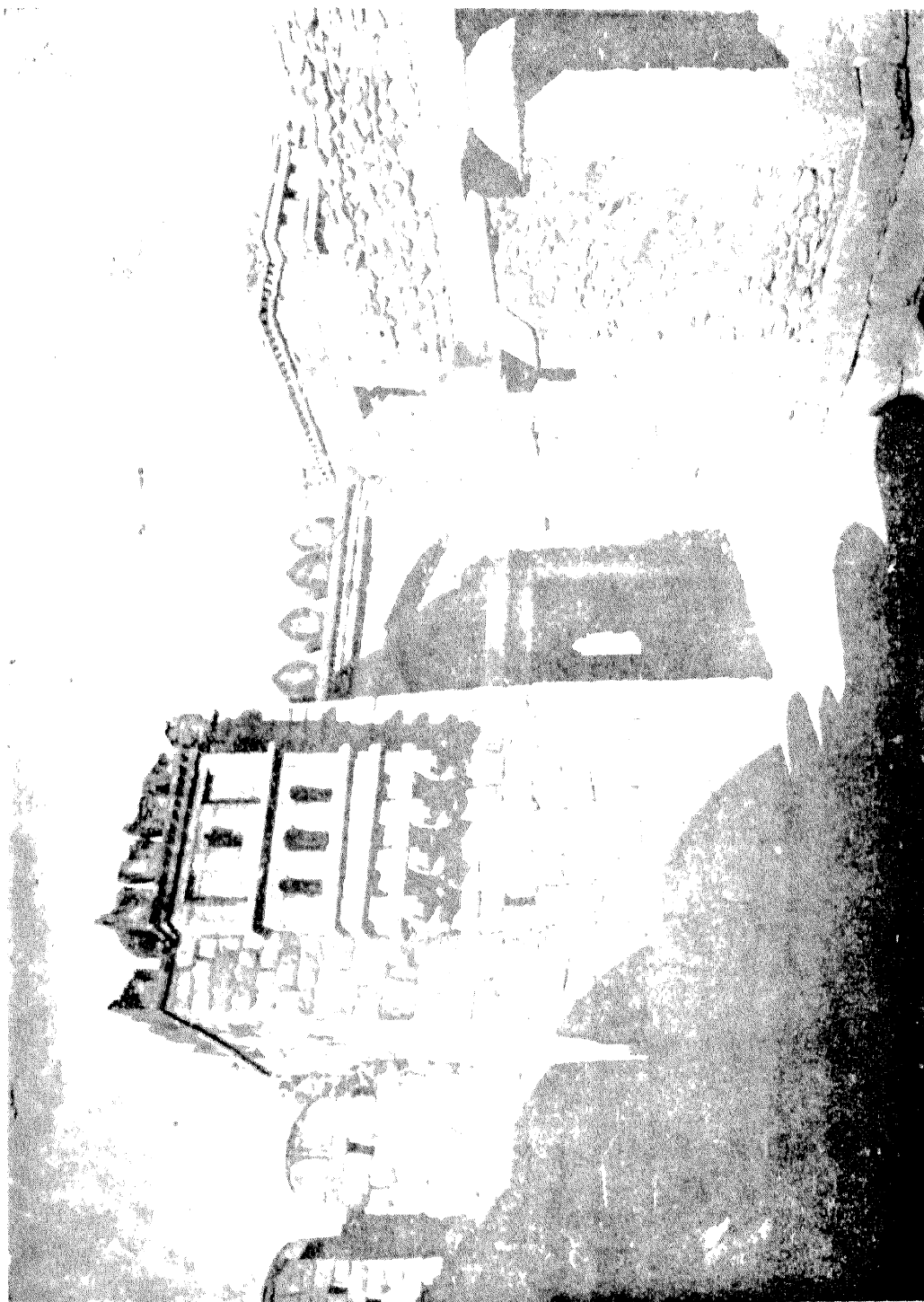


(b) "A King receiving two men"; a gage from the MS. *Bahār Dānish*, Aurangābad, 1713; Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.



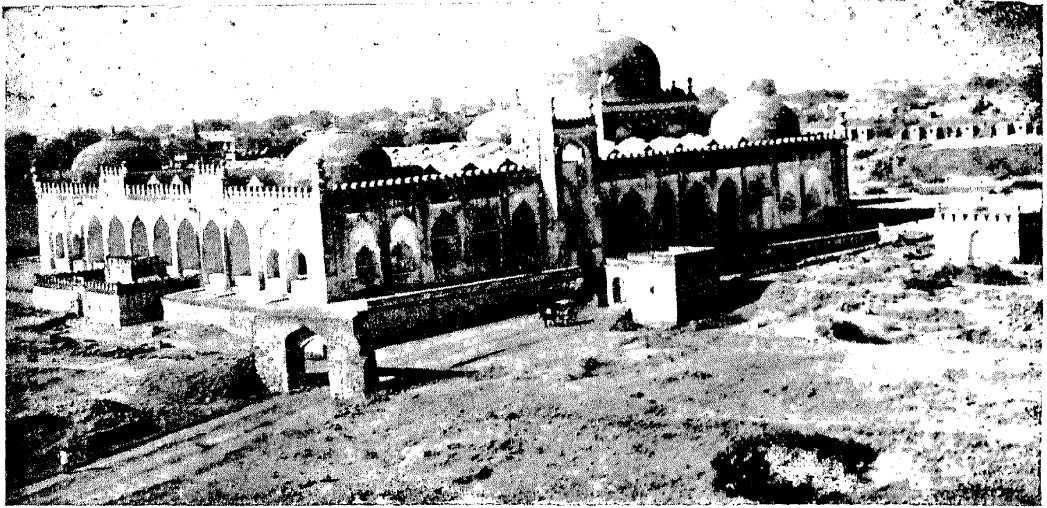


Mudgal : Fort Gateway —

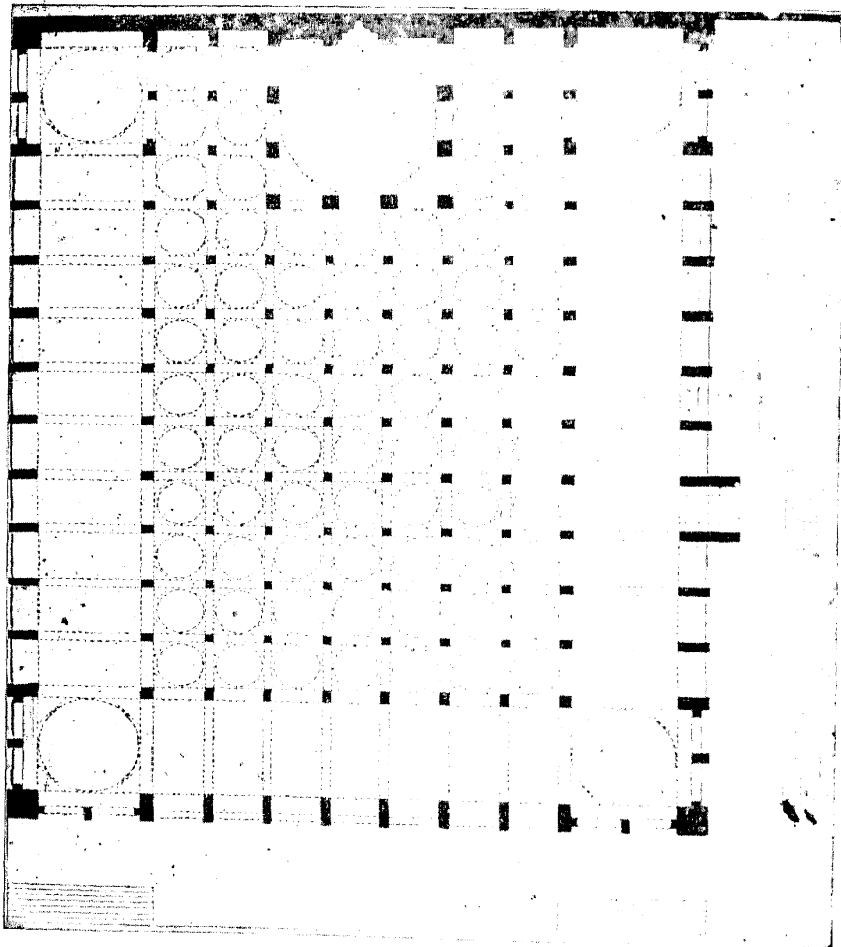


Mudgal : Fort Gateway — partly pre-Bahmani and partly early Bahmani.

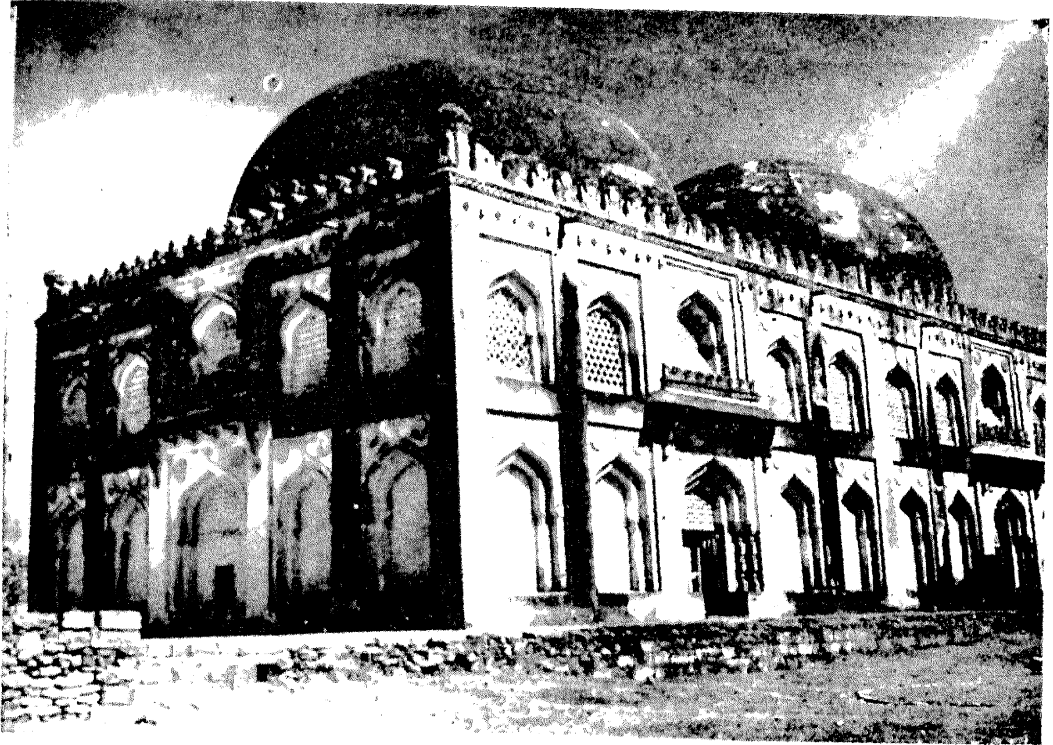
PLATE XXII



(a) Gulbarga : Fort Mosque, ( ? 1366-67) ; General View.



(b) Gulbarga : Fort Mosque ; Ground Plan.

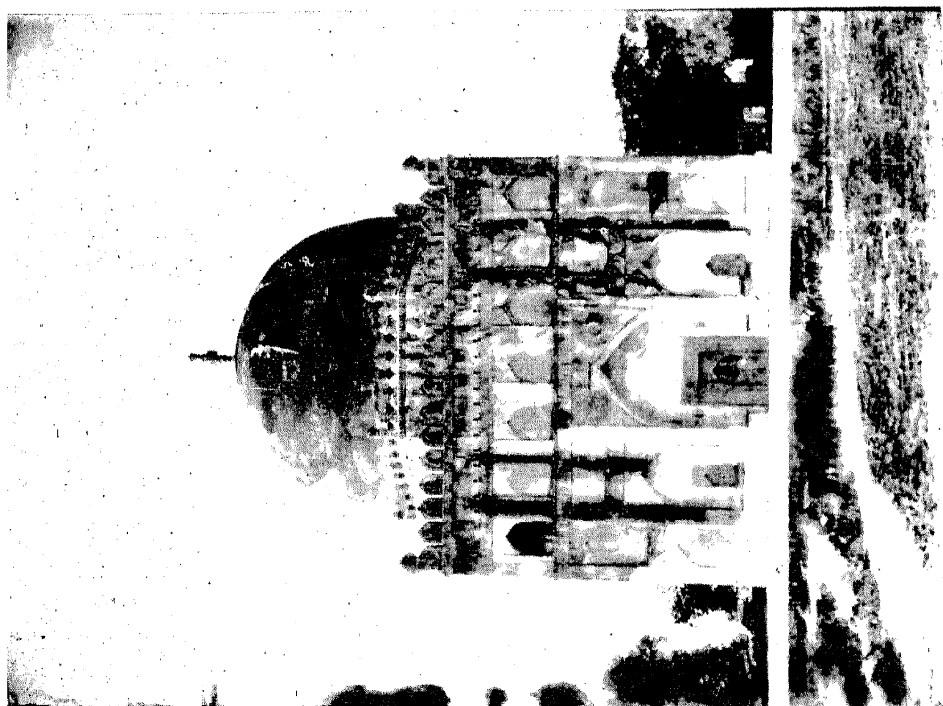


(a) Gulbarga : Tomb of Firūz Shāh Bahmanī, died 1422.

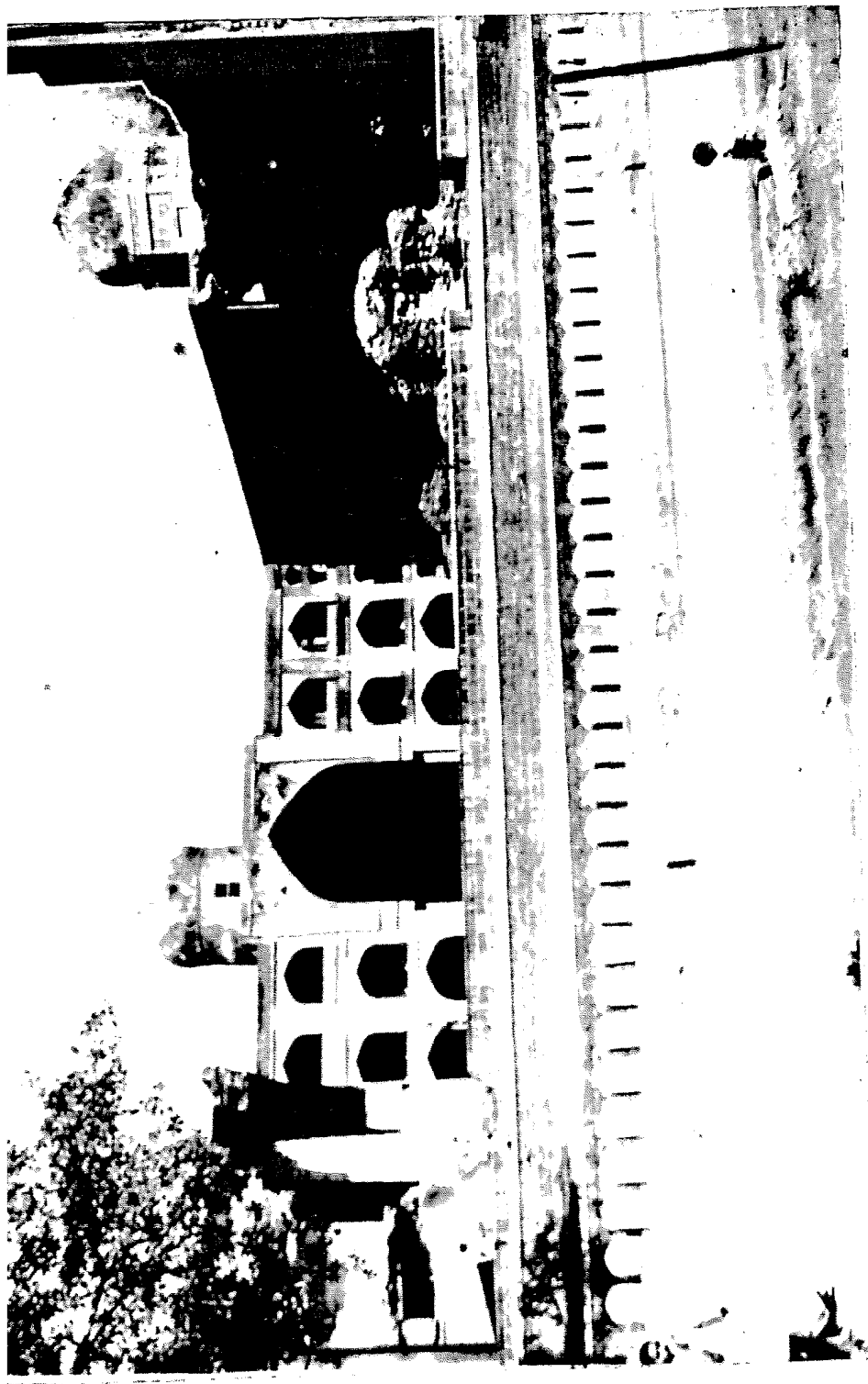




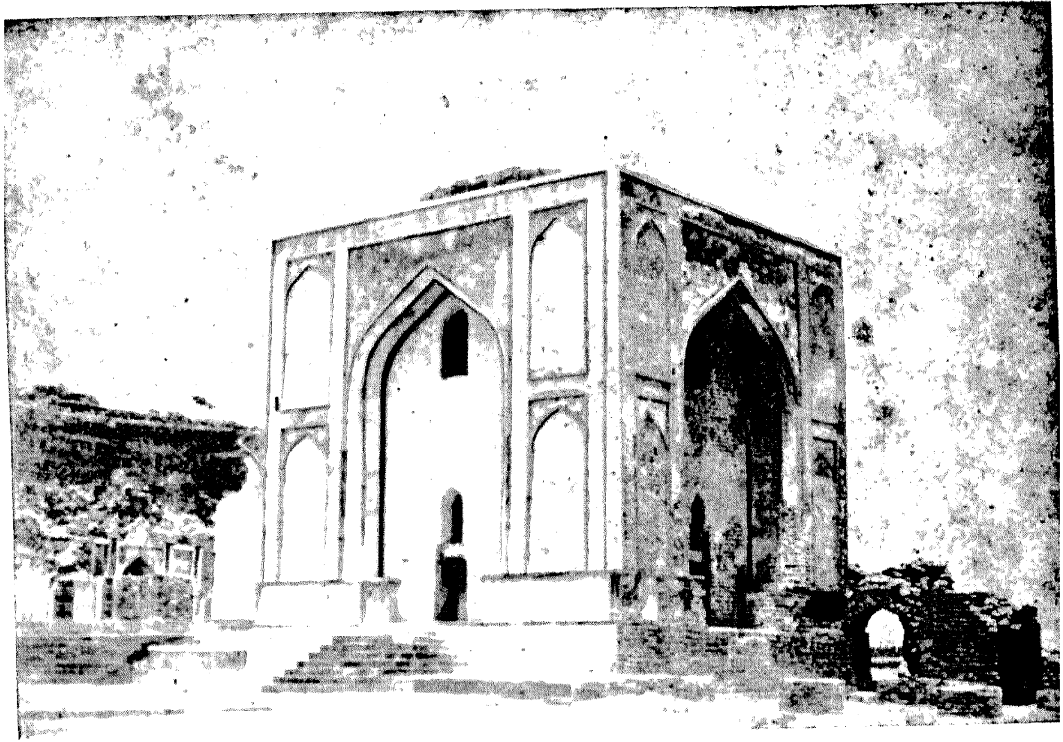
(b) Ashtūr, Bidar : various styles of painting and calligraphy, interior of the tomb of Ahmad Shāh Wali Bahmanī.



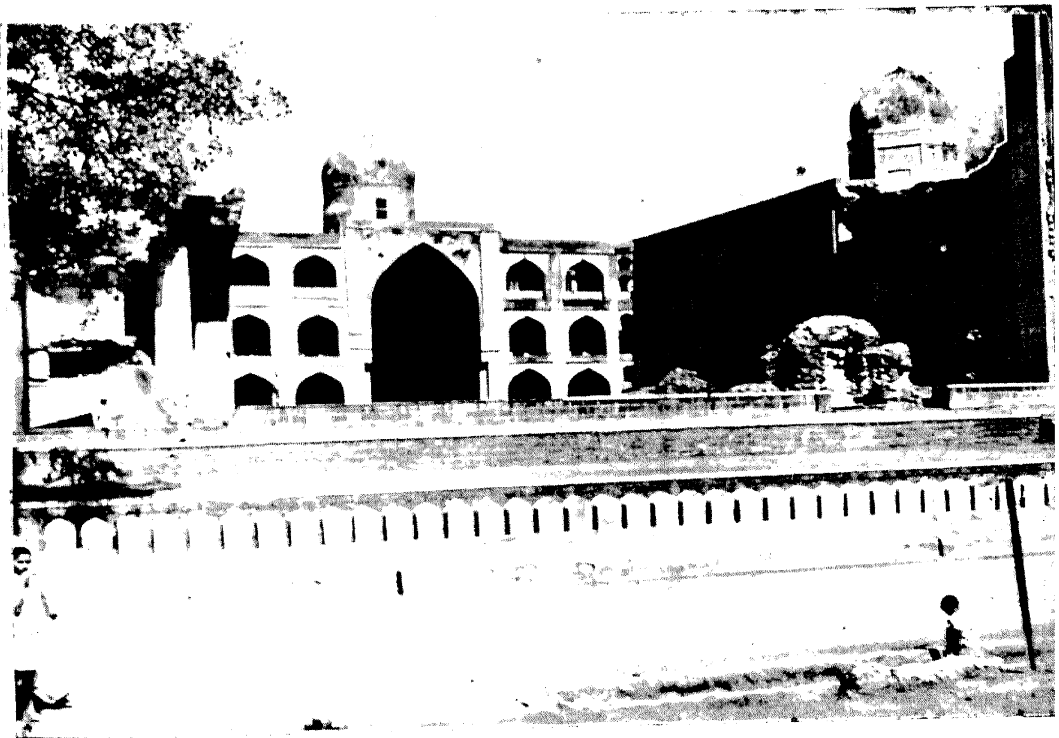
(a) Ashtūr, Bidar : Tomb of Ahmad Shāh Wali Bahmanī, died 1436.



(b) Bidar : Madrasā Mahmūd Gāwān, 1471-2.

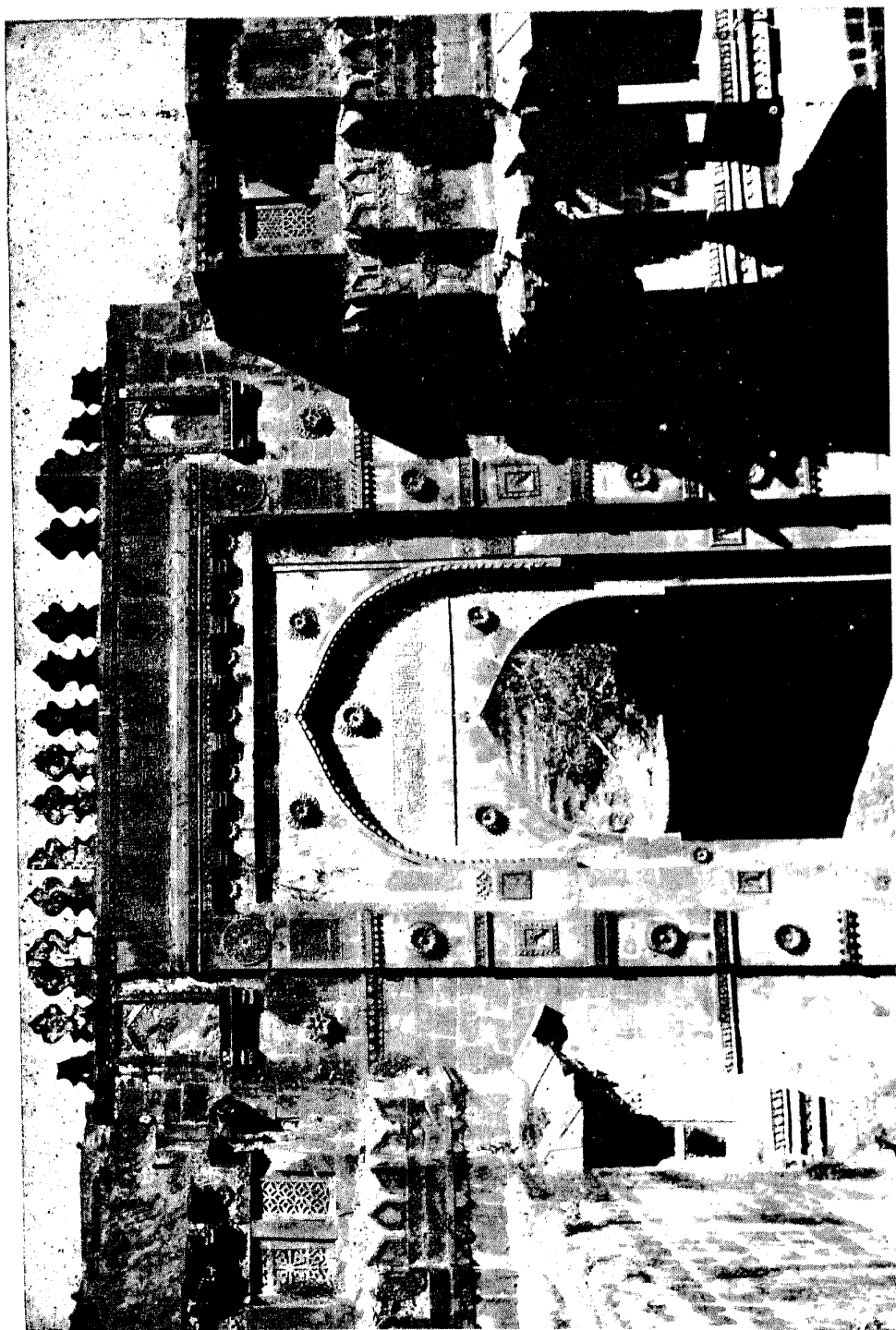


(a) Bidar : Facade of Takht Mahal, c. 1425-6.



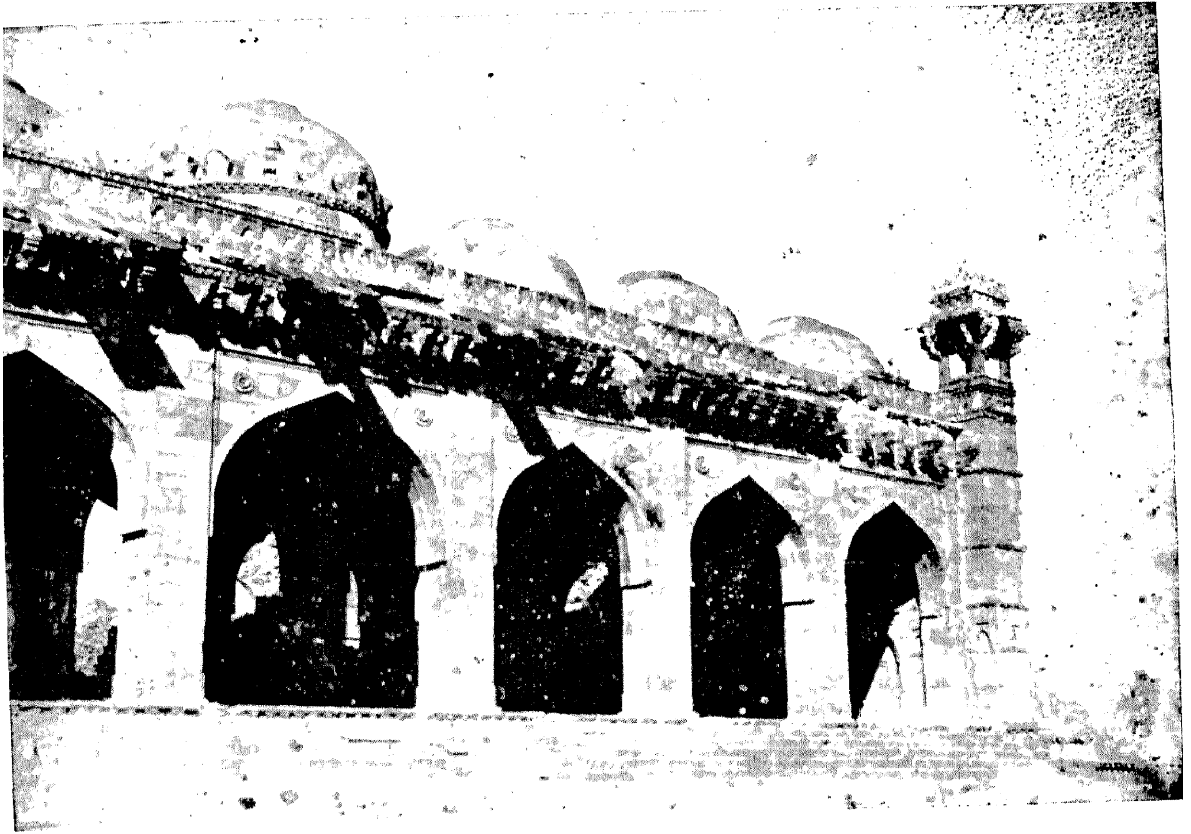
(b) Bidar : Madrasā Maḥmūd Gāwān, 1471-2.



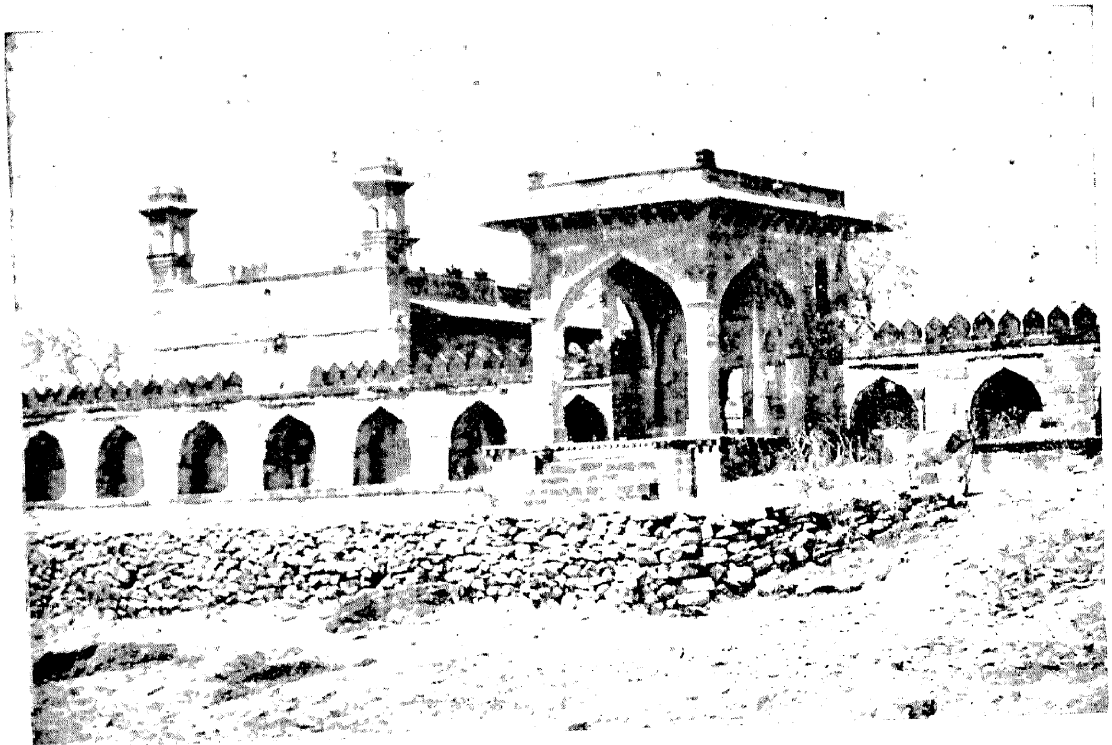


Narnāla : Mahākālī Gateway, 1487.



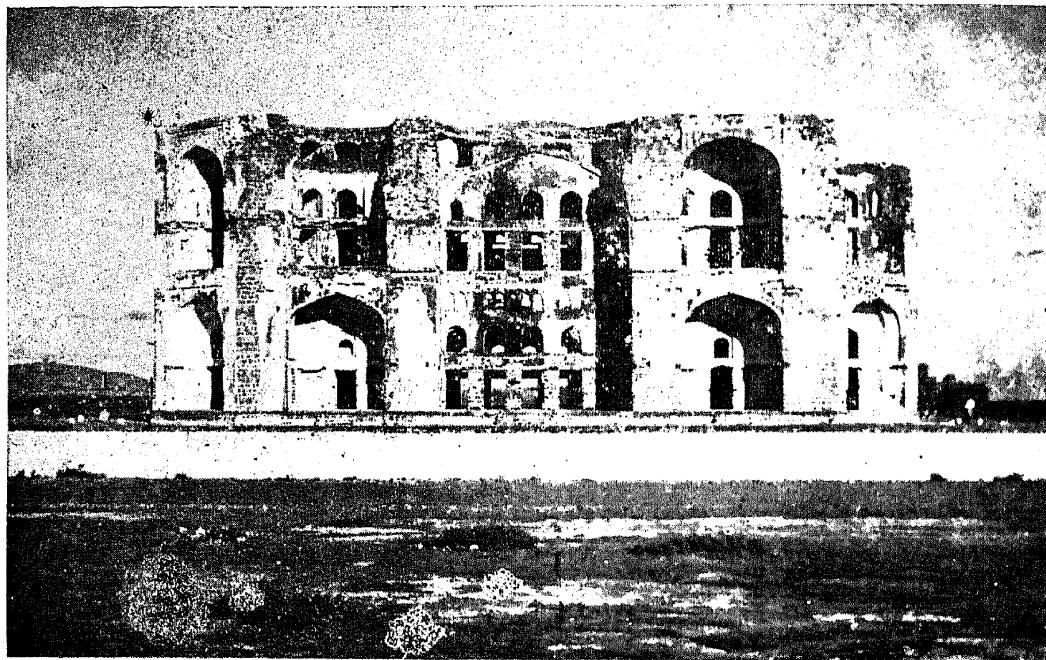


(a) Gawilgarh : Fort Mosque.

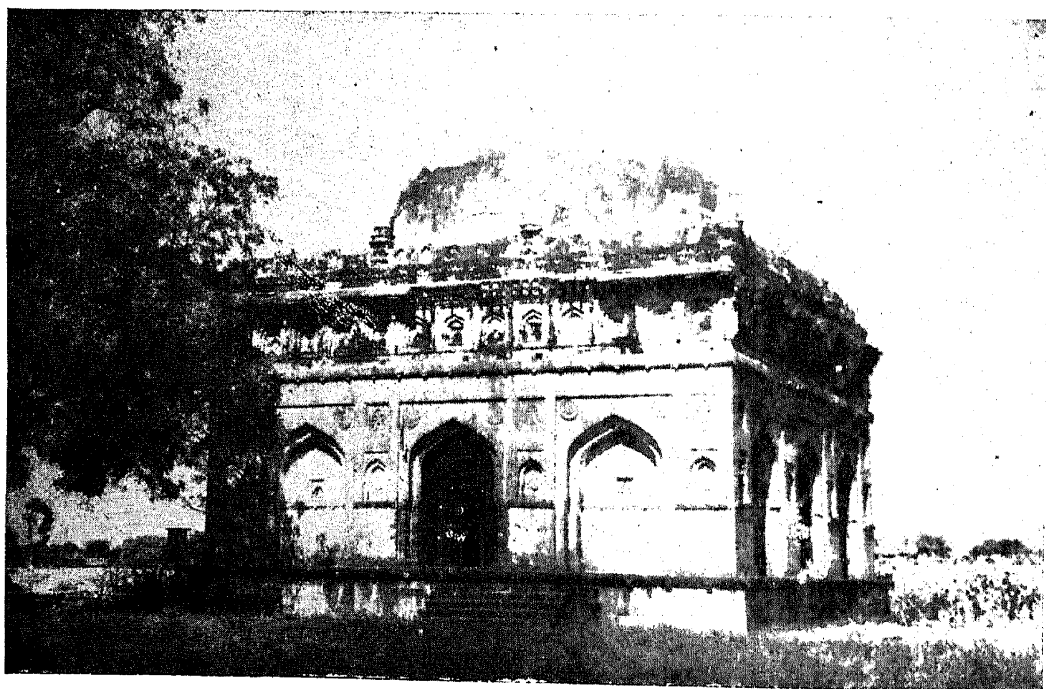


(b) Dabankhār : General View of the Mosque, 1582.

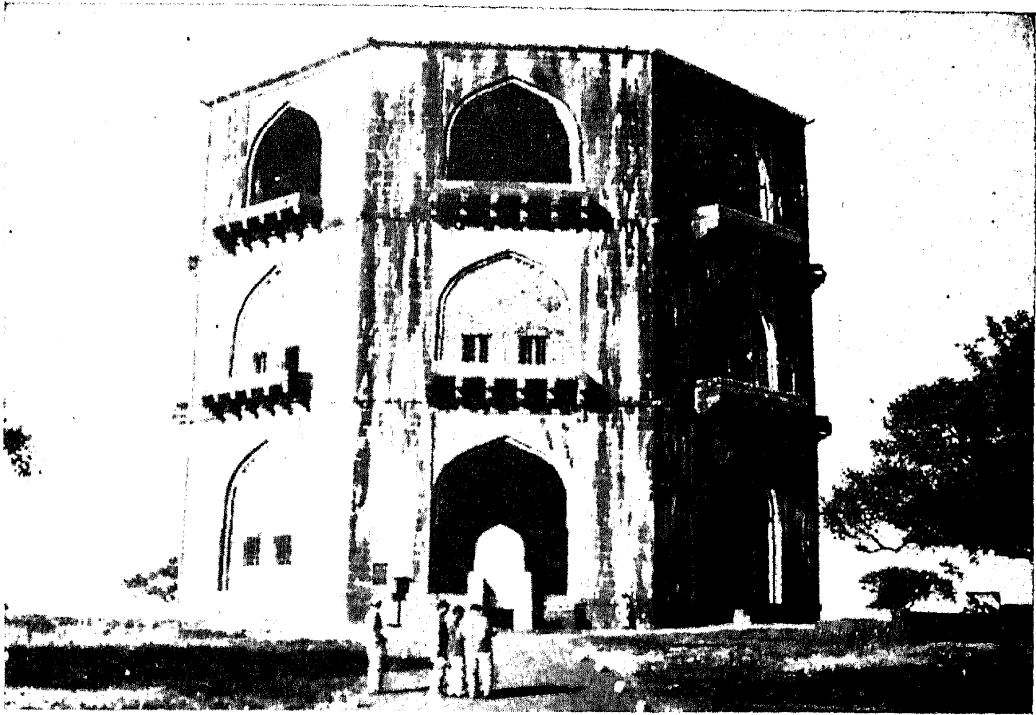
PLATE XXVIII



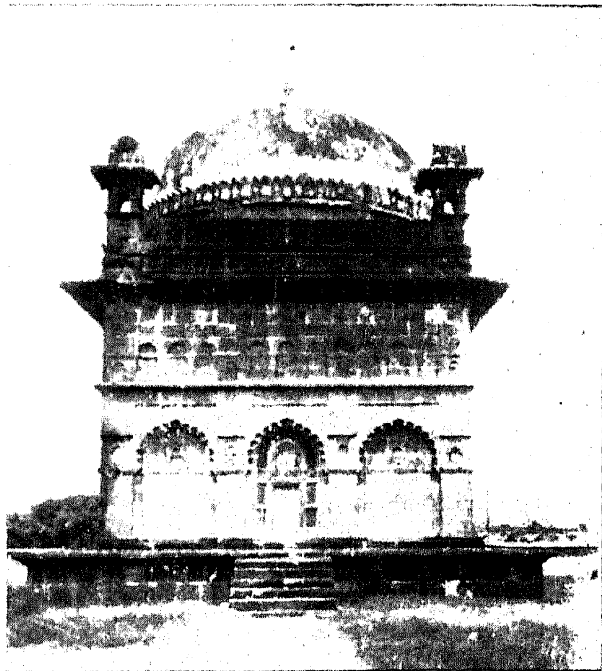
(a) Ahmadnagar : Farah Bāgh Palace ; completed, 1583.



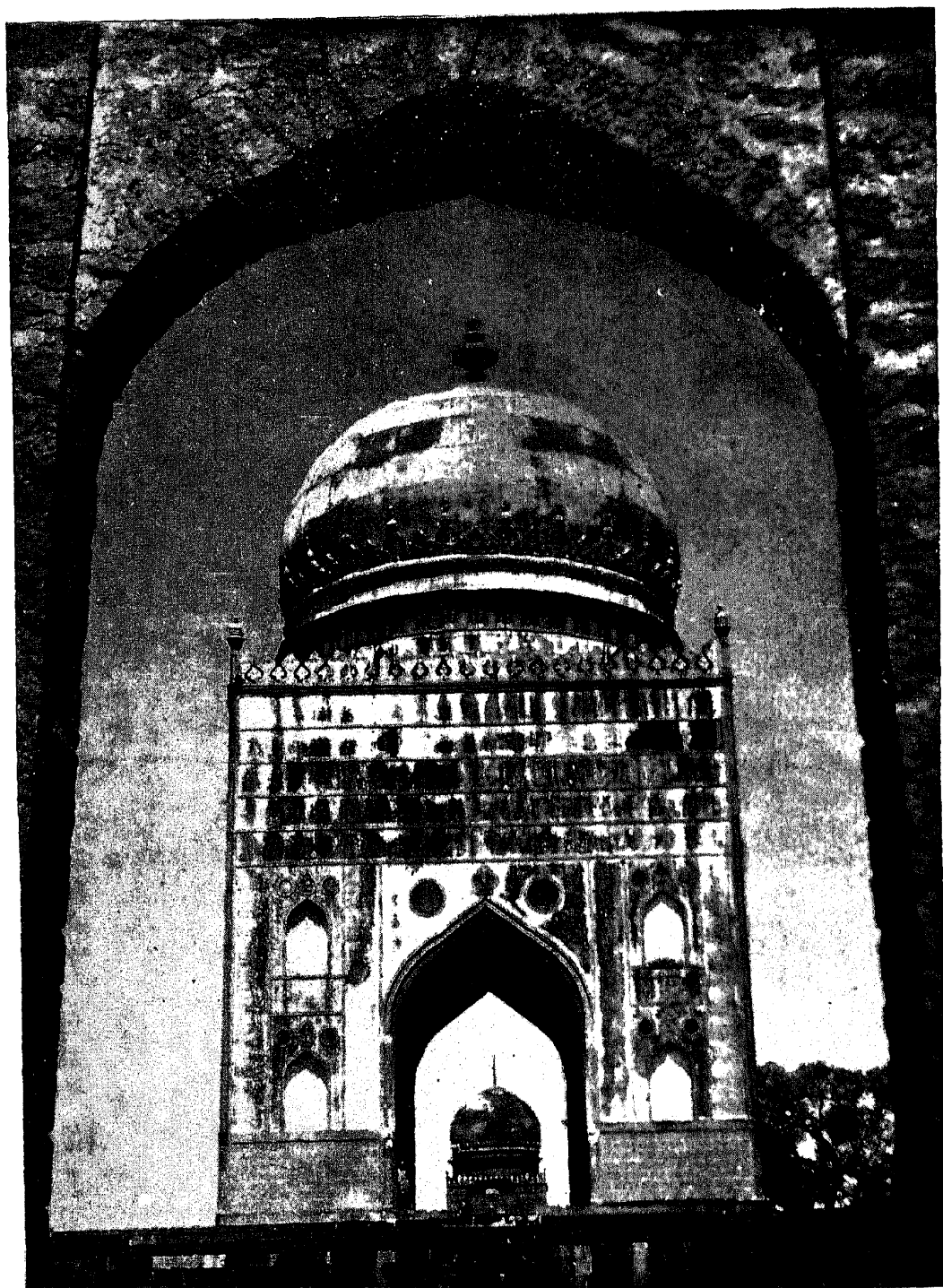
(b) Ahmadnagar : Rauza, tomb of Aḥmad, the first  
Nizām Shāhī ruler, died 1510.



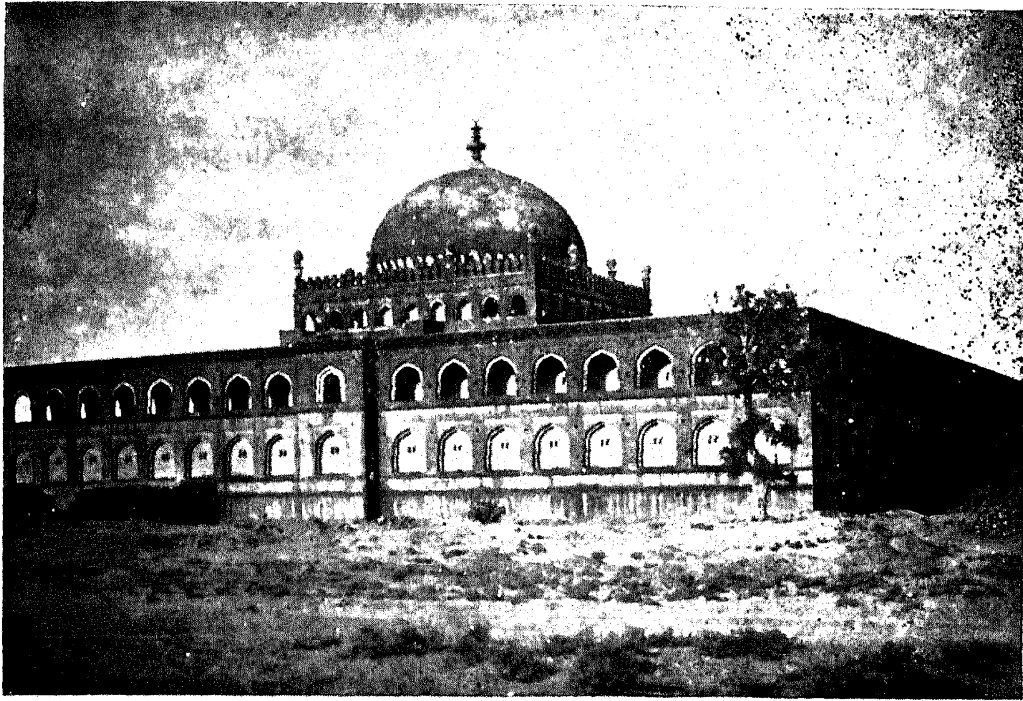
(a) Ahmadnagar : Tomb of Ṣalābat Khān II, died 1589.



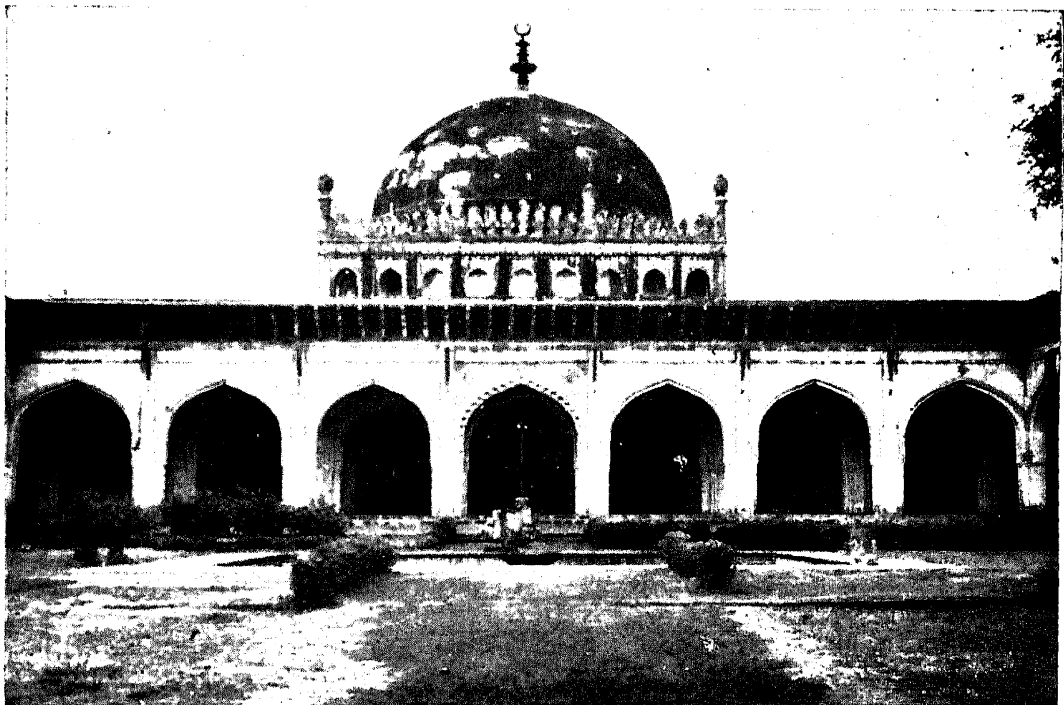
(b) Khuldabād : Tomb of Malik 'Ambar, died 1626.



Bidar : Tomb of 'Alī Barīd Shāh, died 1580.

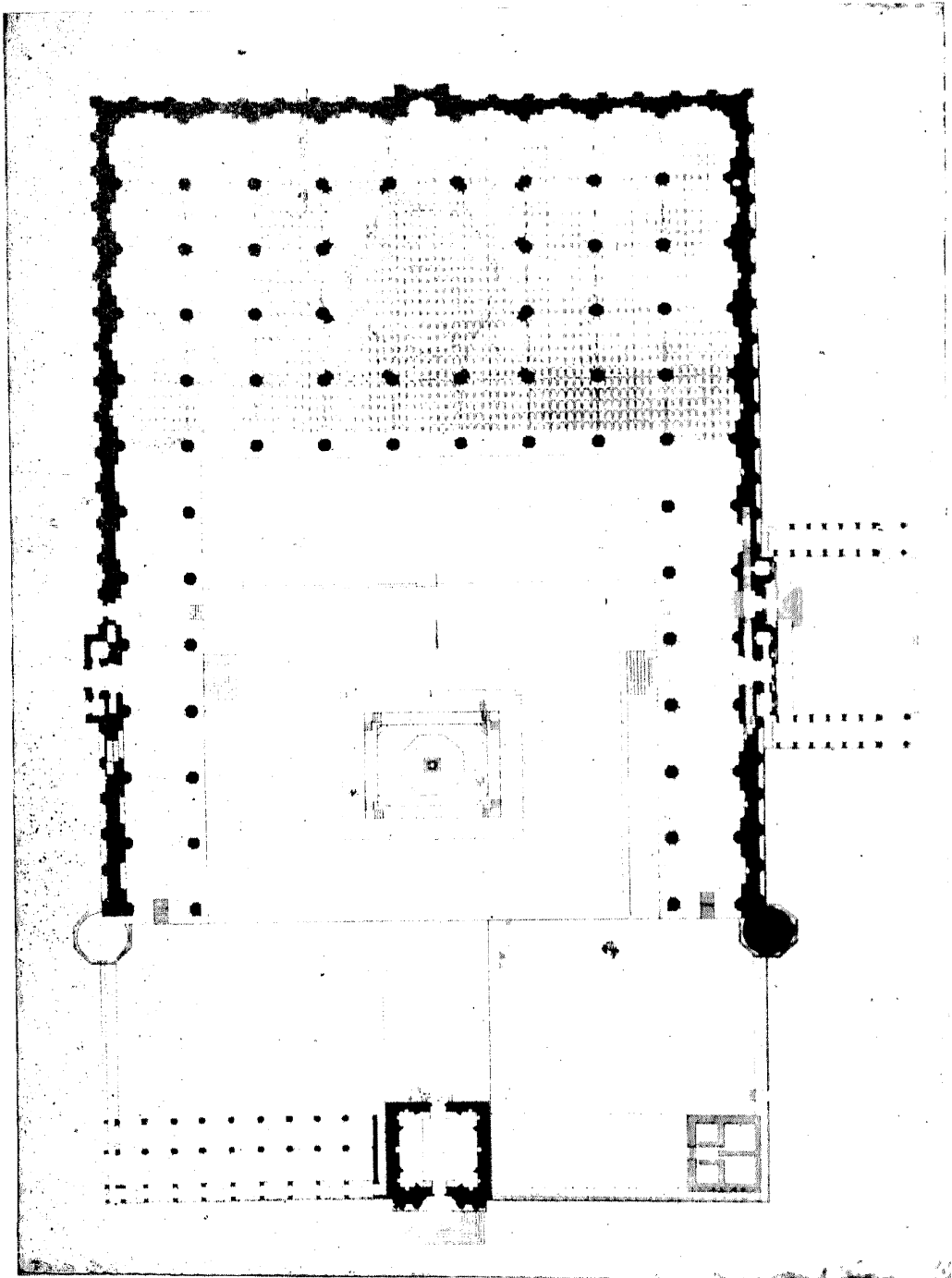


(a) Bijapur : Jāmi' Masjid, External View of western wall, commenced by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I, 1558-1580.

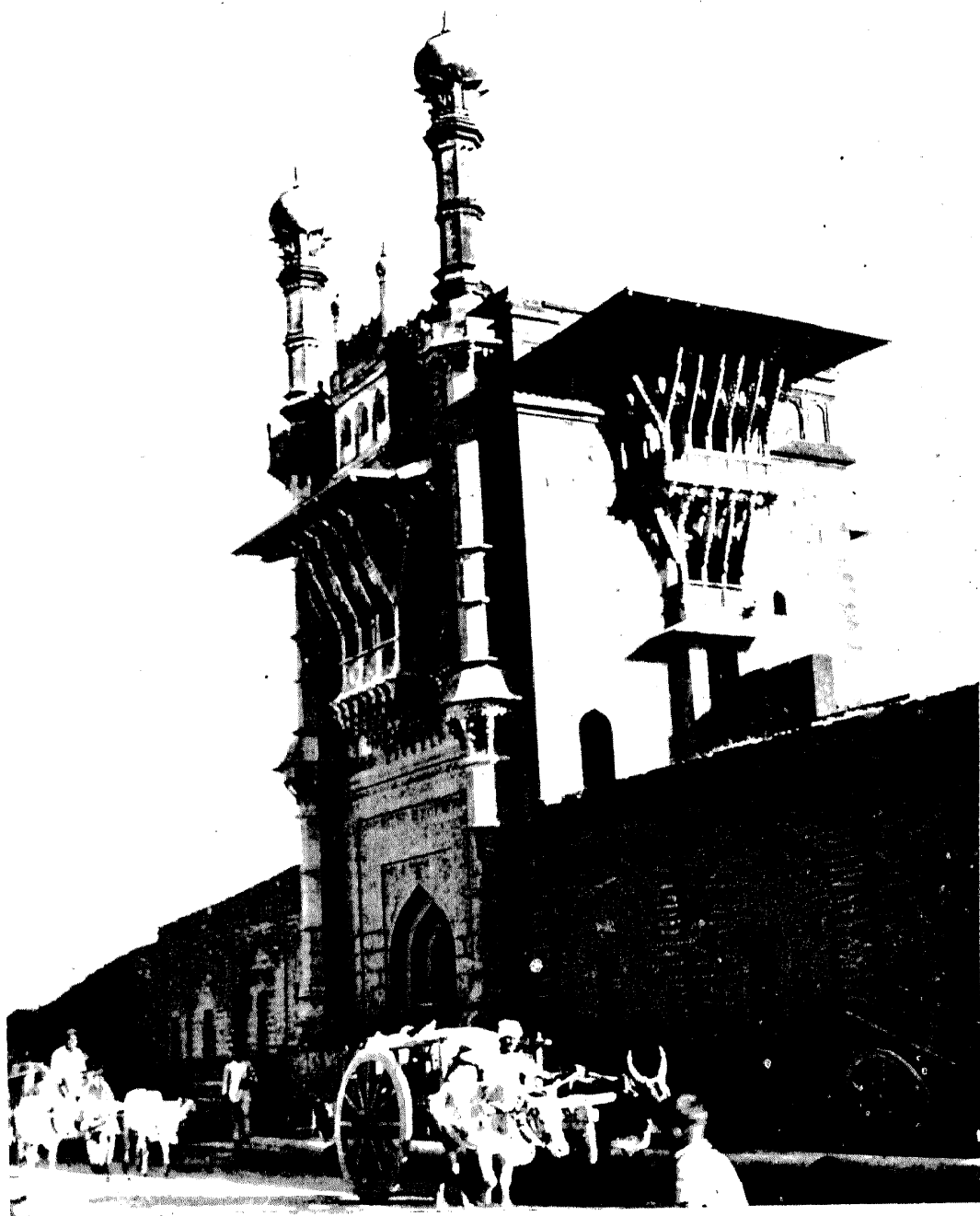


(b) Bijapur : Jāmi' Masjid, Prayer Chamber.

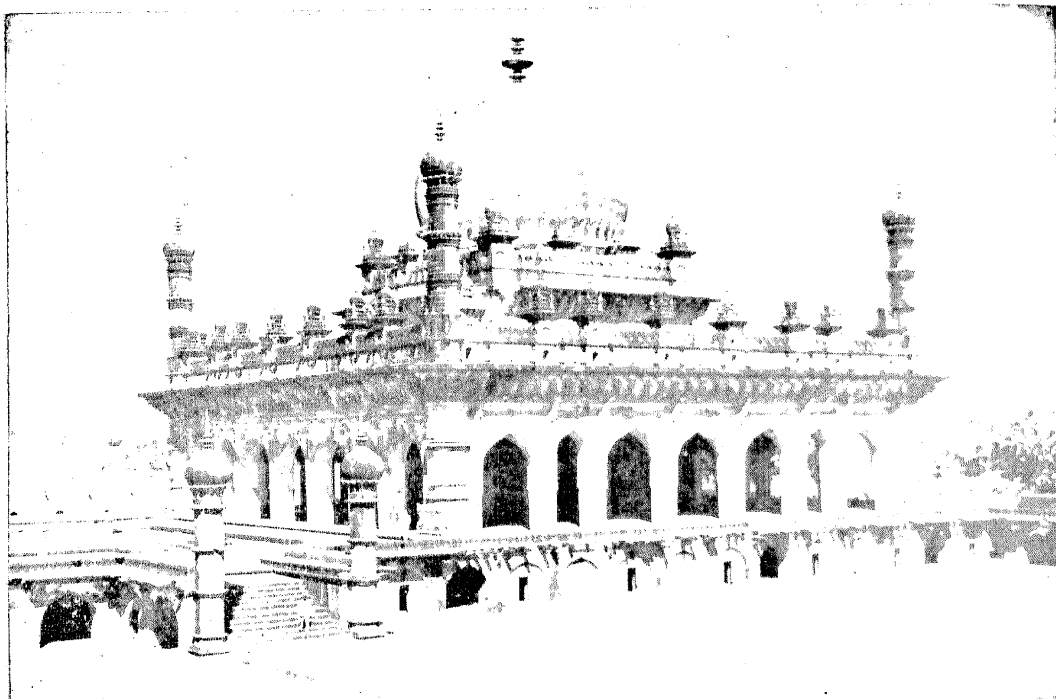
PLATE XXXII



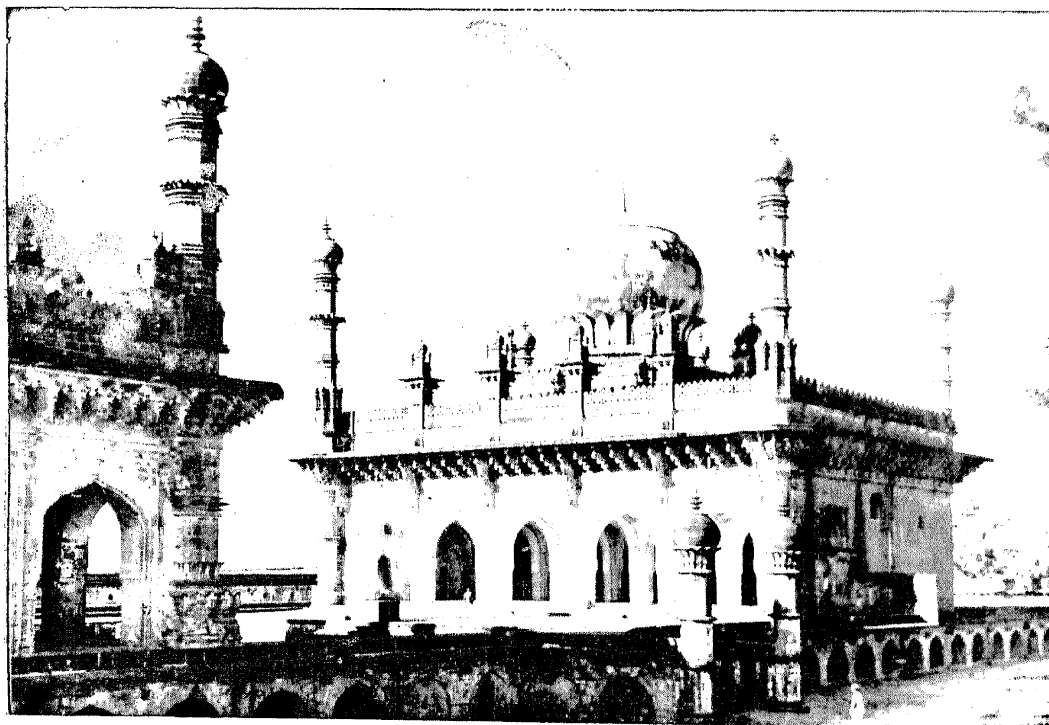
Bijapur : Jāmi' Masjid, Ground Plan.



Bijapur : Mihtar Mahal, 1620.

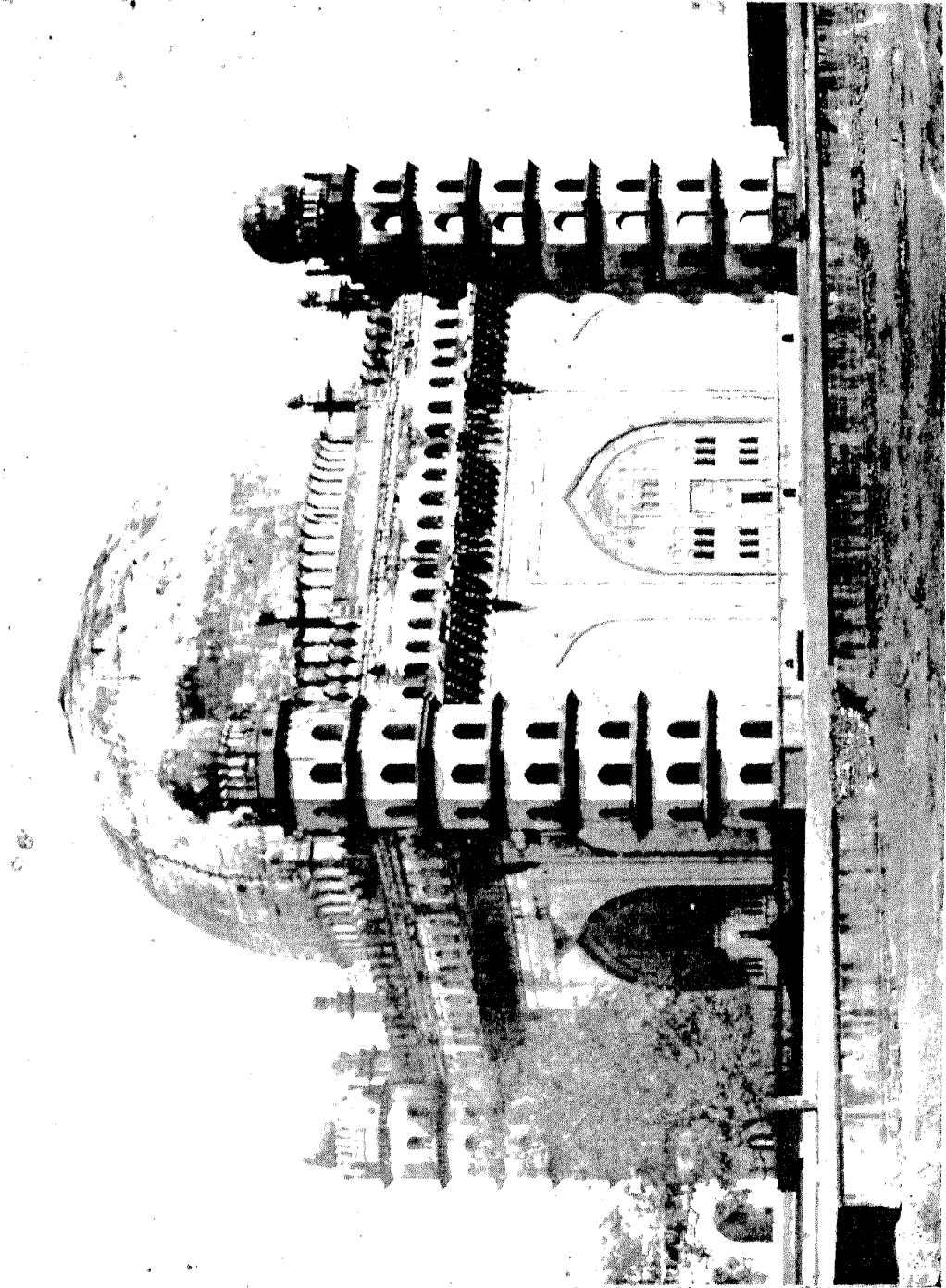


(a) Bijapur, Ibrāhīm Rauzā, tomb of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, died 1627.

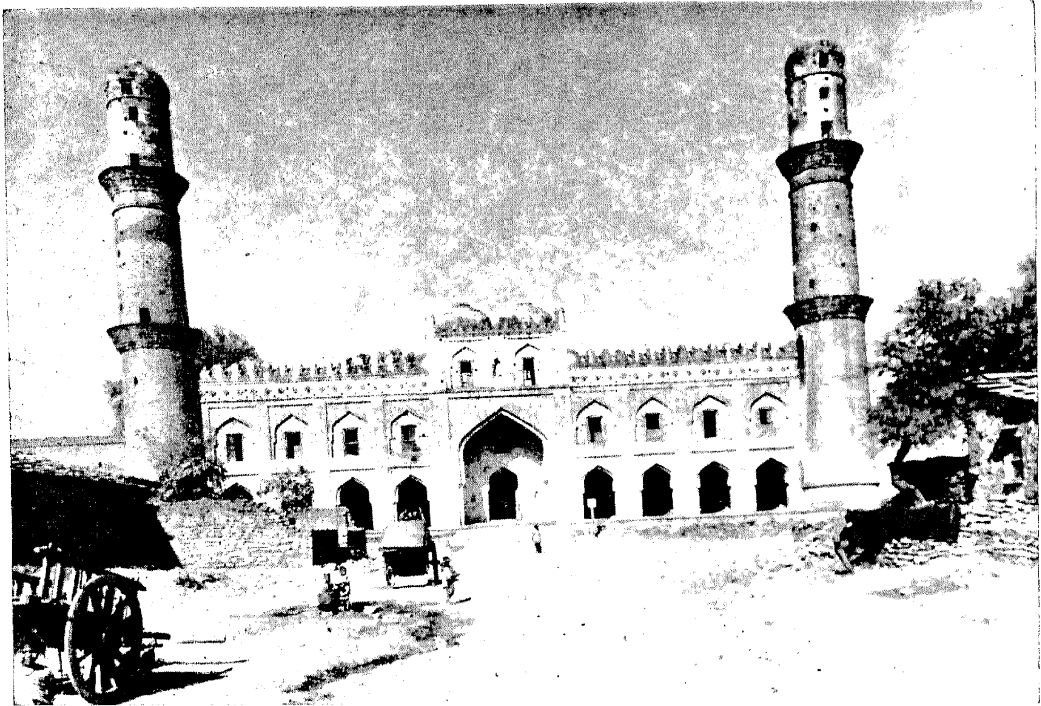


(b) Bijapur : Ibrāhīm Rauzā Mosque.

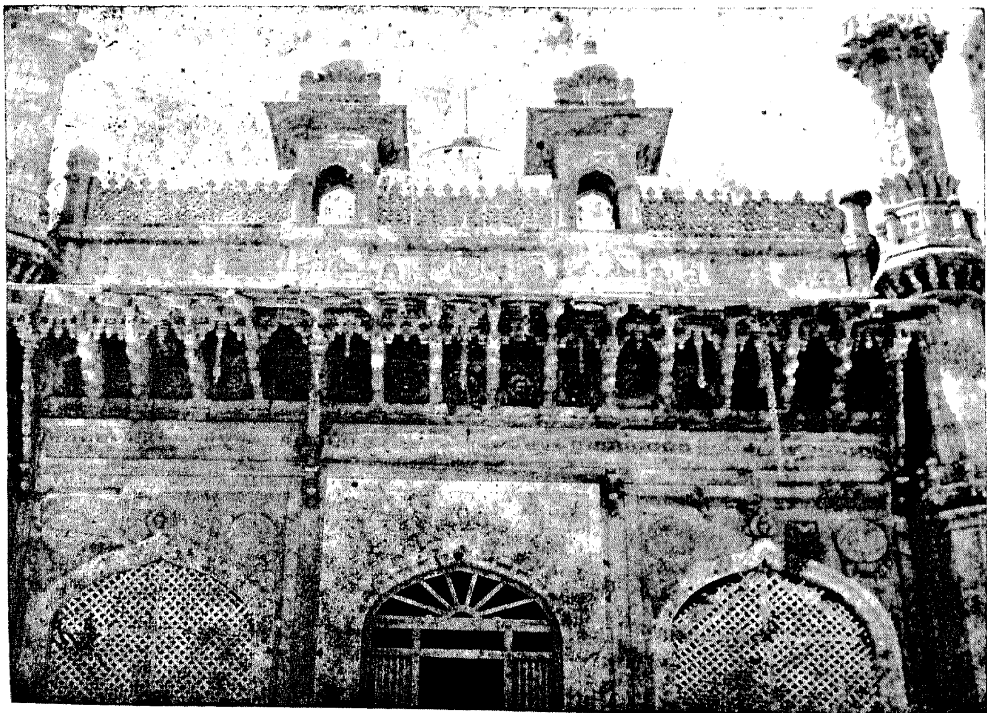




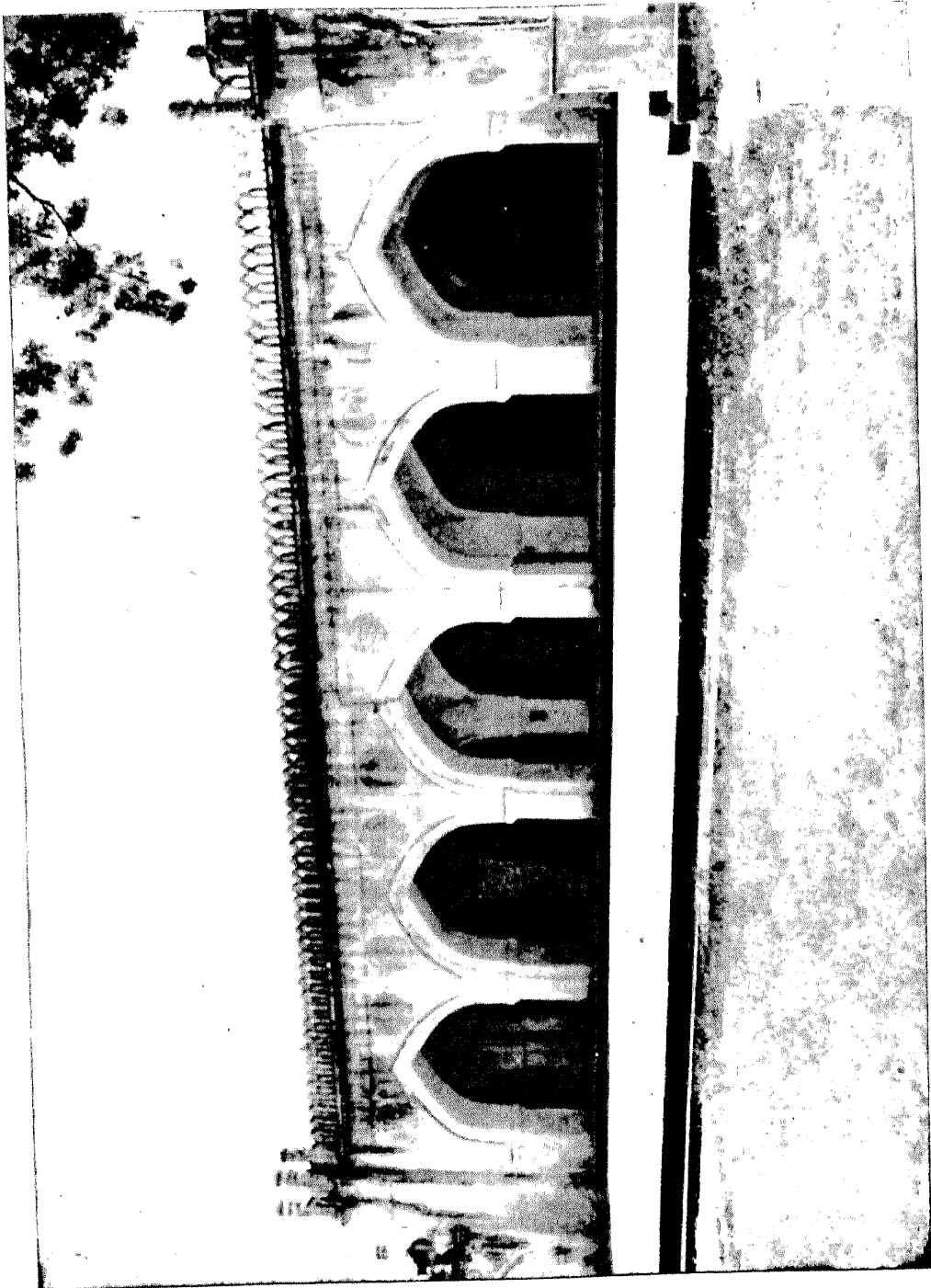
Bijapur : Göl Gumbad, tomb of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh, died 1656.



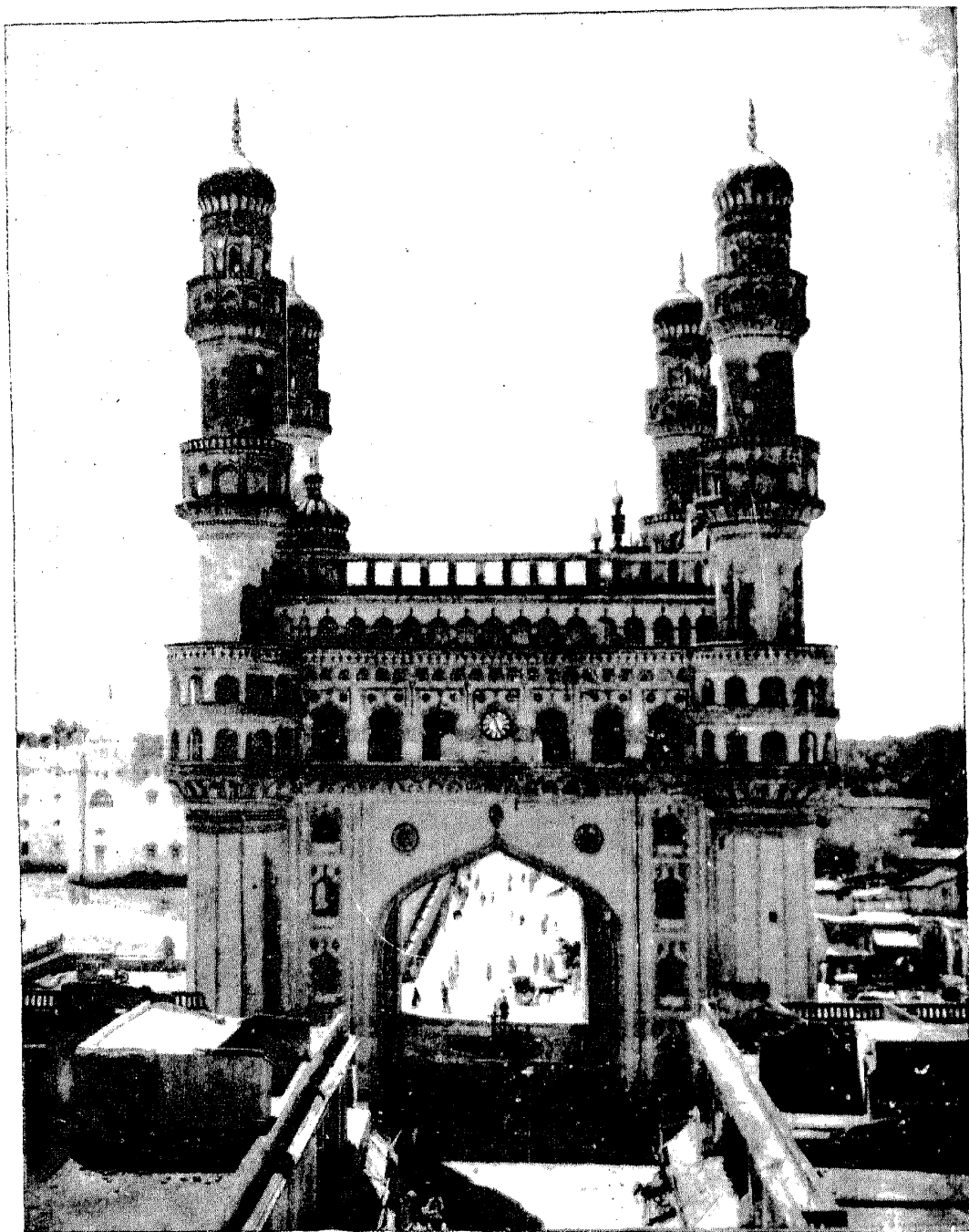
(a) Gulbarga : Gateway, tomb of Shaikh Sirāju'd-dīn Junaidī, died 1380 (Rauzā-i Shaikh) ; the gateway, the facade and the minarets, constructed by Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān of Bijapur about 1500.



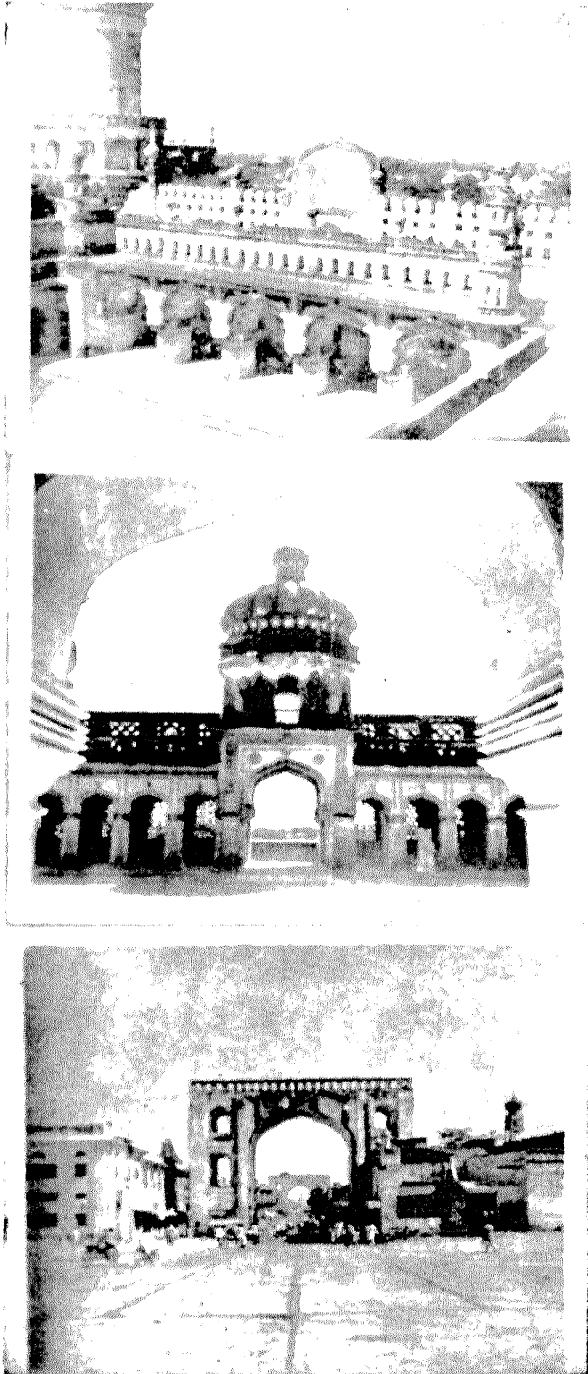
(b) Lakshamēshwar : Jāmi' Masjid, Front View.



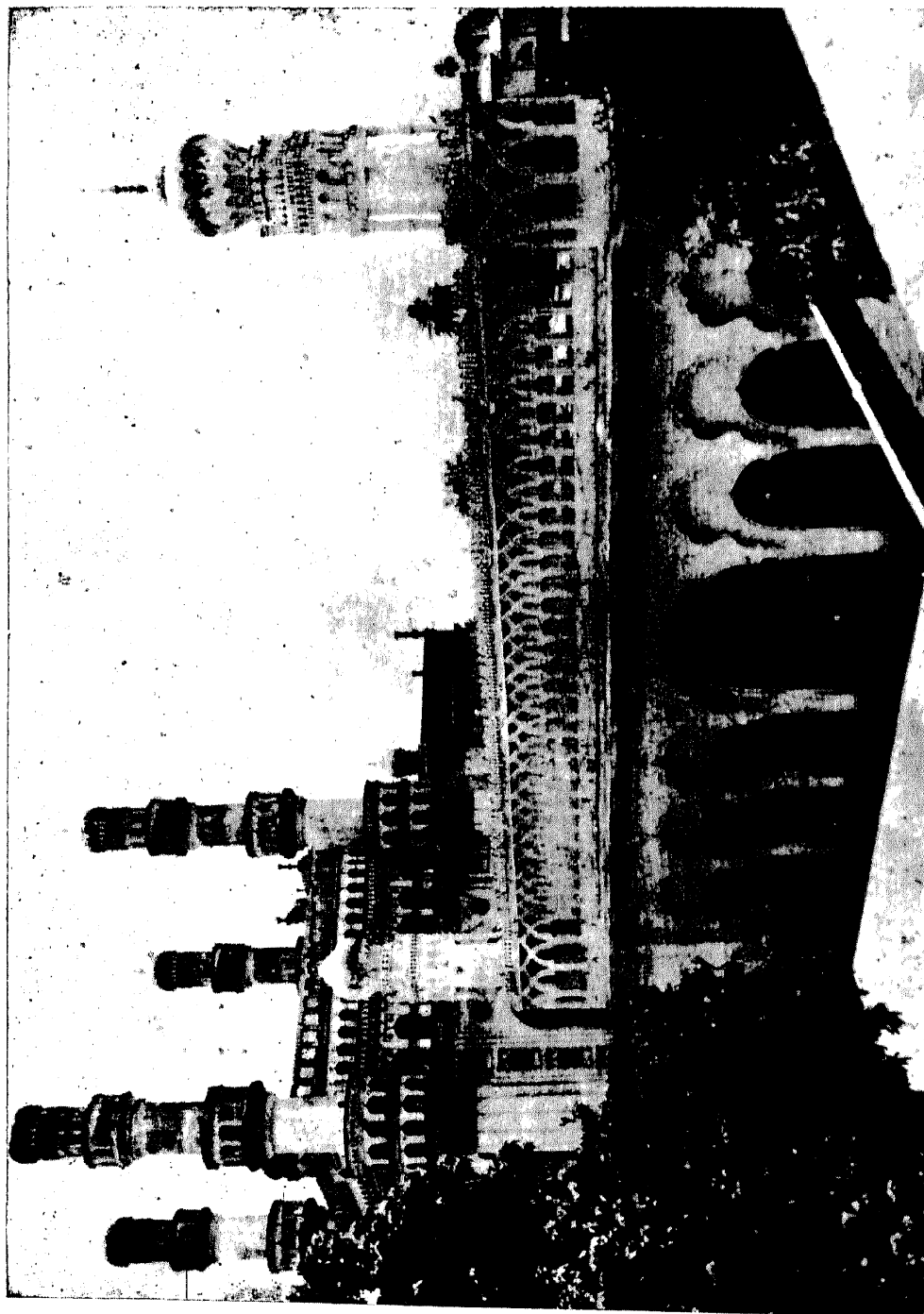
Golkonda : Masjid-i Şafā. 1518.



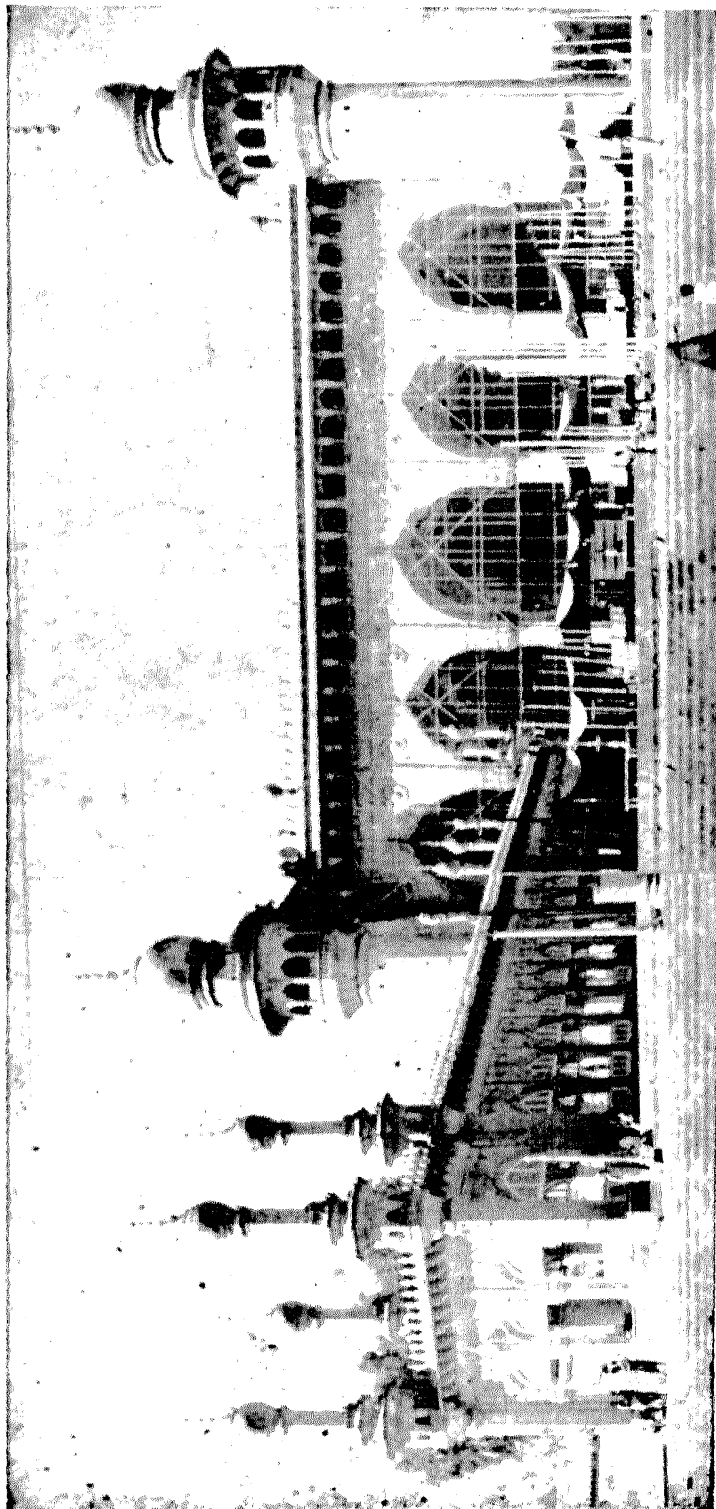
Hyderabad: Chārminār, 1591-2.



- (a) Hyderabad: Mosque at the top of Chārmīnār.
- (b) Hyderabad: Pavilion and Arcade from the central arch of the Mosque, top of Chārmīnār.
- (c) Hyderabad: Chārkamān. Northern and Southern Arches; 1591-92.



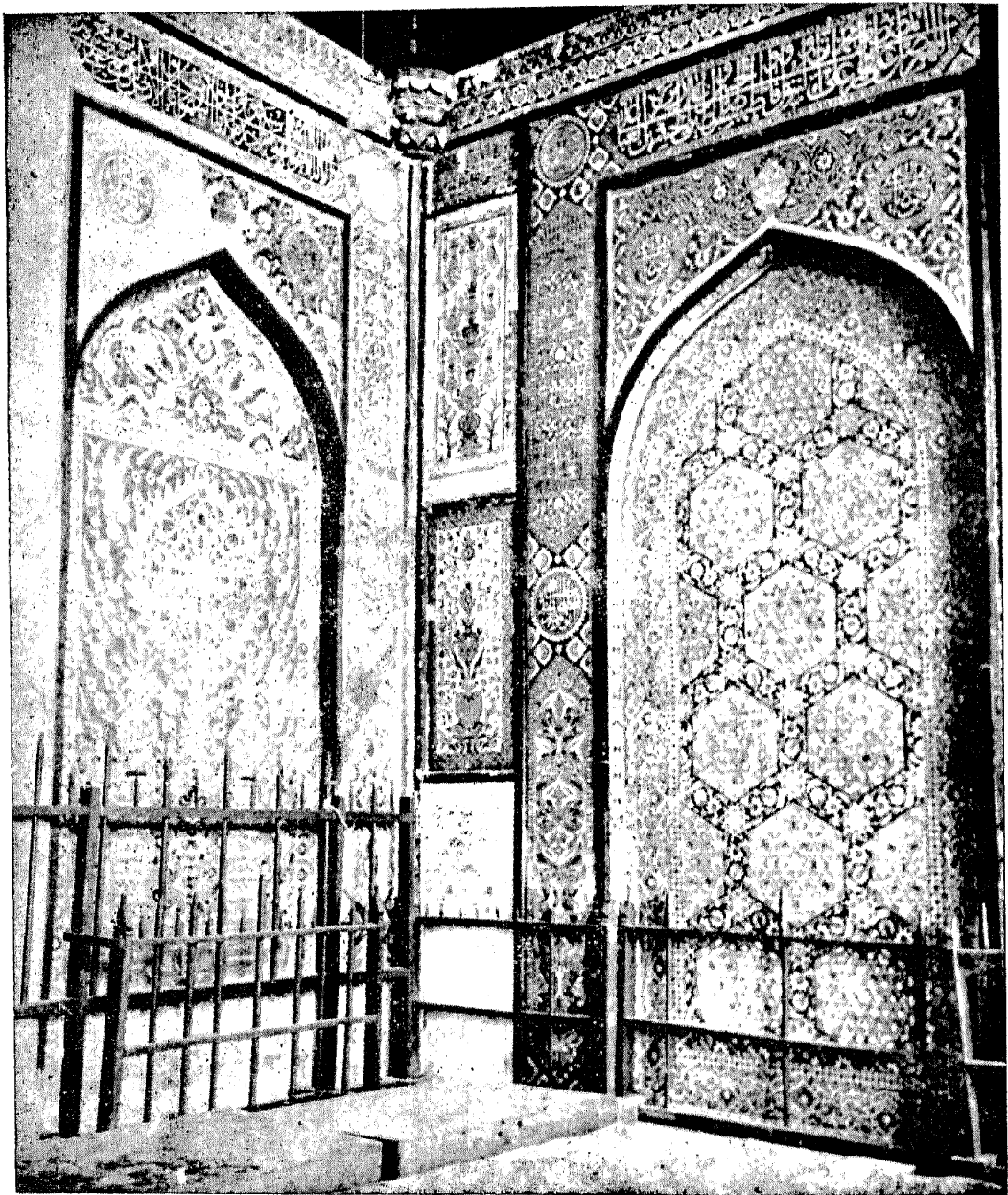
Hydarabad Jami' Masjid, 1597-98. with Chārminār in left background.



Hydarabad : Mecca Masjid, commenced 1618, completed 1692-93. Left, enclosure containing graves of certain Āṣaf Jahi rulers, princes and princesses.

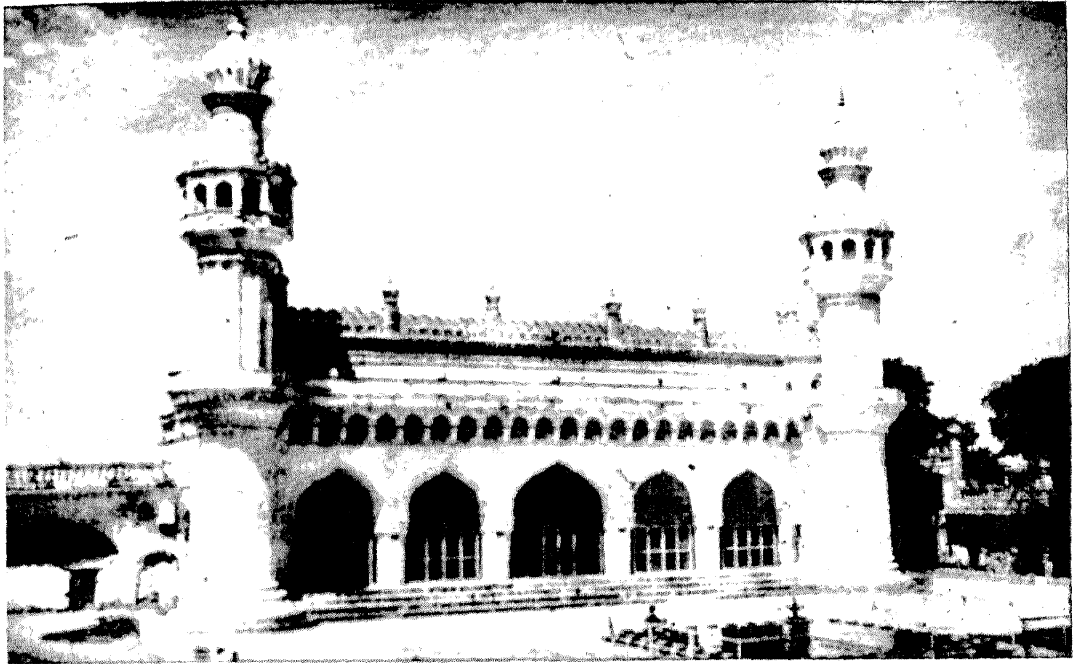


PLATE XLII

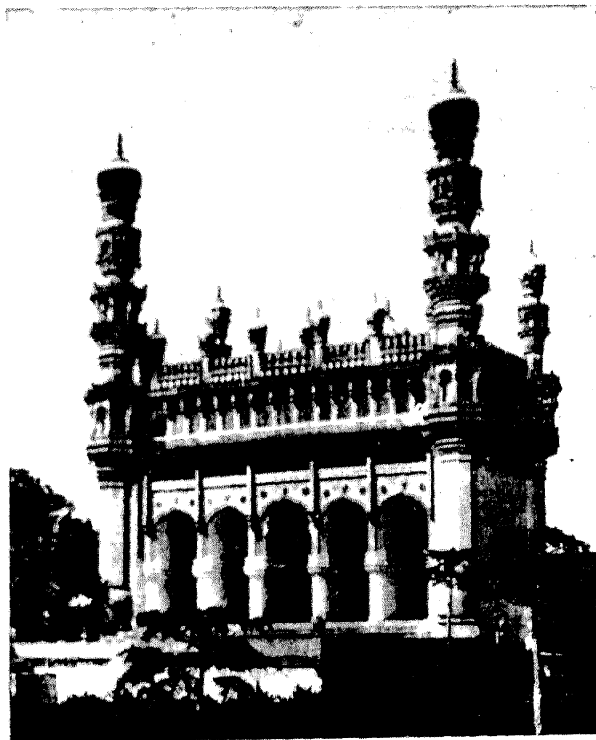


Hyderabad : Bādshāhī 'Āshūrkhānā, enamel work ; 1592-93 onwards.



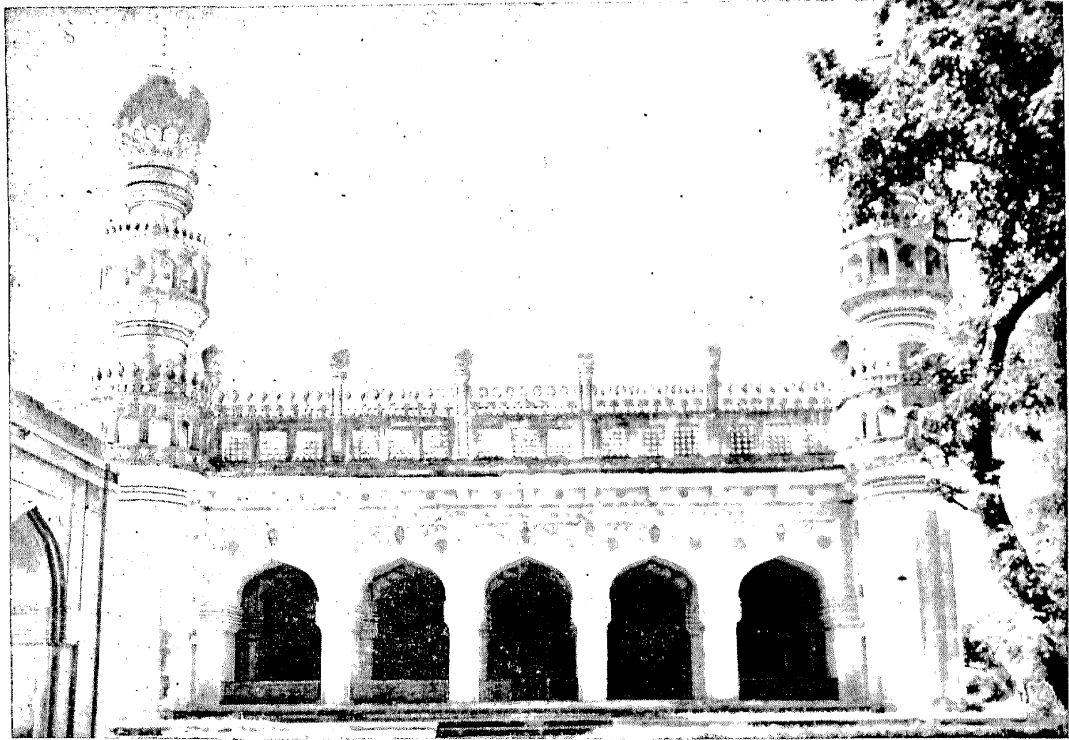


(a) Hyderabad : Mushirabad Mosque temp. Muḥammad-Qaḥ Qaḥ Shah (1580-1611)

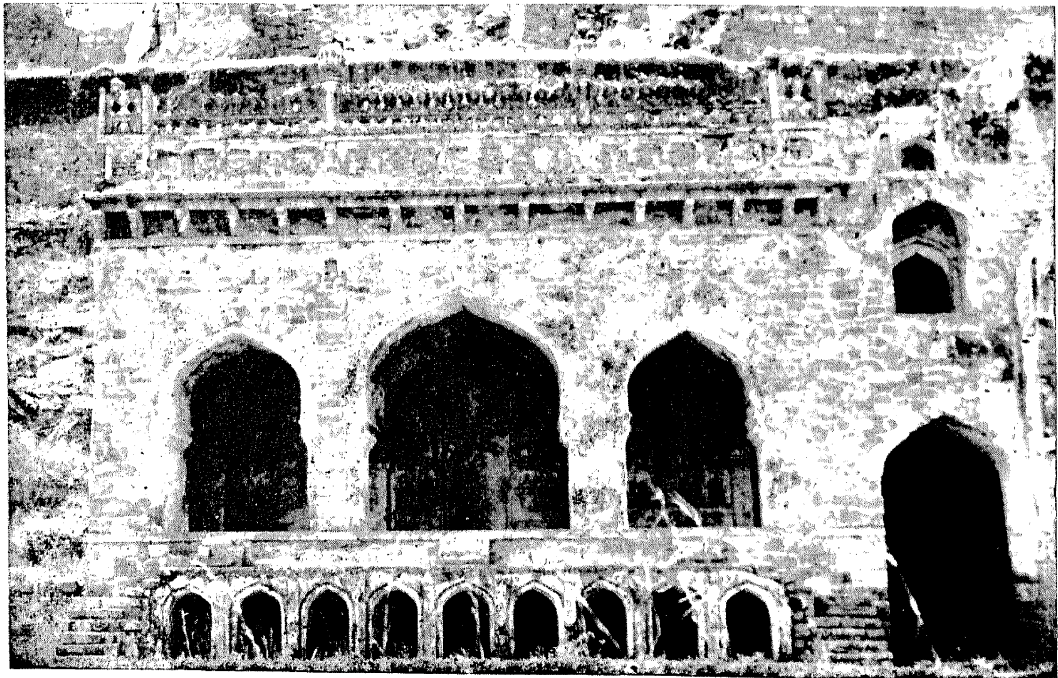


(b) Hyderabad : Tōlī Masjid, 1671-72.

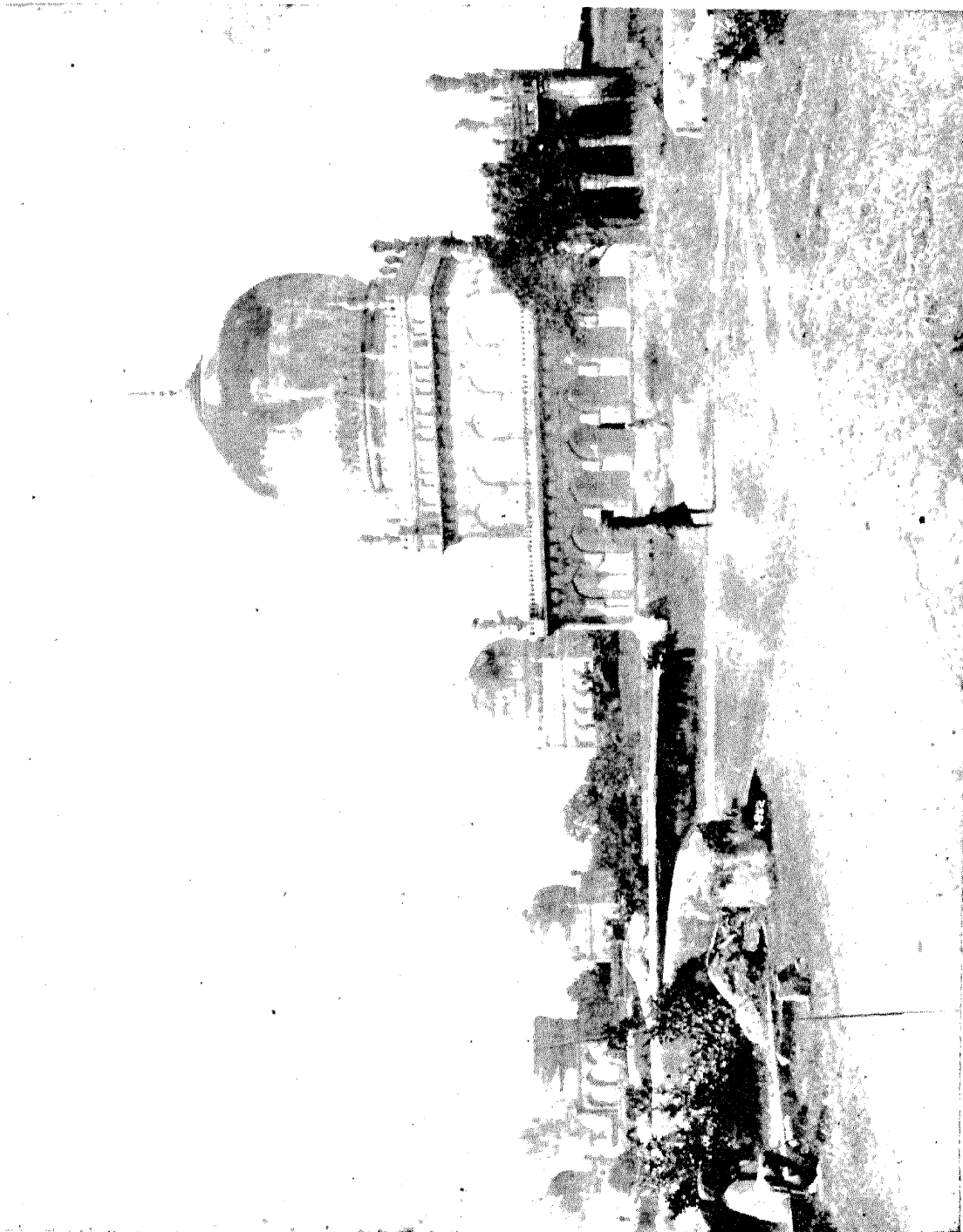
PLATE XLIV

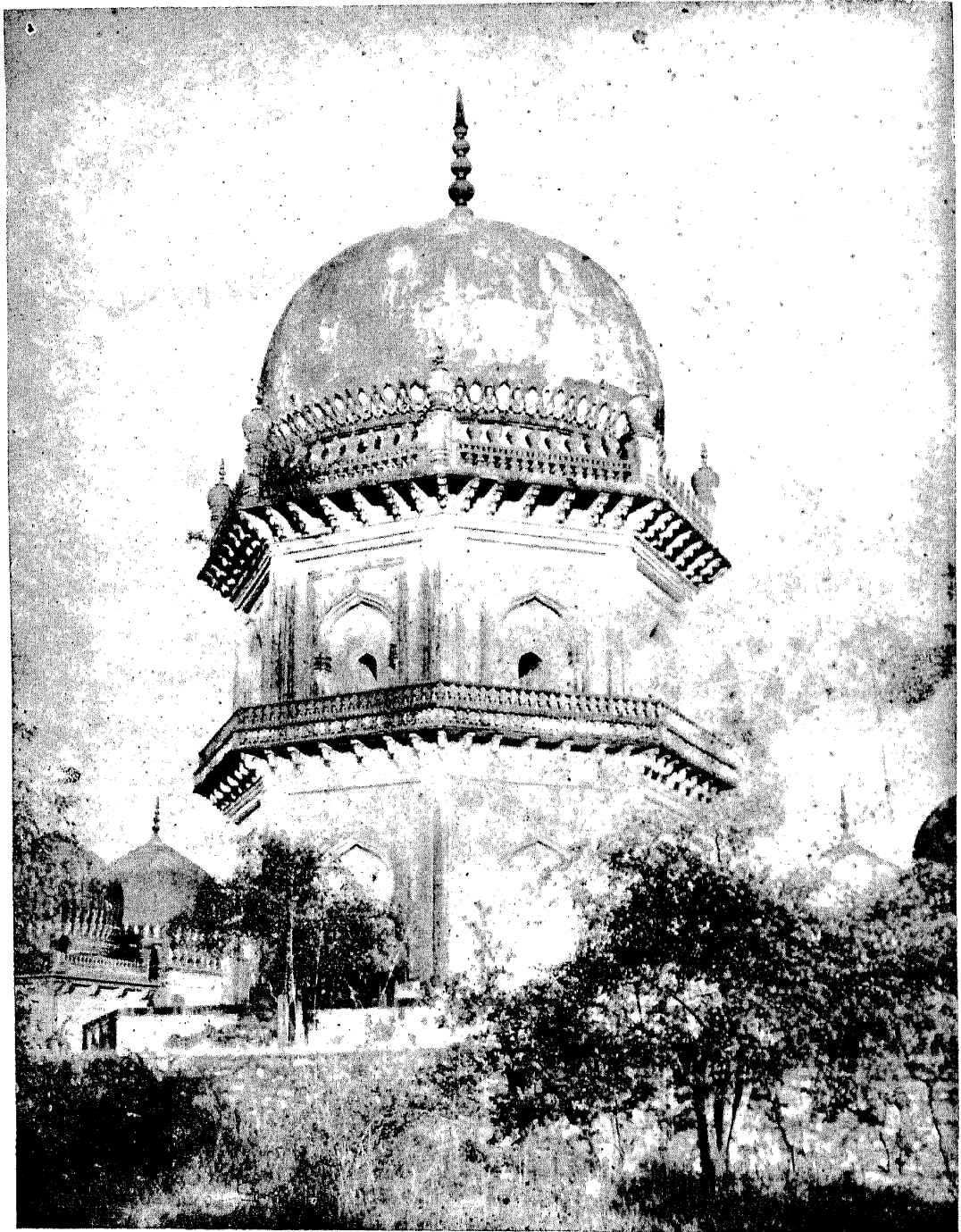


(a) Golkonda : Mosque behind Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam's tomb ; c. 1666.

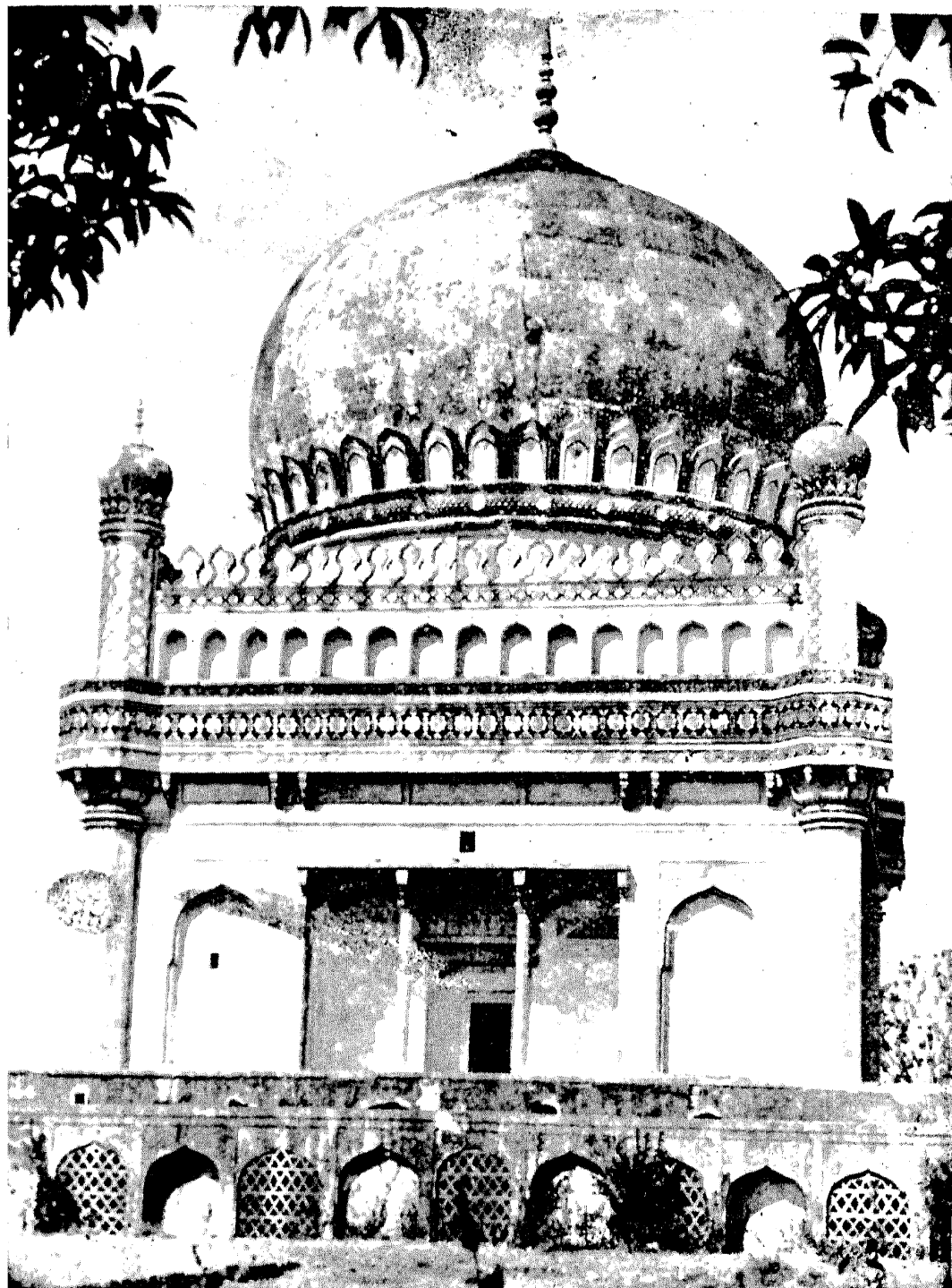


(b) Golkonda : Tārāmātī's Mosque, undated. Tārāmātī lived temp. 'Ābdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh (1626-72).



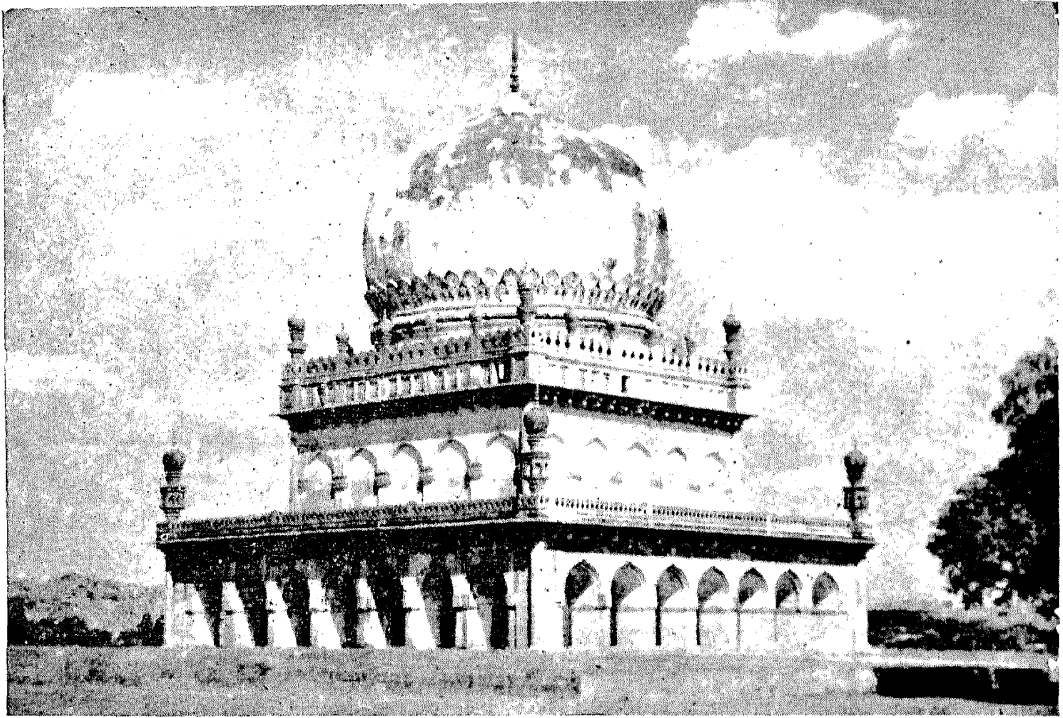


Golkonda : Tomb of Jamshīd Qutbu'l-Mulk, died 1550.

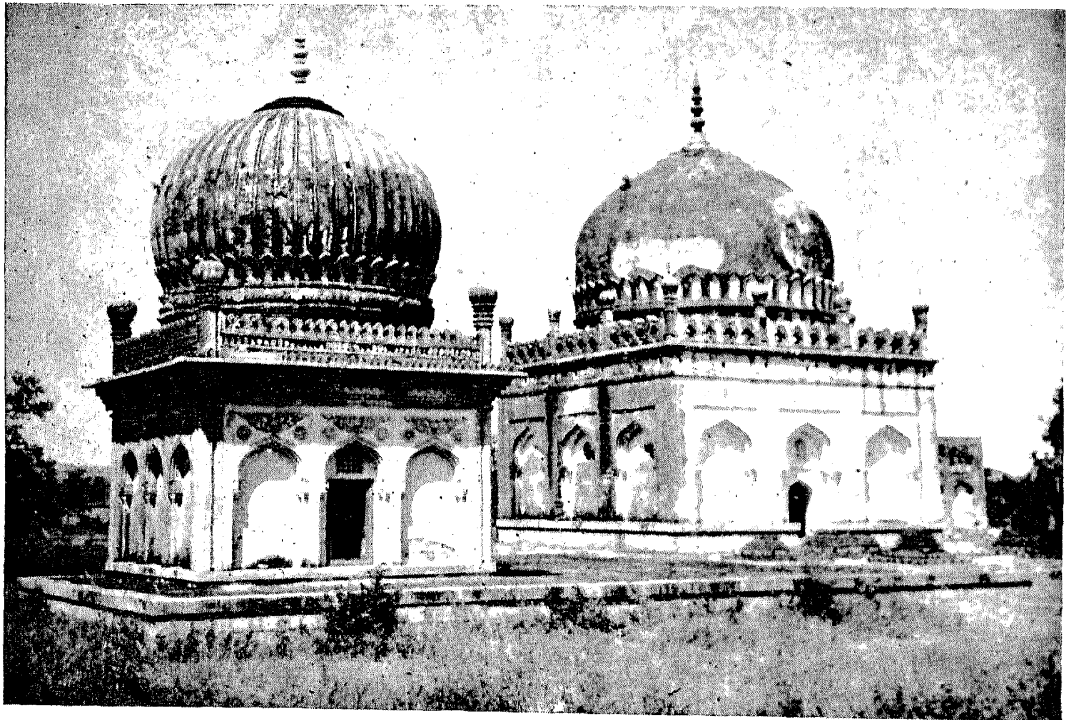


Golkonda : Tomb of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, died 1611.

PLATE XLVIII

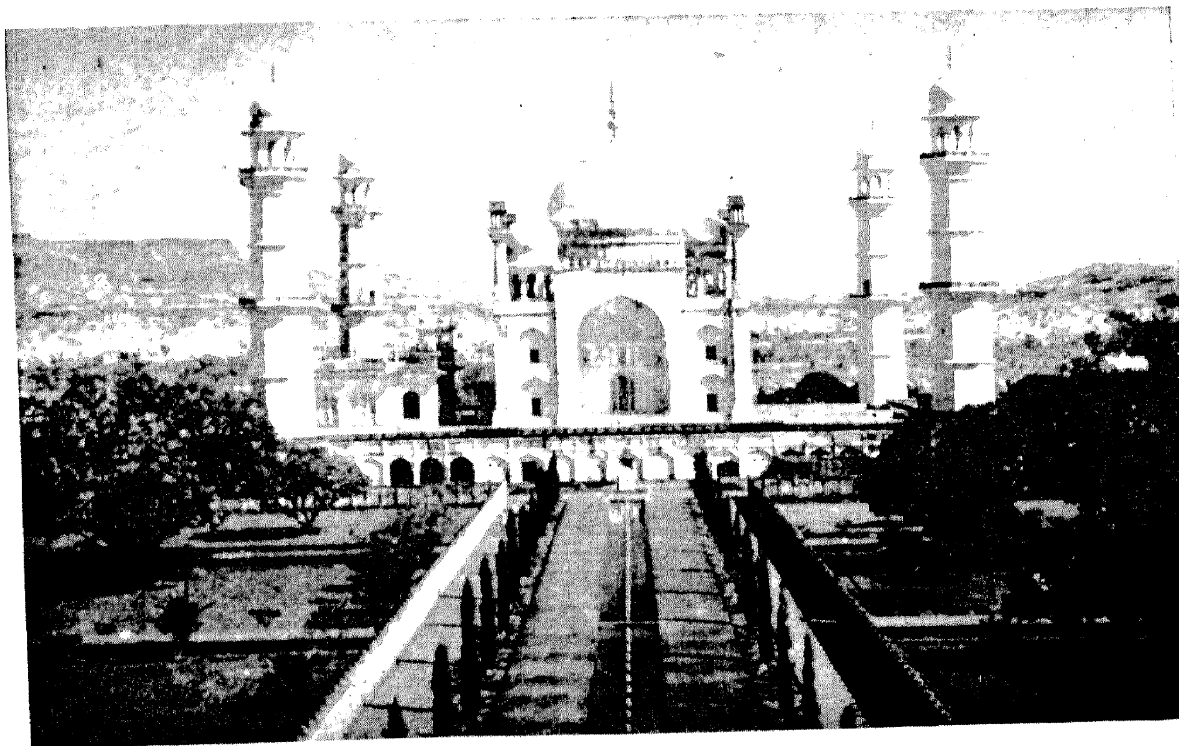


(a) Golkonda : Tomb of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, died 1672.



(b) Tombs of Tārāmātī and Pēmamātī ; c. 1662.

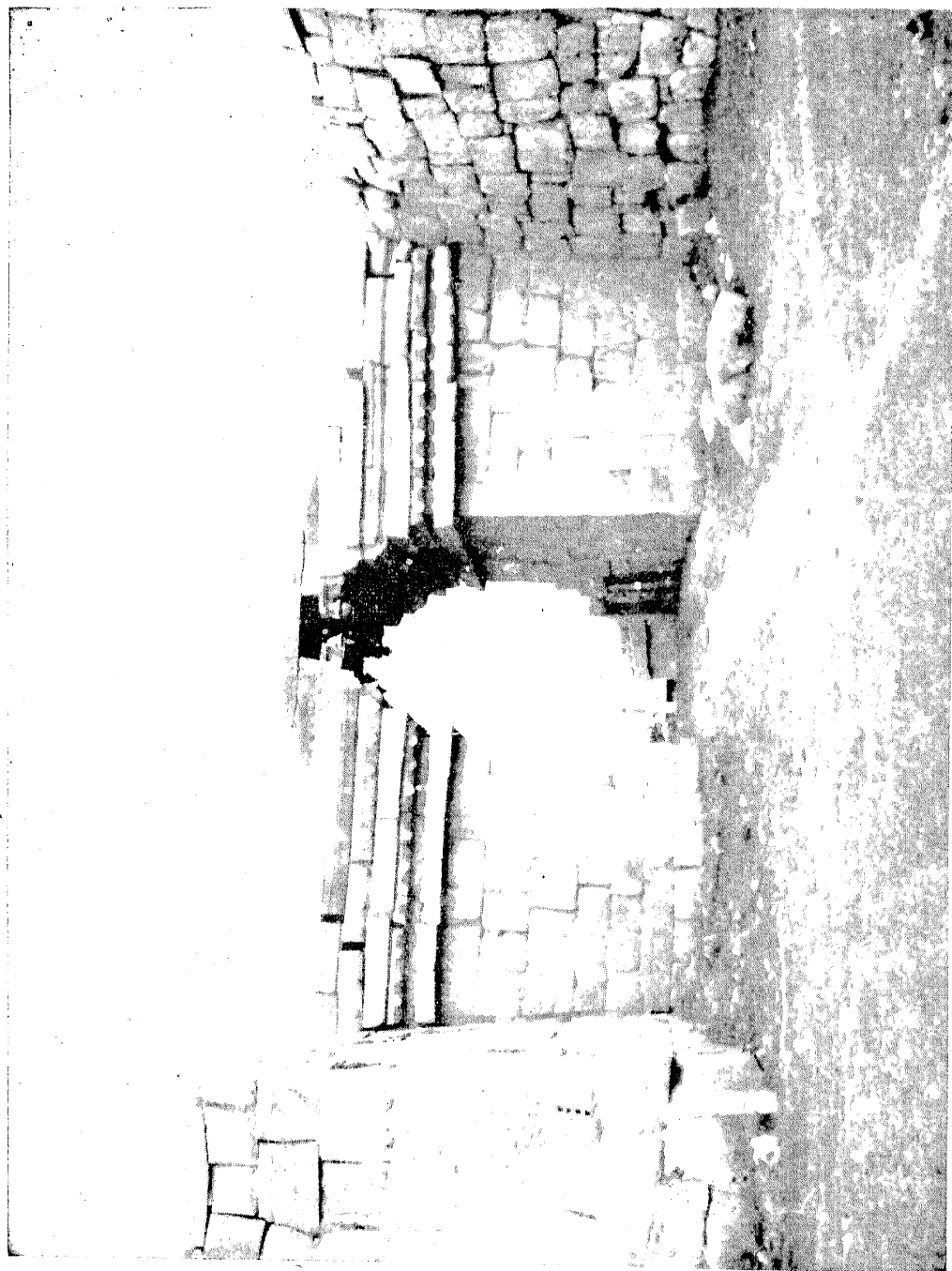




(a) Aurangabad : Bibi ka Maqbarā ; c. 1661.

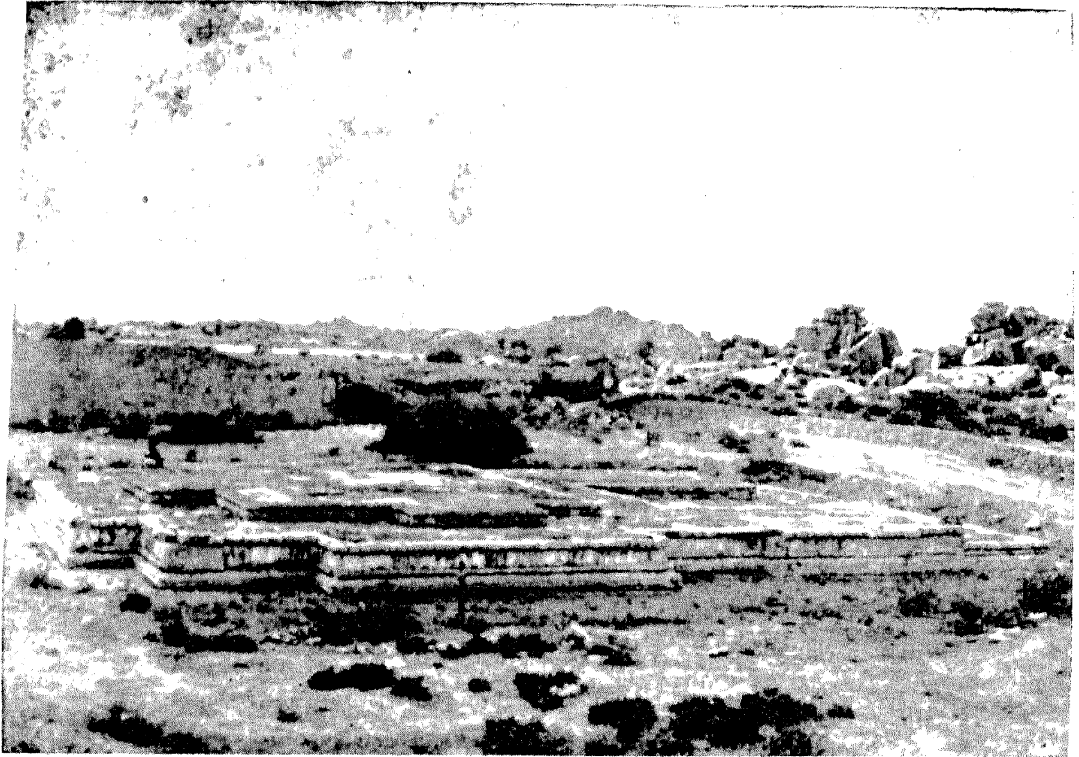


(b) Aurangabad : Mosque in Ark Qil'ah, temp. Aurangzeb.

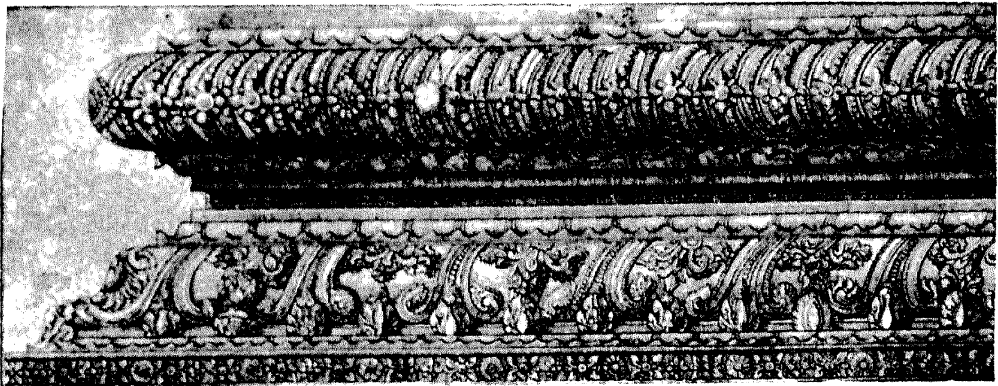


Hampi : Bhima Gateway.

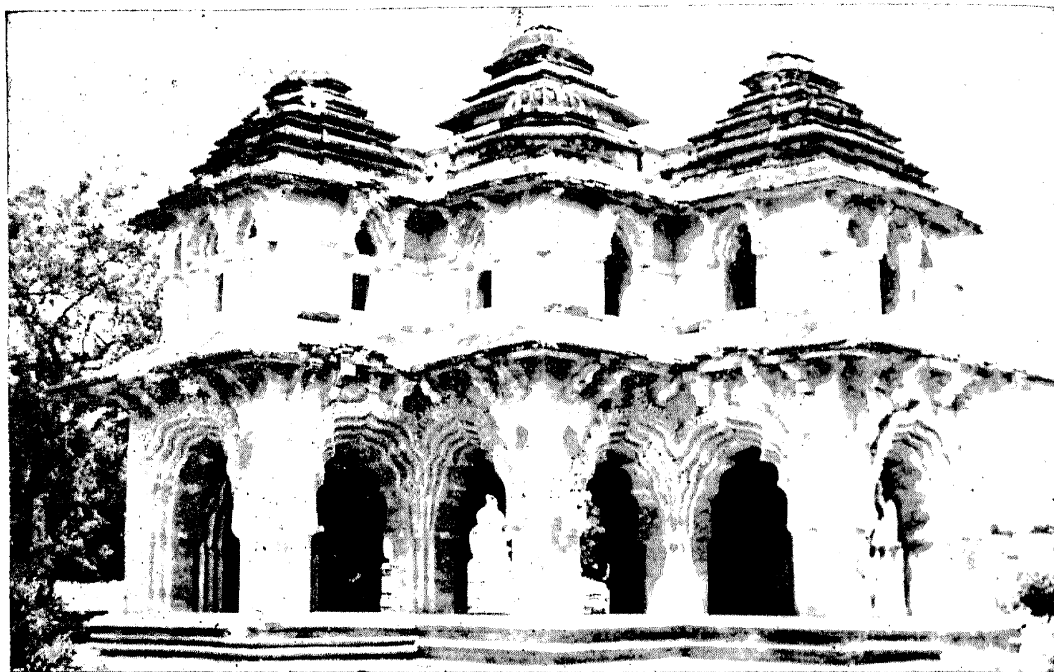




(a) Vijayanagar : Throne Platform, constructed by  
Krishnadēvarāya, about 1530.



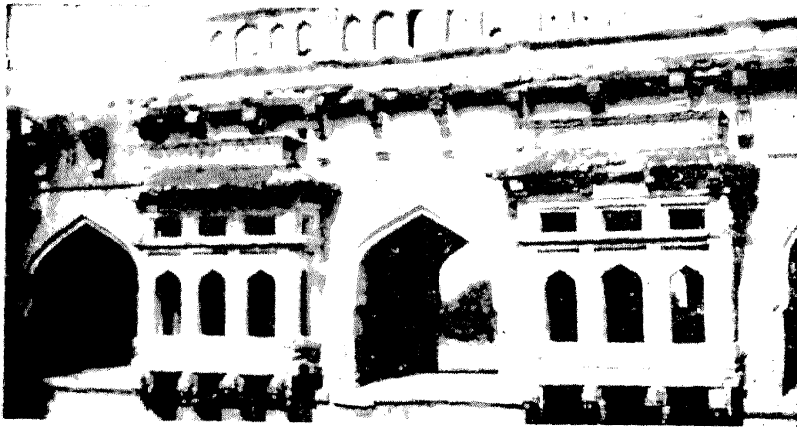
(b) Vijayanagar : Decorated Plinth.



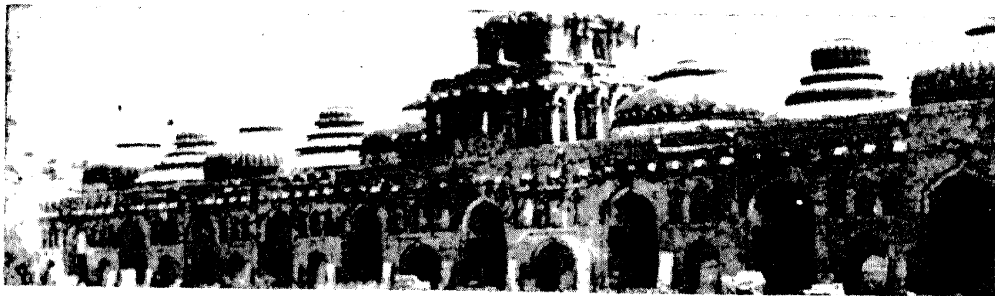
(a) Hampi : Lo'tus Maḥal.



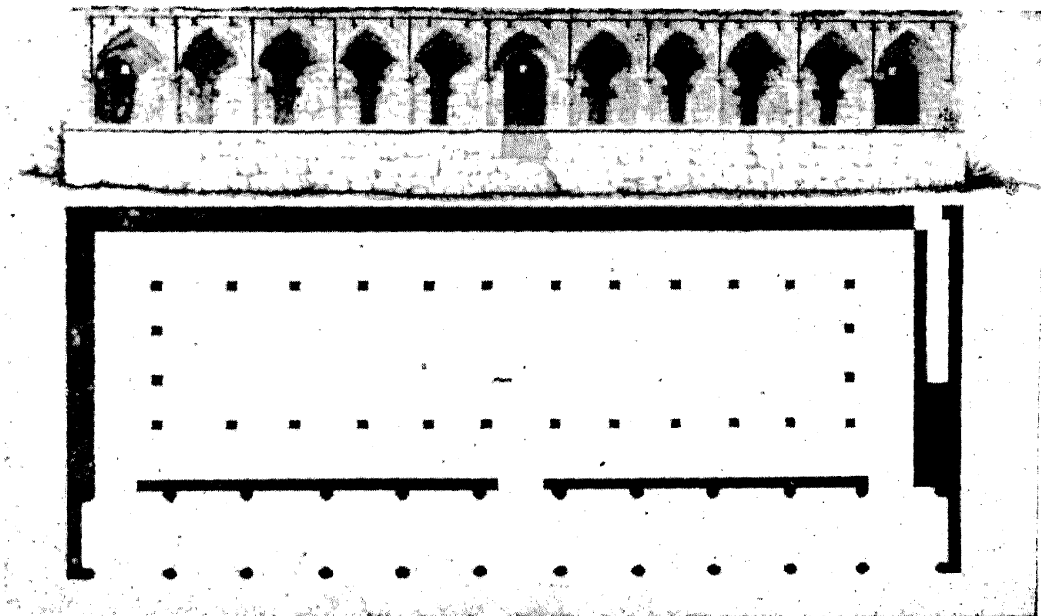
(b) Hampi : Interior View of Lotus Maḥal.



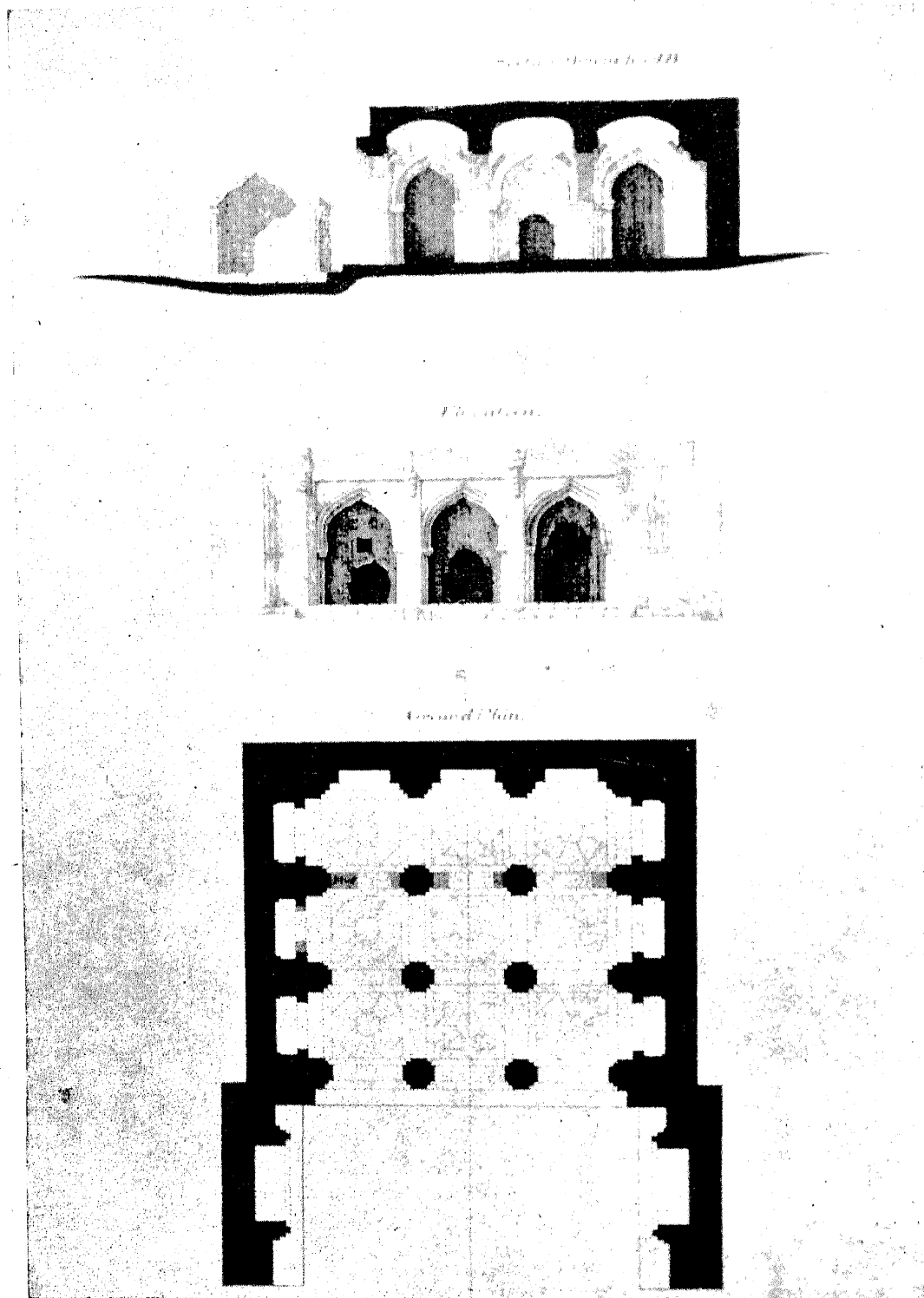
(a) Hampi : Queen's Baths.



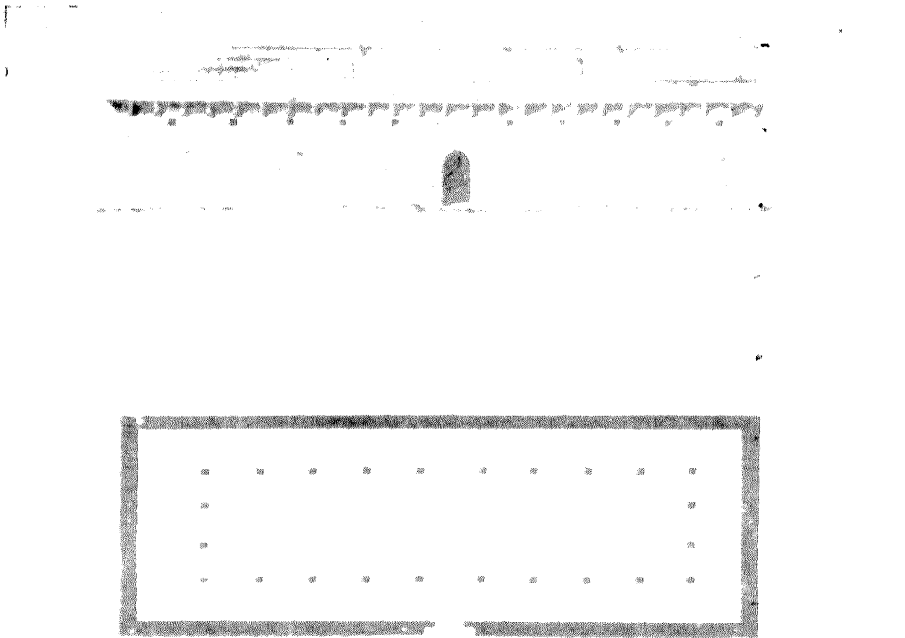
(b) Hampi : "Elephant Stables".



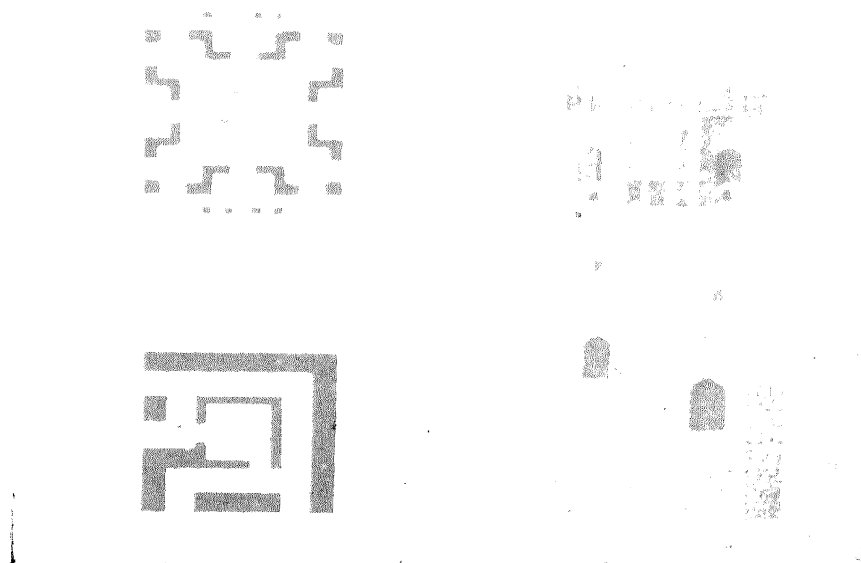
(c) Hampi : Guards' Quarters.



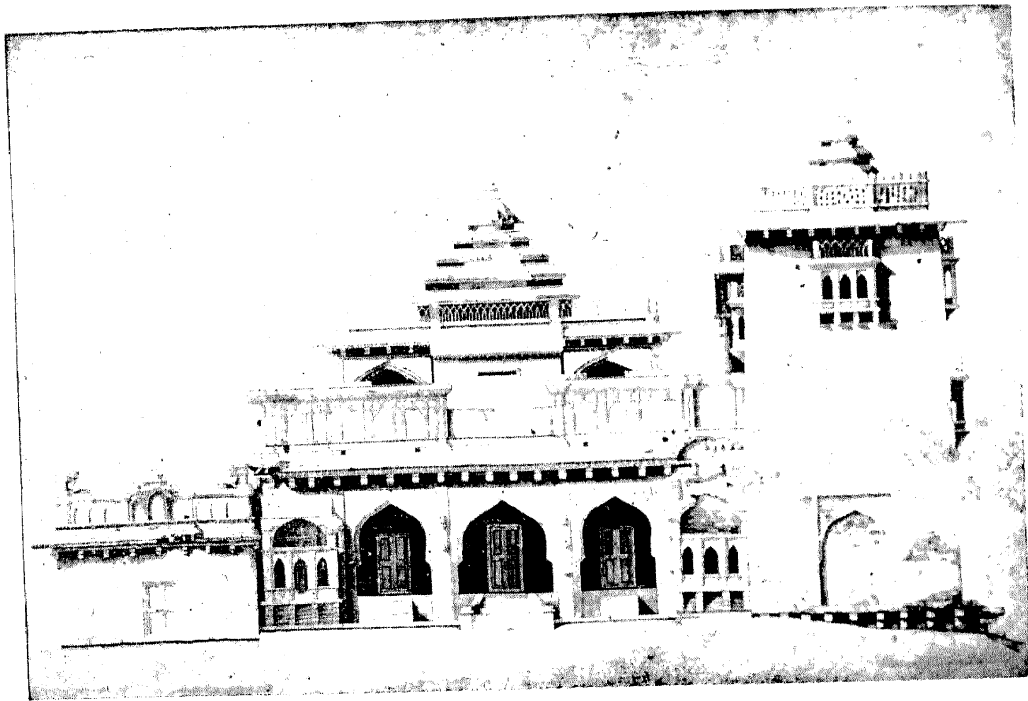
Hampi : Building in Dhannāik's Enclosure.



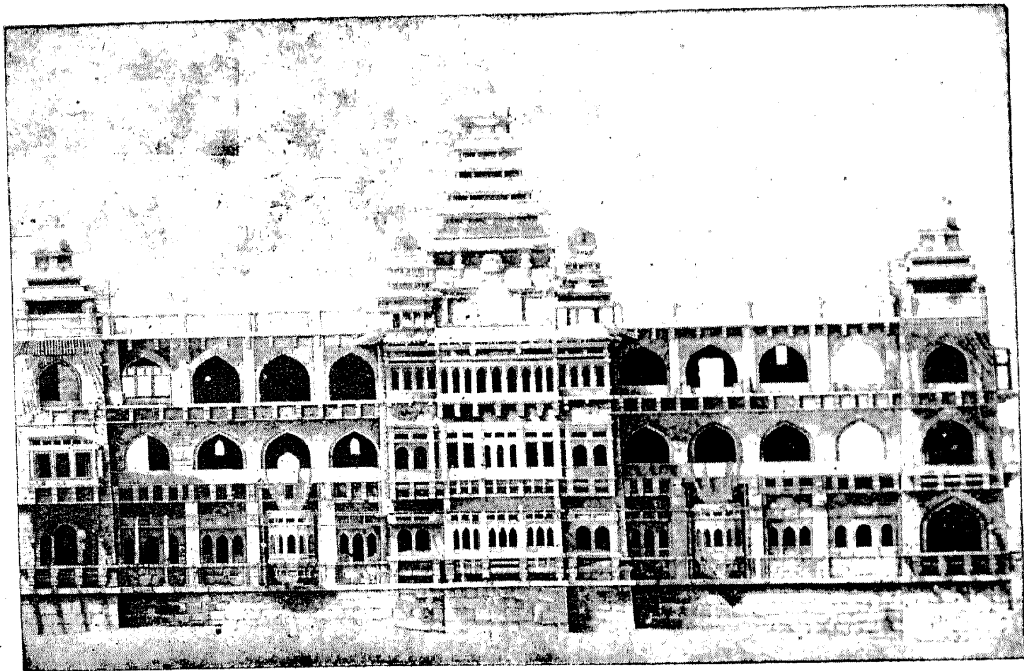
(a) Hampi : Zenāna Enclosure, Main Building.



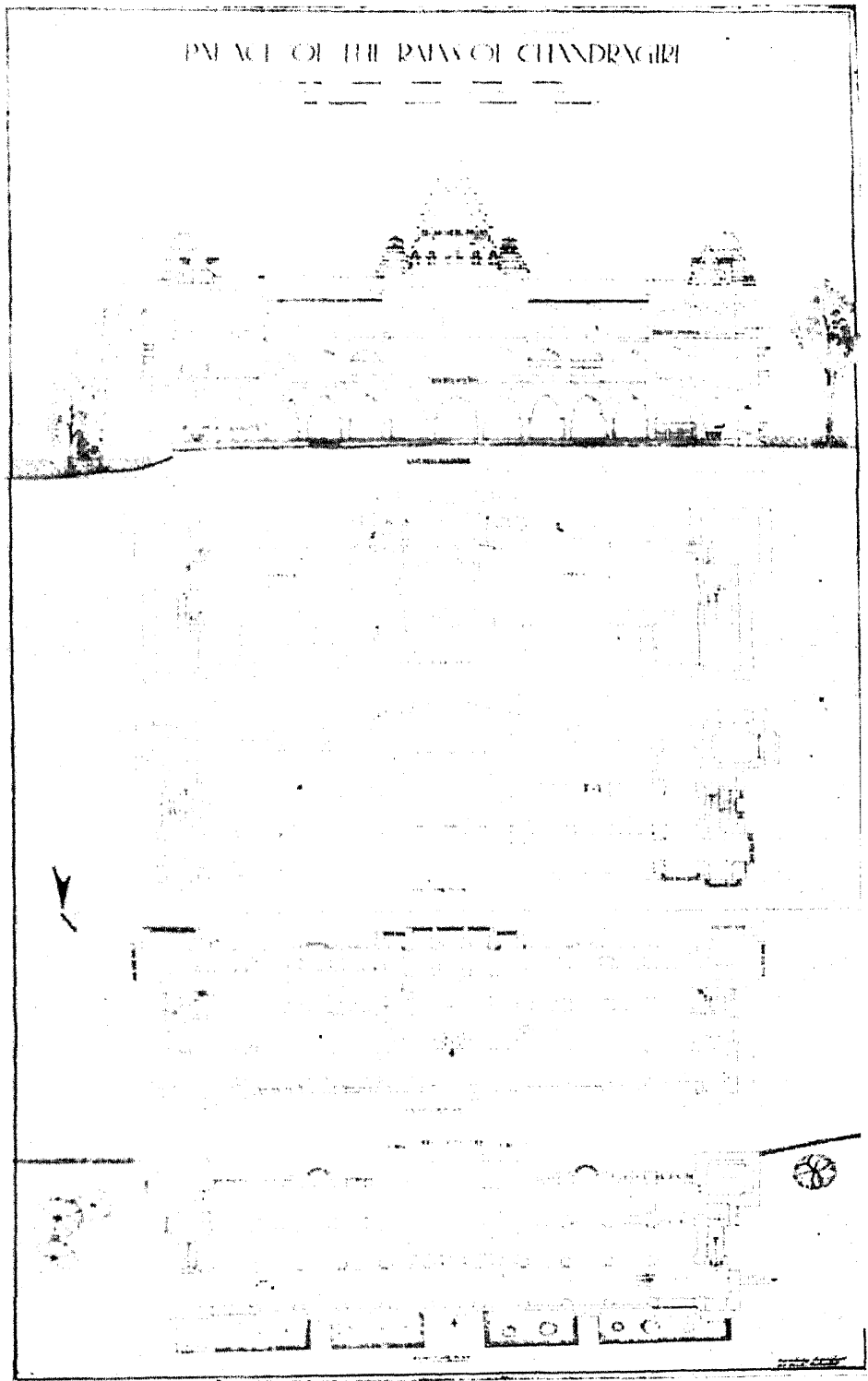
(b) Hampi : Zenāna Enclosure, Corner Towers.



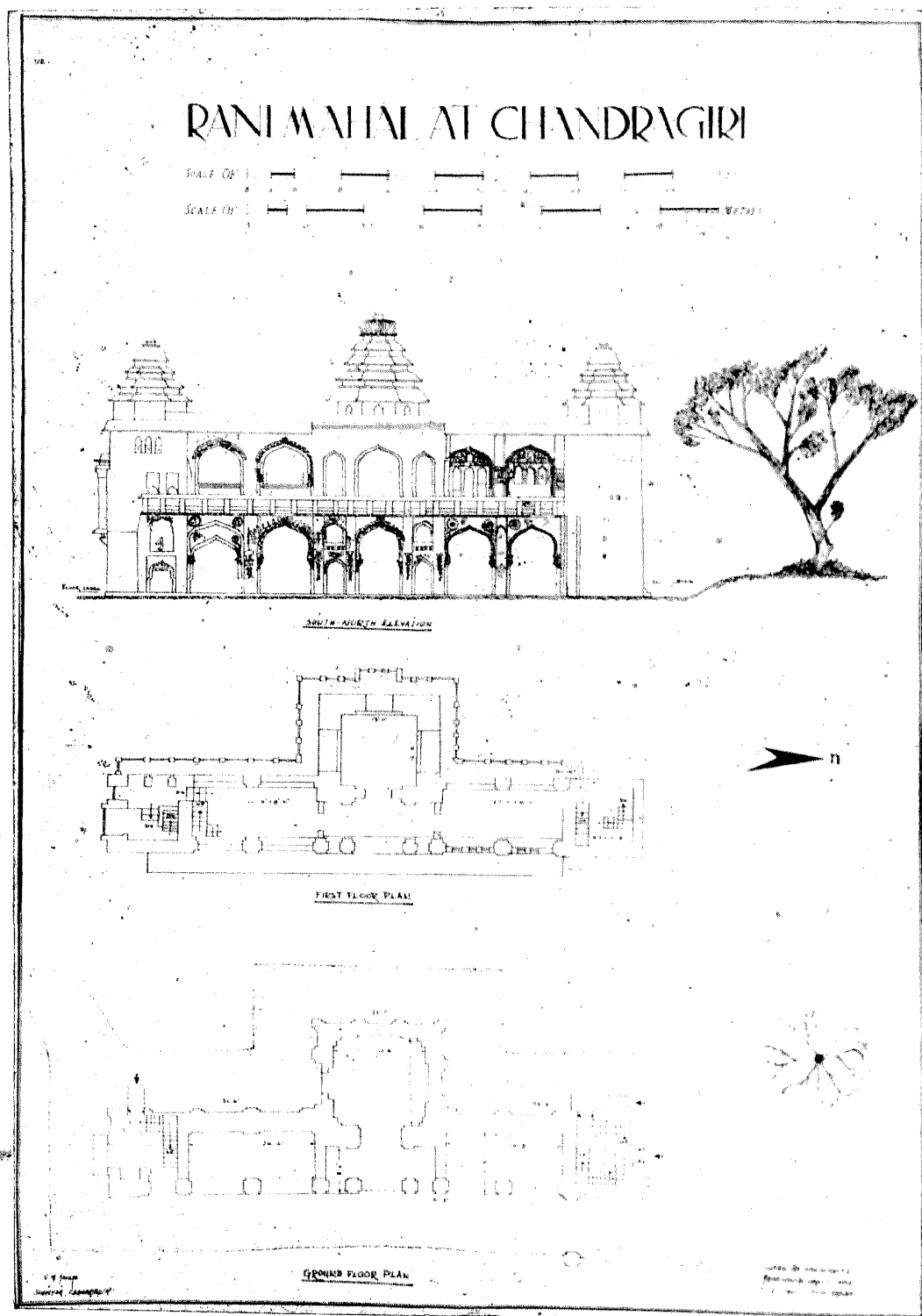
(a) Penukonḍa : Gagan Maḥal, constructed by Śrīraṅga I (1572-1584).



(b) Chandragiri : Rāja Maḥal, constructed by Venkaṭa II (1584-1614).

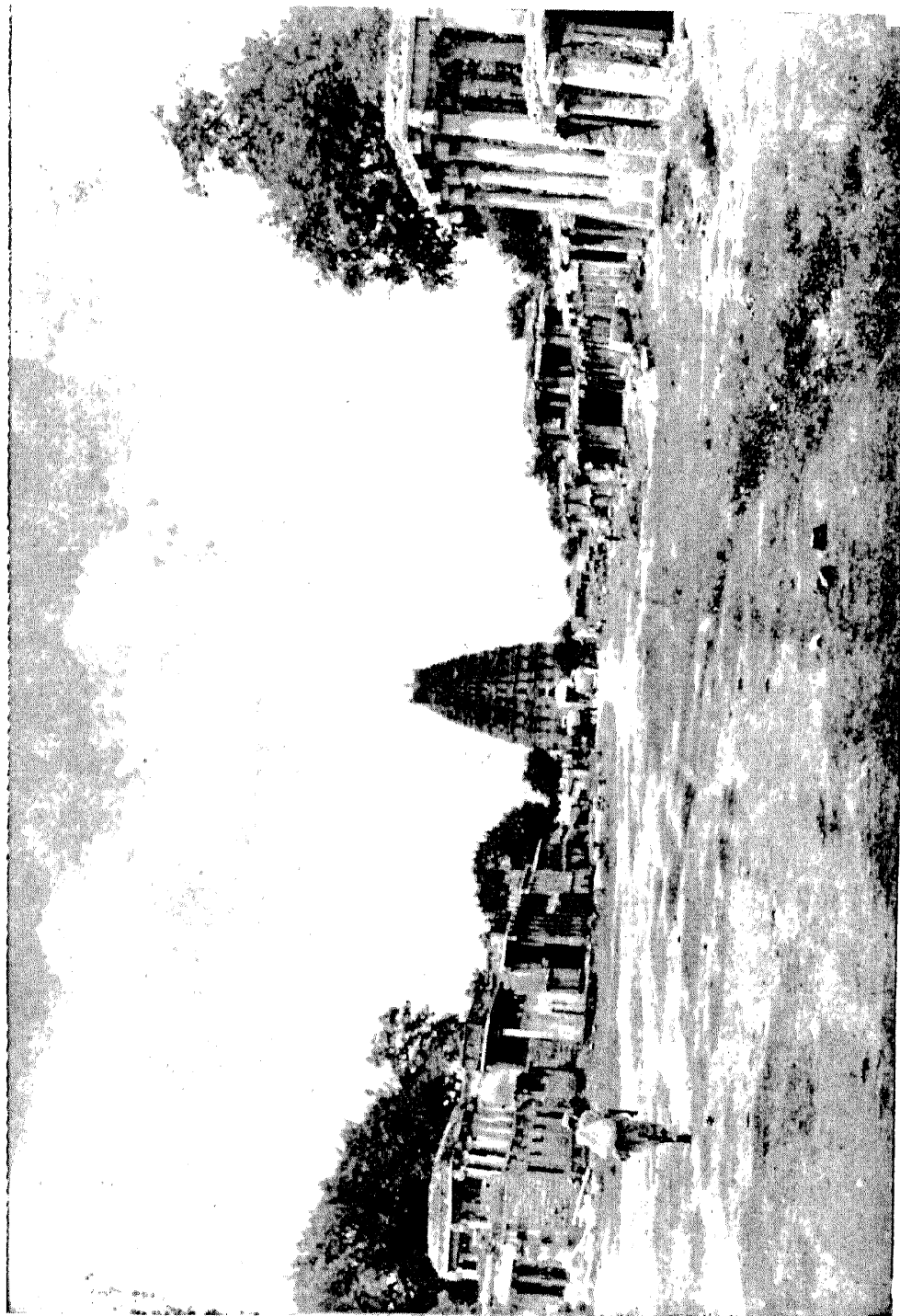


Chandragiri : Rāja Mahal, detail.



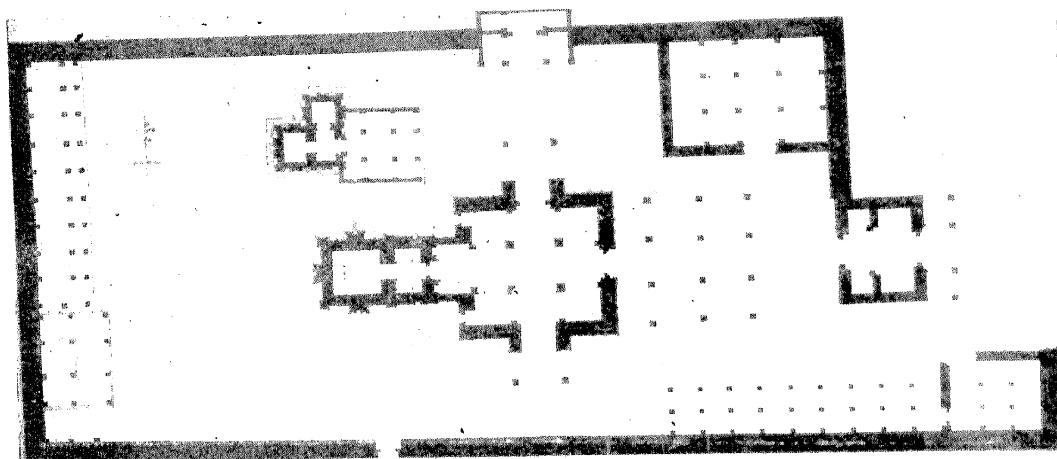
Chandragiri : Rani Mahal.



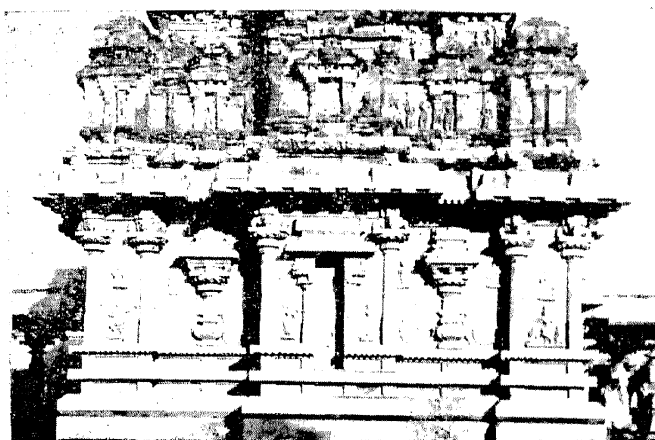


Hampi : Virupāksha Temple, construction begun by Dēvarāya II  
(1425—446-47), enlarged by Krishnadēvarāya in 1513,

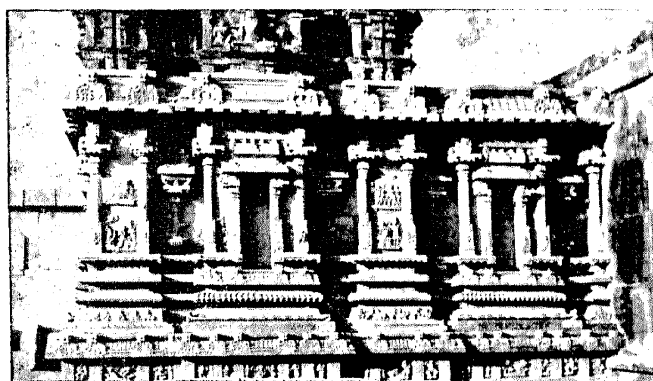
PLATE LX



(a) Hampi : Hazārā Rāma Temple, constructed by Krishnadēvarāya in 1513; Ground Plan.



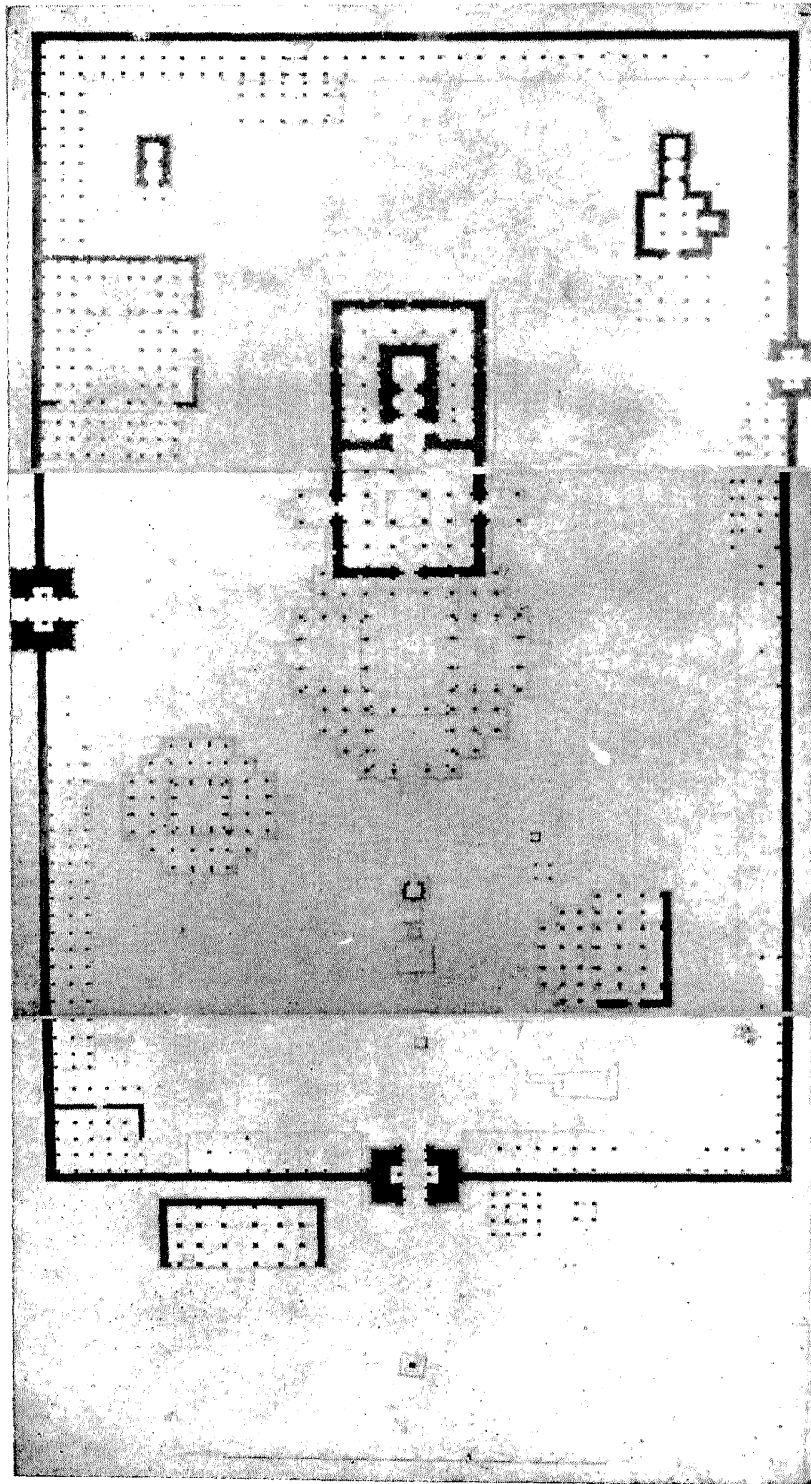
(b) Hampi : Hazārā Rāma Temple, Elevation.



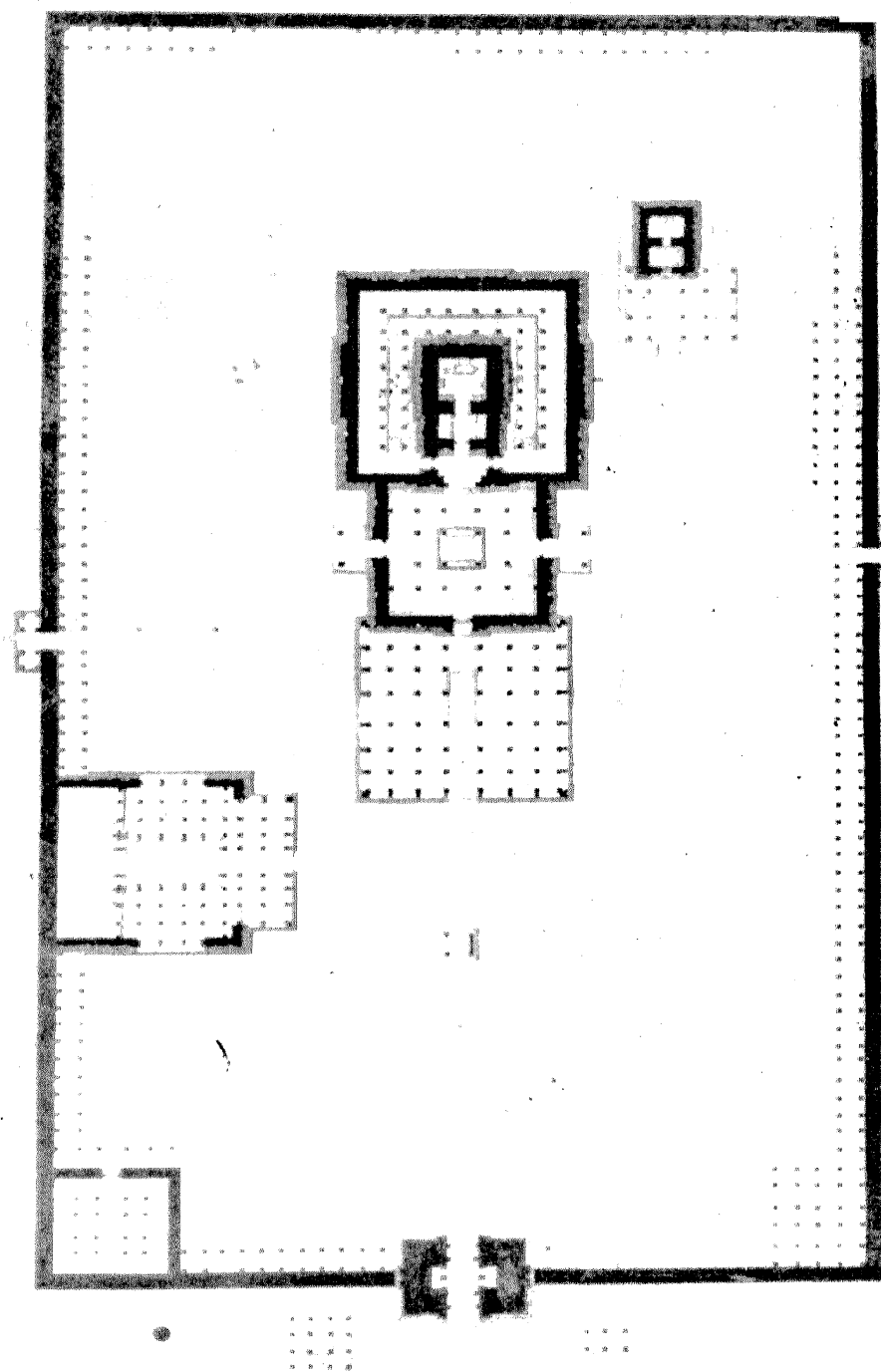
(c) Hampi : Hazārā Rāma Temple, Side View.



Hampi : Vittalaśwāmi Temple, constructed during the  
Sangama period, renovated by Krishnadevarāya.



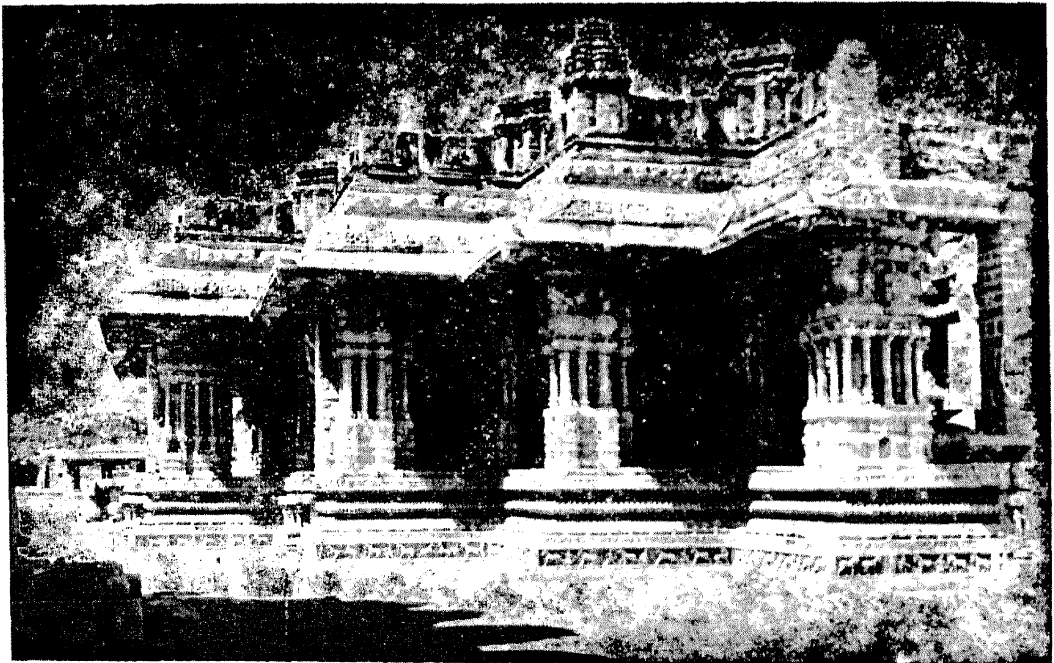
Hampi : Panoramic view of Viṭṭhala Temple, Ground Plan.



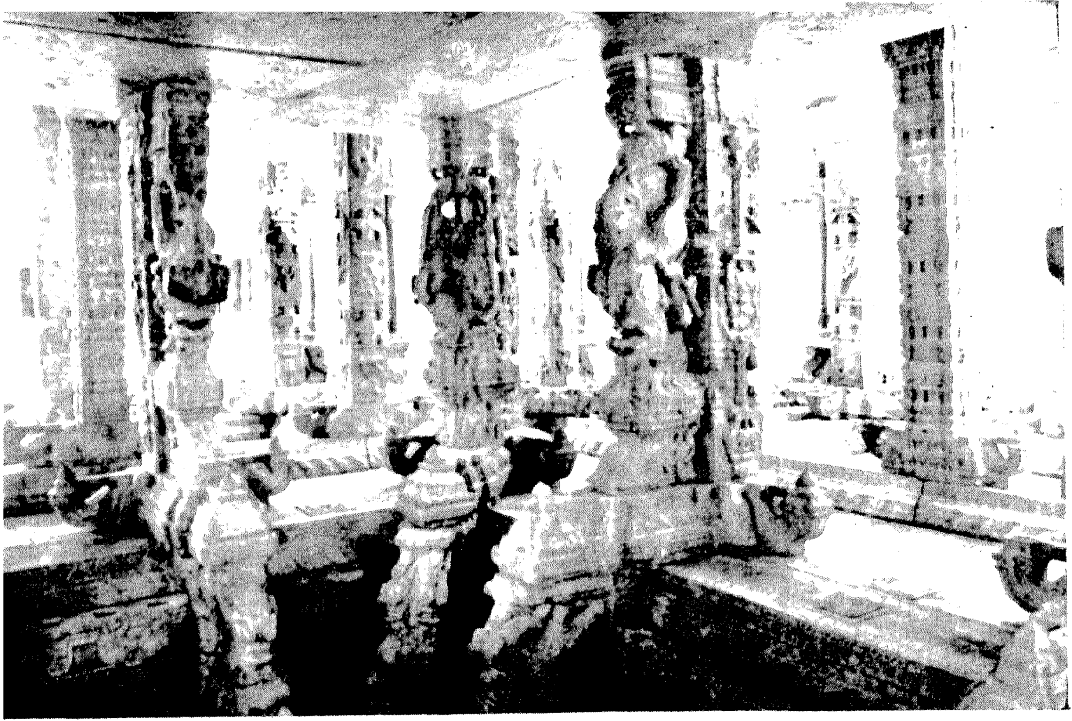
Hampi : Paṭṭabhi Rāmaswāmi Temple, Ground Plan.



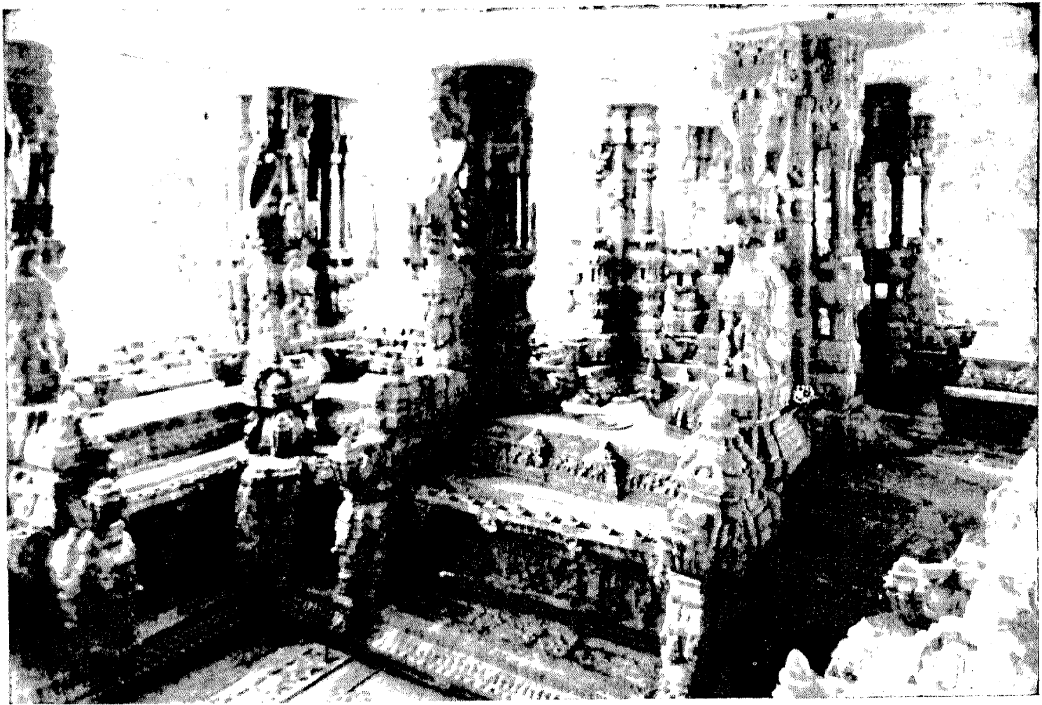
(a) Hampi : Viṭṭhalaswami Temple.



(b) Hampi : Viṭṭhalaswami Temple, Musical pillars.

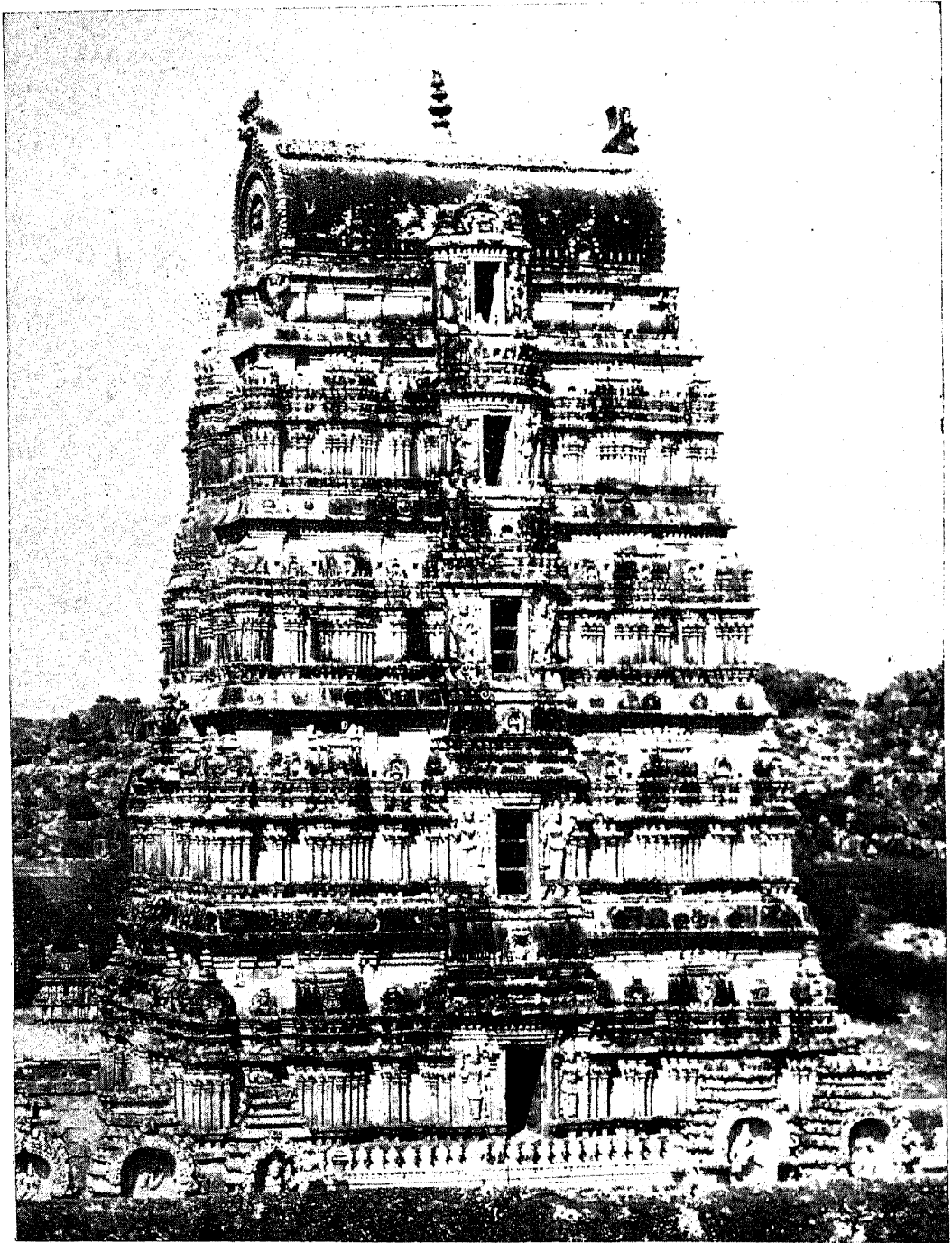


(a) Hampi : Viṭṭhalaswāmi Temple.



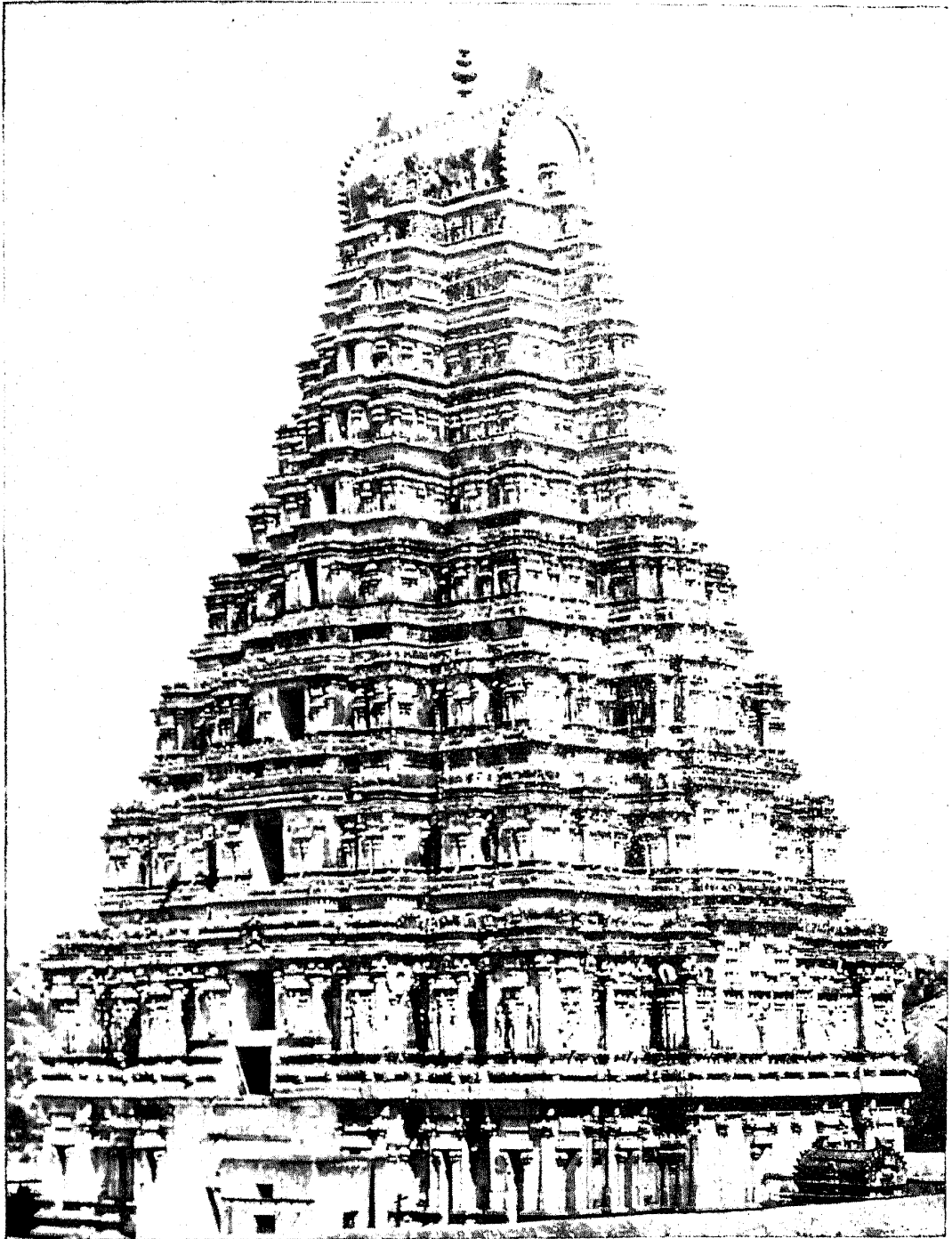
(b) Hampi : Viṭṭhalaswāmi Temple.





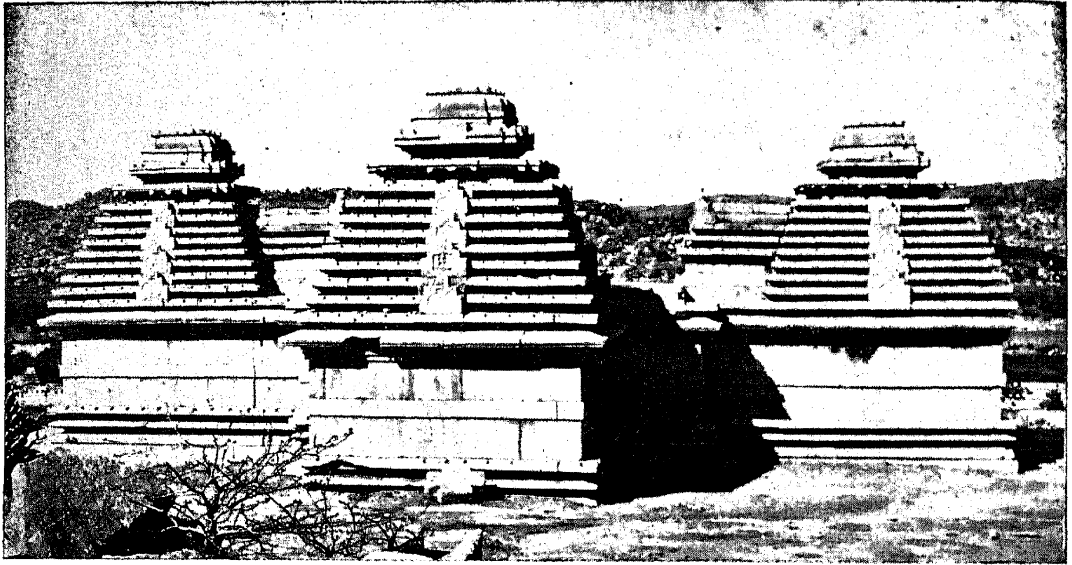
Hampi : Pampati Temple, partly pre-Vijayanagar, enlarged by  
Harihara I (1336-54), and by Krishnadēvarāya in 1509-10.



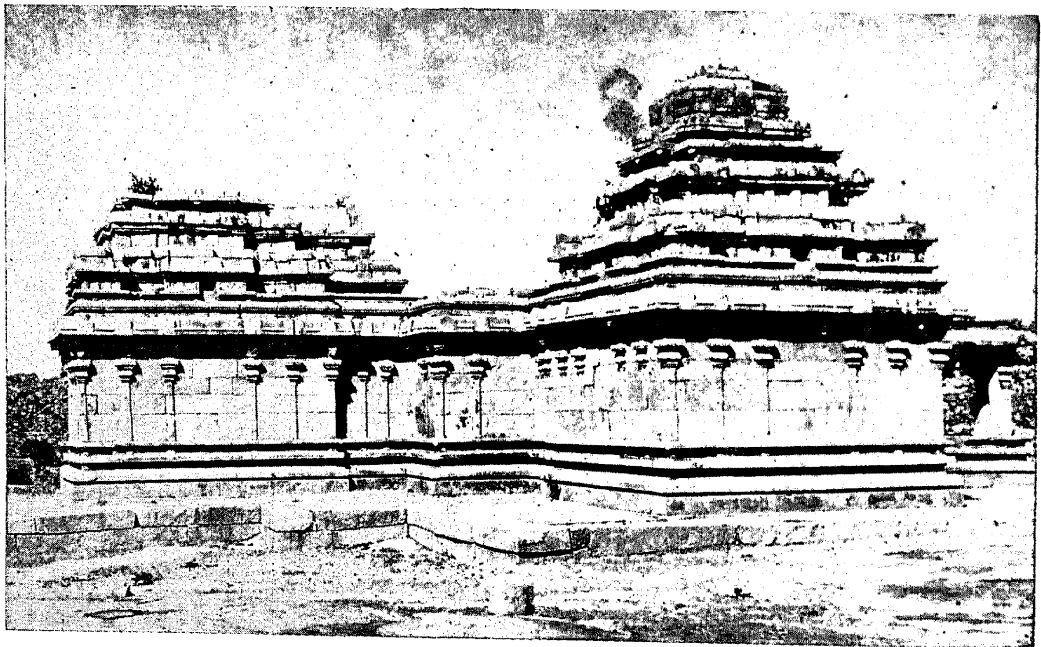


Hampi : Pampati Temple, Side View.

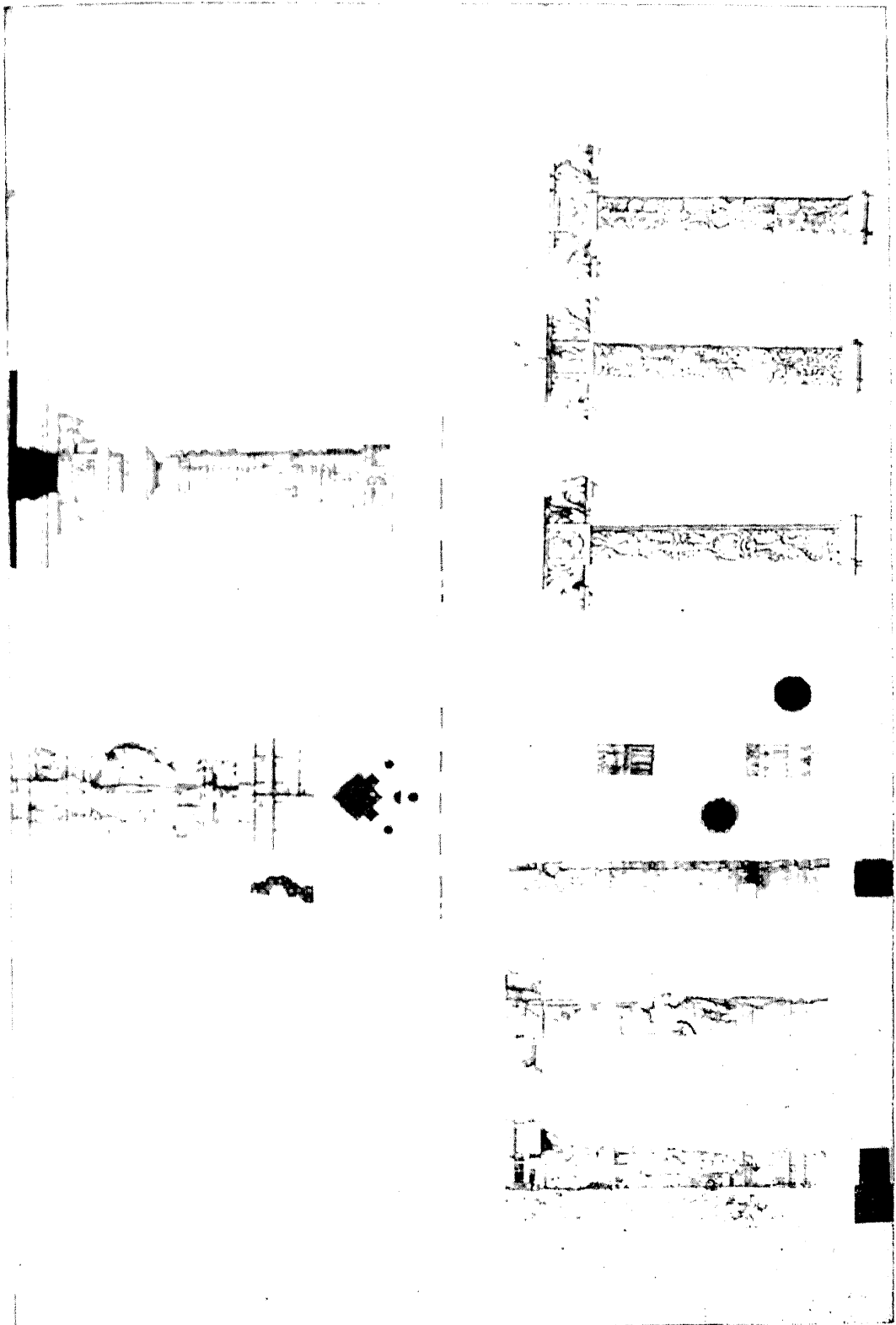
PLATE LXVIII

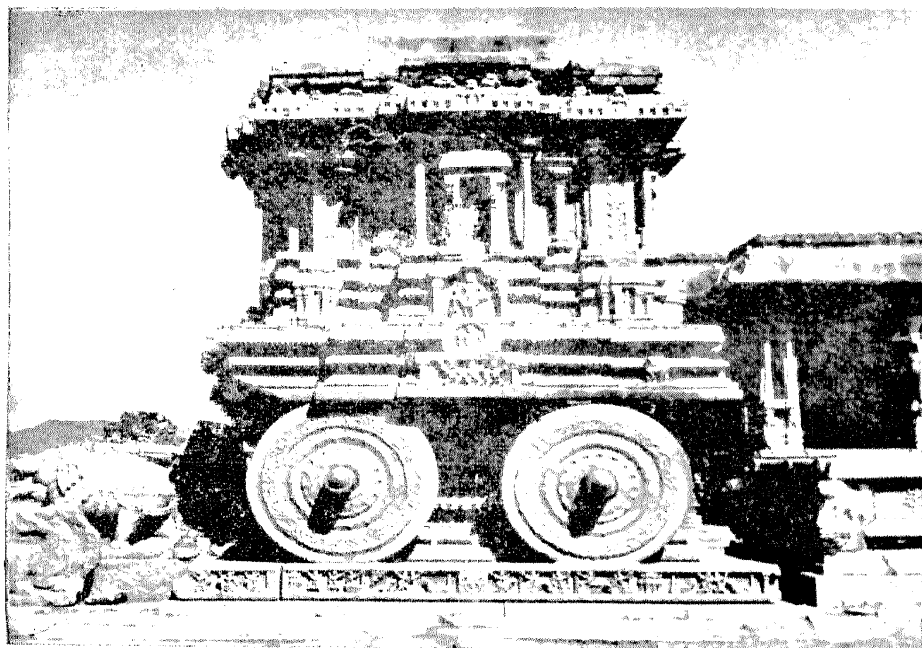


(a) Hampi : Hēmakūṭa Hill Temples, wrongly reputed to be of Jaina origin.

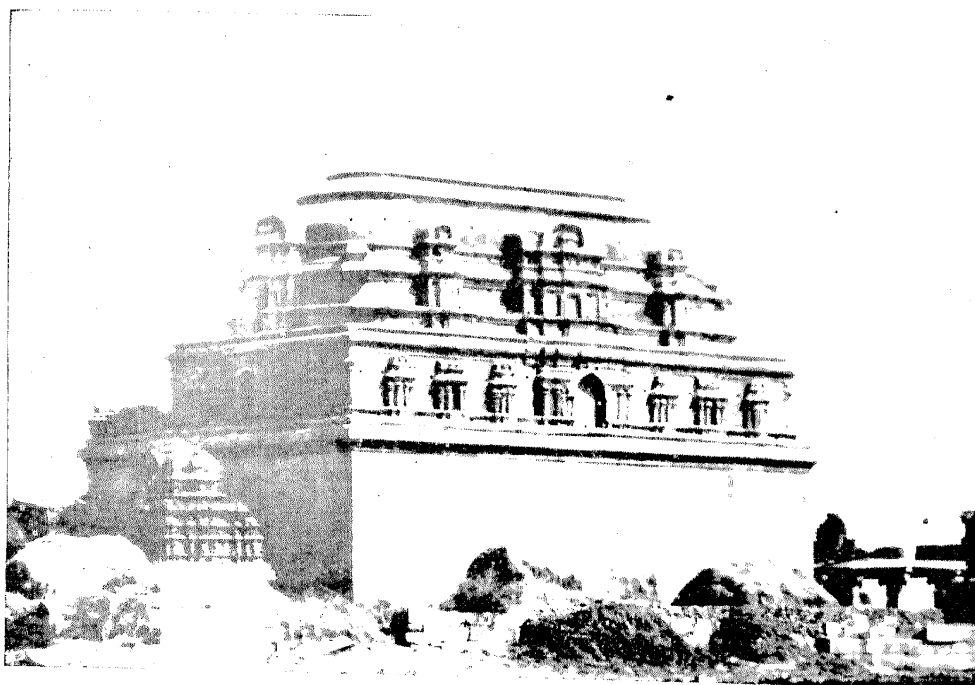


(b) Hampi : Temple on Hēmakūṭa Hill.

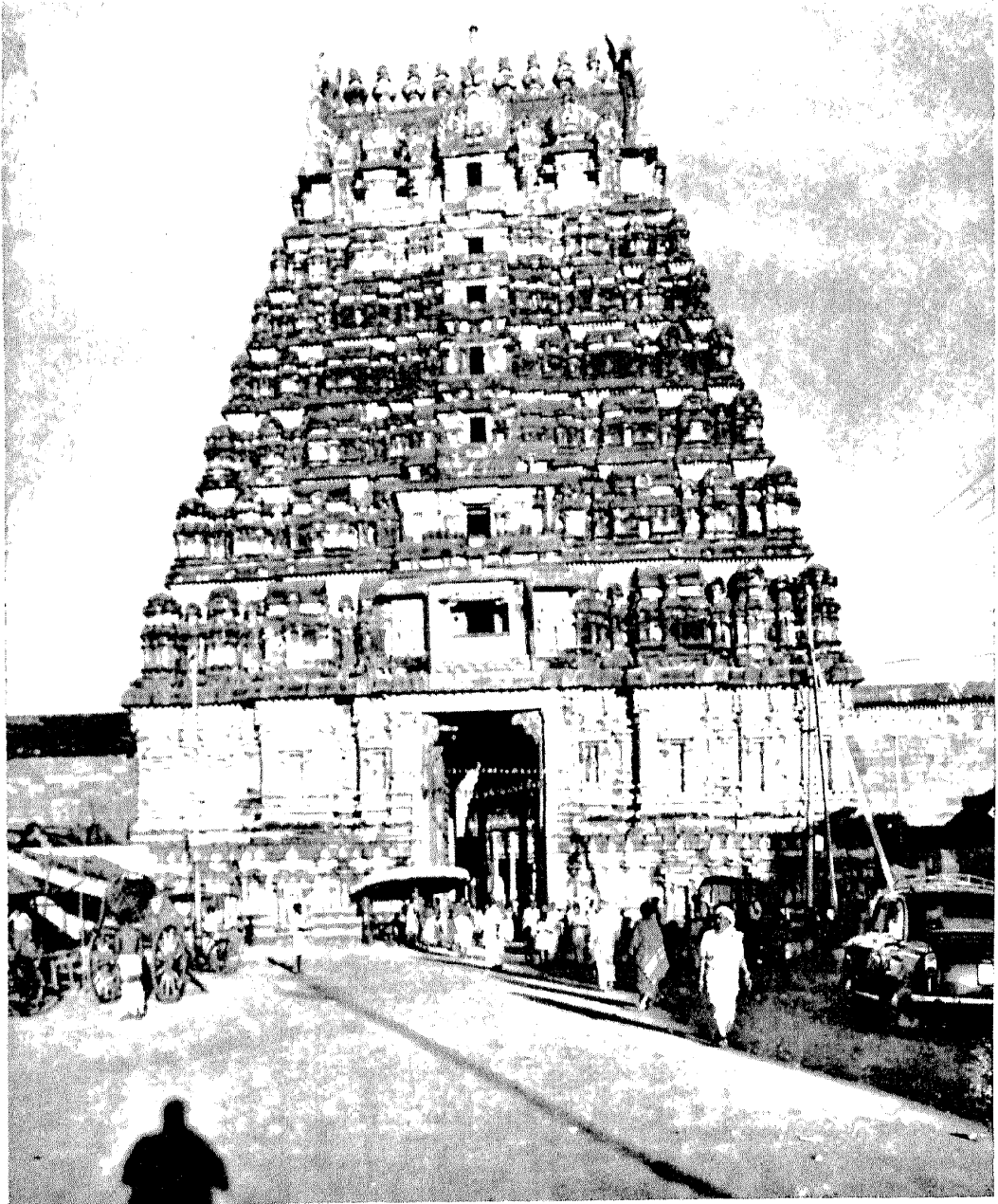




(a) Hampi : Stone Car.

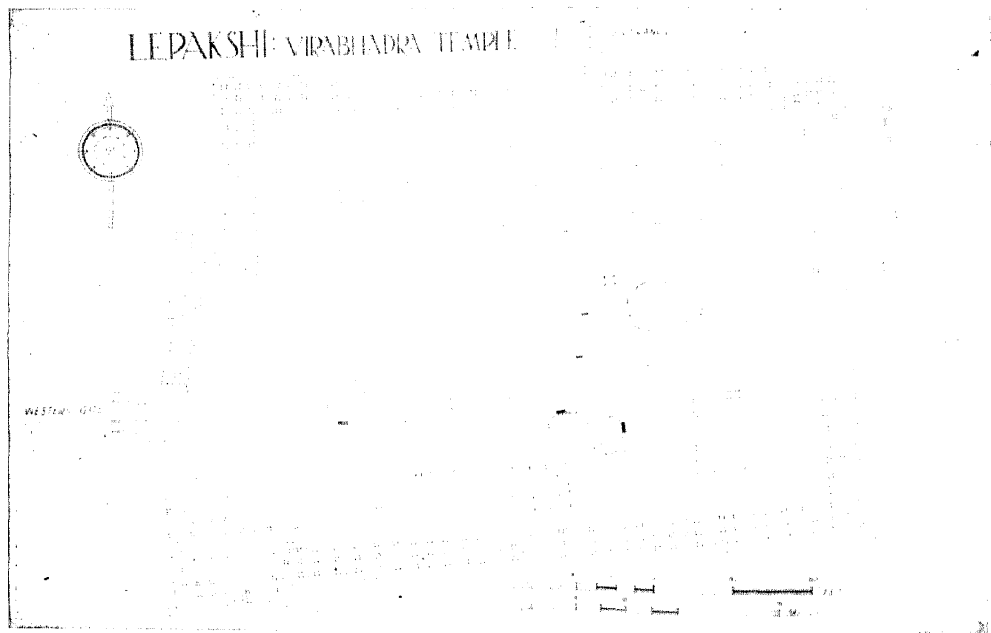


(b) Hampi : Anantasayana Temple.

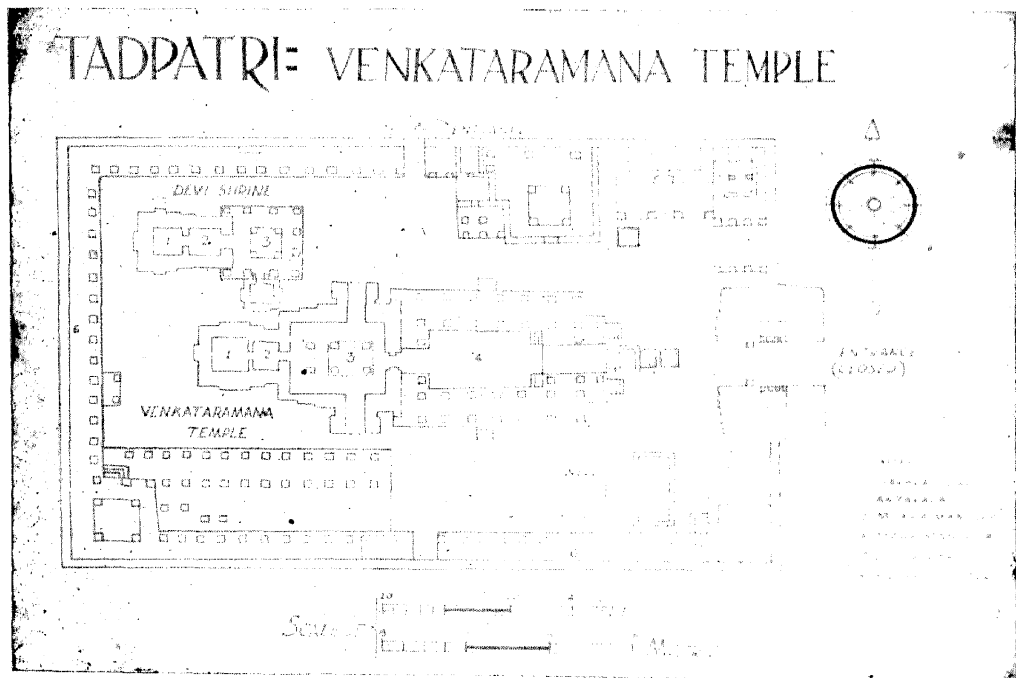


Kanchi : Ēkāmbara Temple.

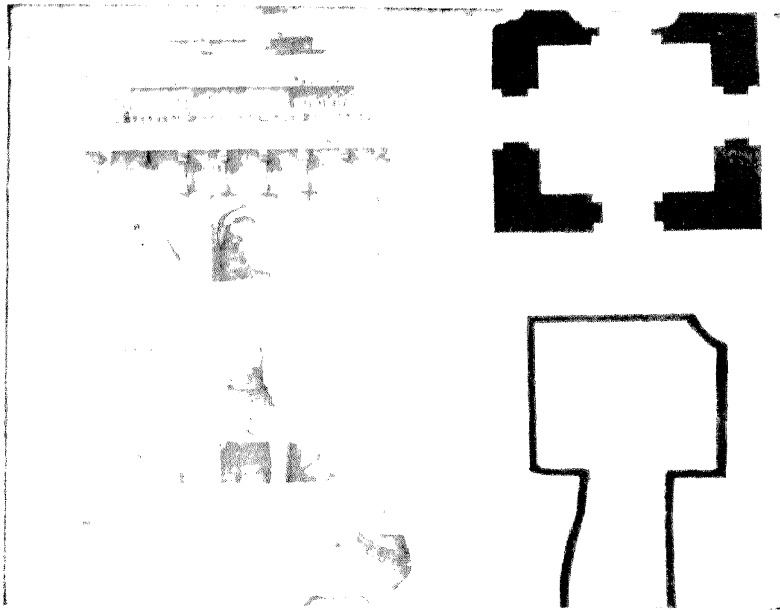
PLATE LXXII



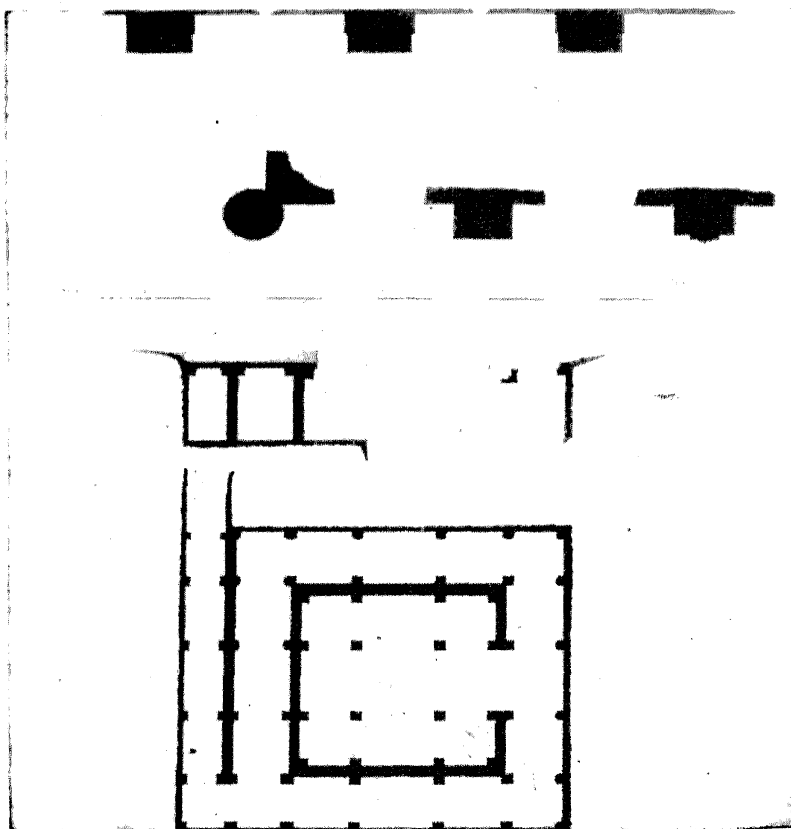
(a) Lepākshi : Virabhadra Temple, Ground Plan, constructed by Virappa, an officer of Achyutarāya (1530-42).



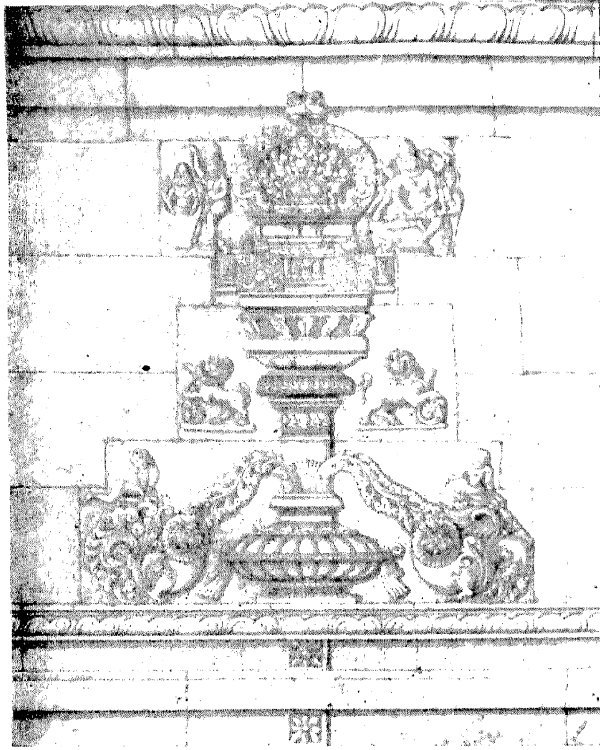
(b) Tāḍpatri : Venkatārāma Temple, Ground Plan; construction begun in 1551.



(a) Penukonda : Building opposite the Gagan Mahal.



(b) Hampi : Mahānavami Dibba.

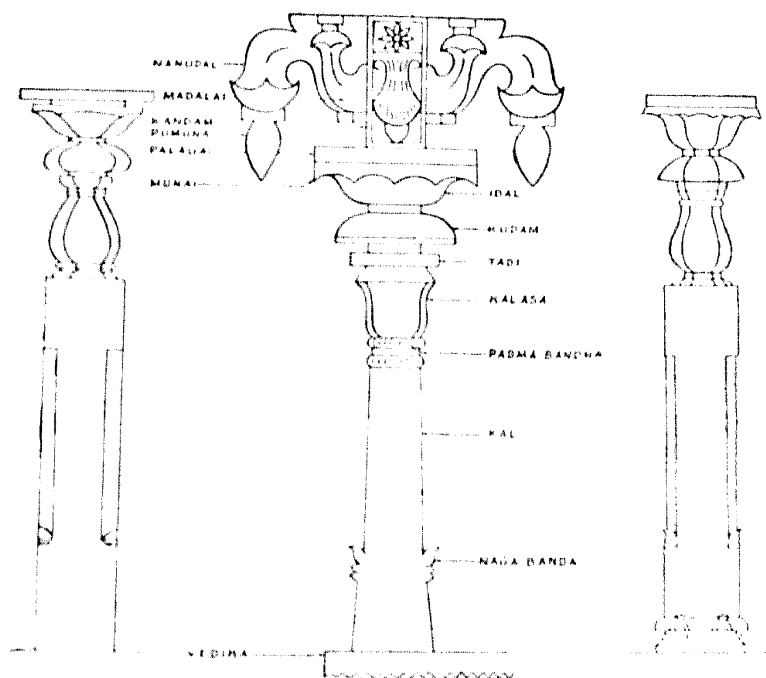


(a) Tāḍpatri : Kumbha Panjara.

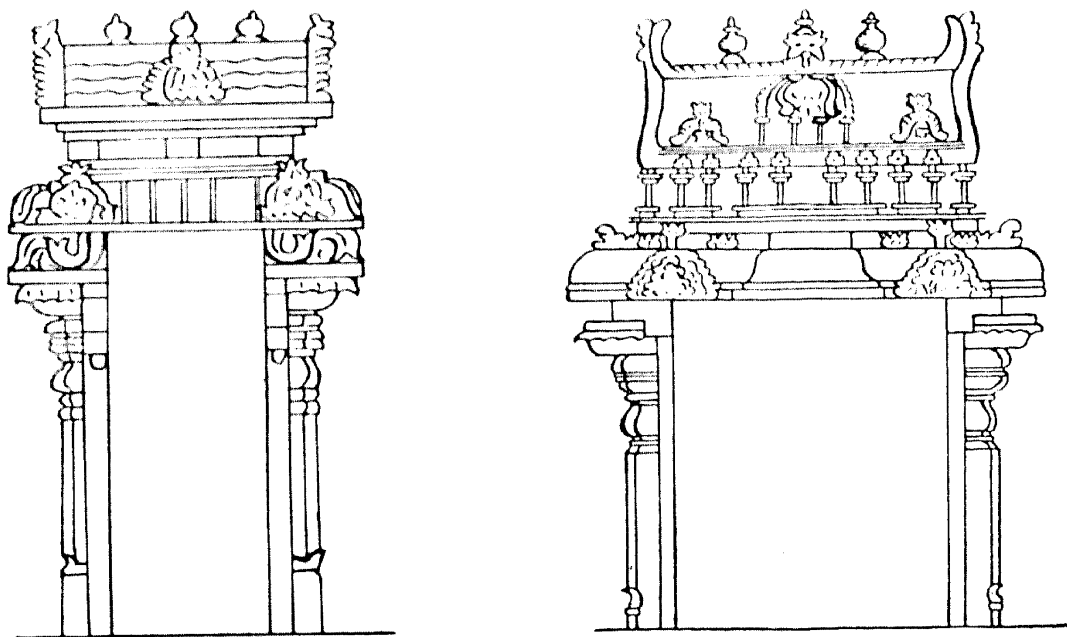


(b) Hampi : Door Jambs of Krishna Temple.



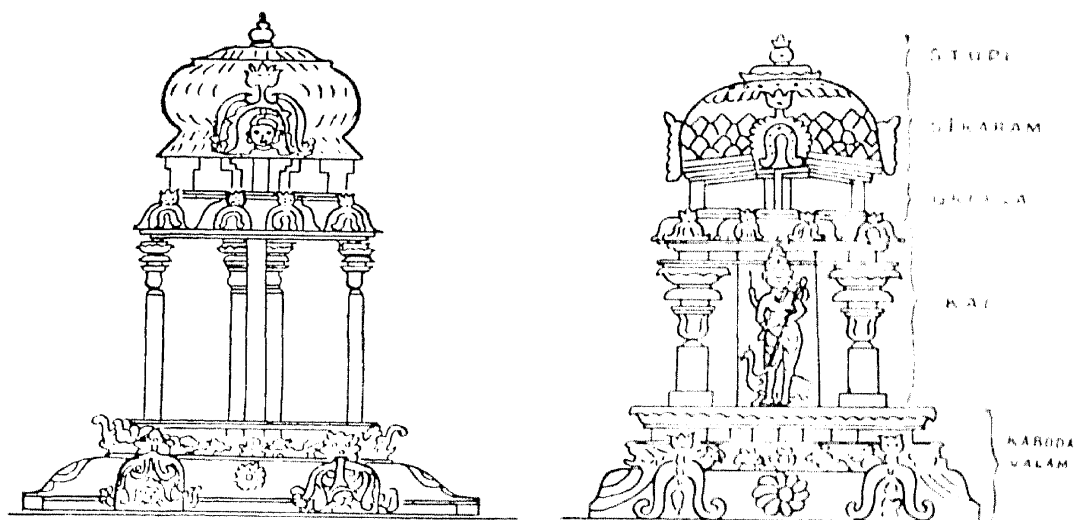


(a) Pillar and its parts.

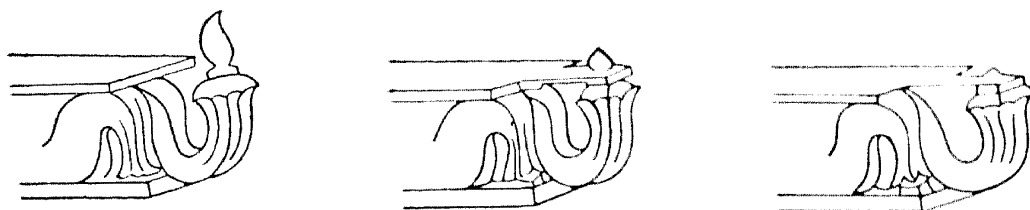


(b) Niches.

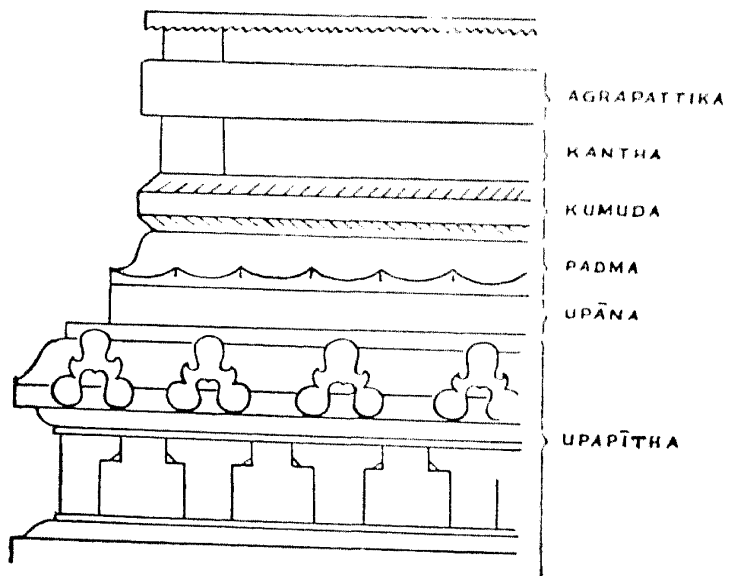
# PLATE LXXVI



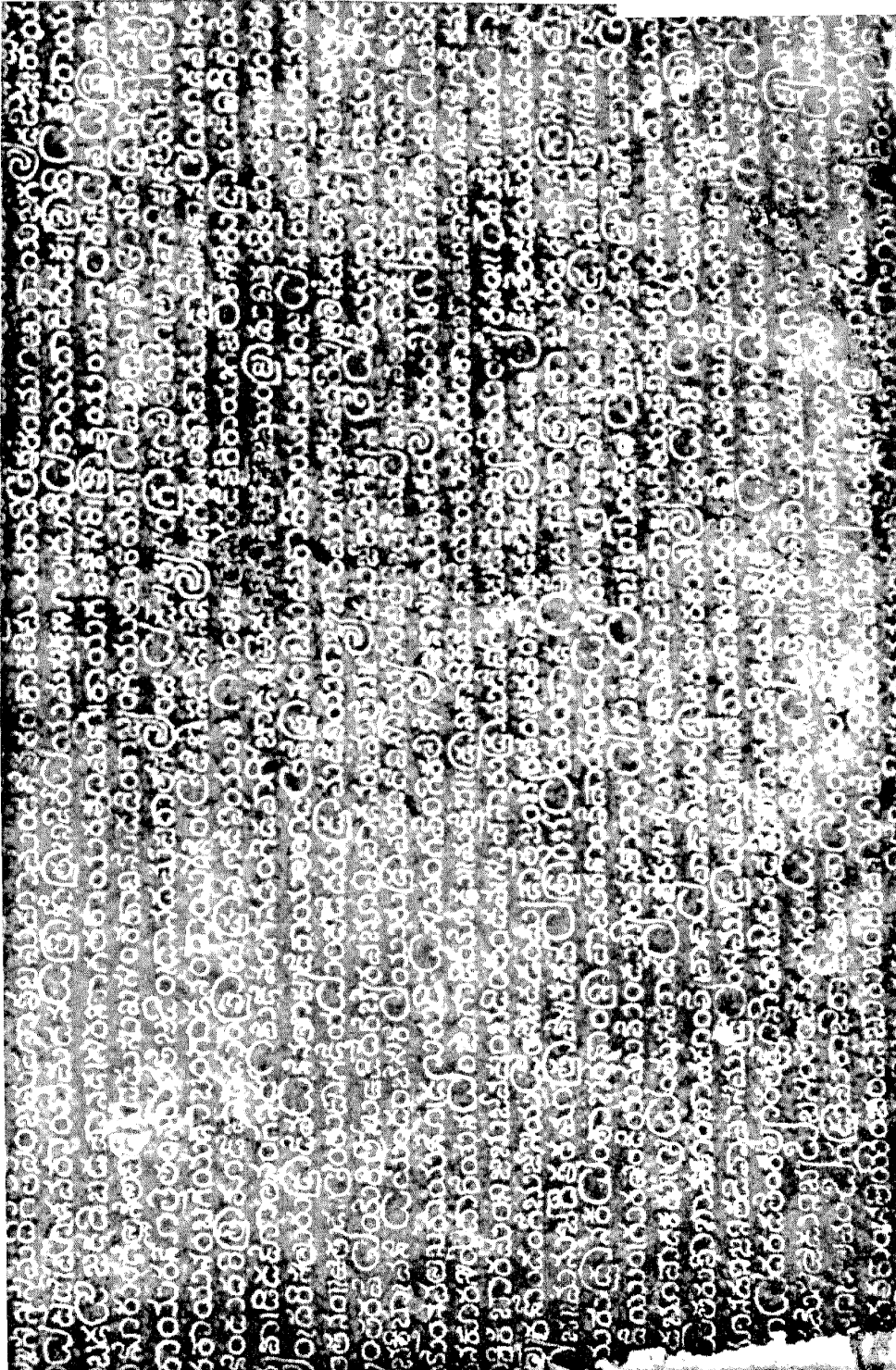
(a) Pavilions.



(b) Corbels.



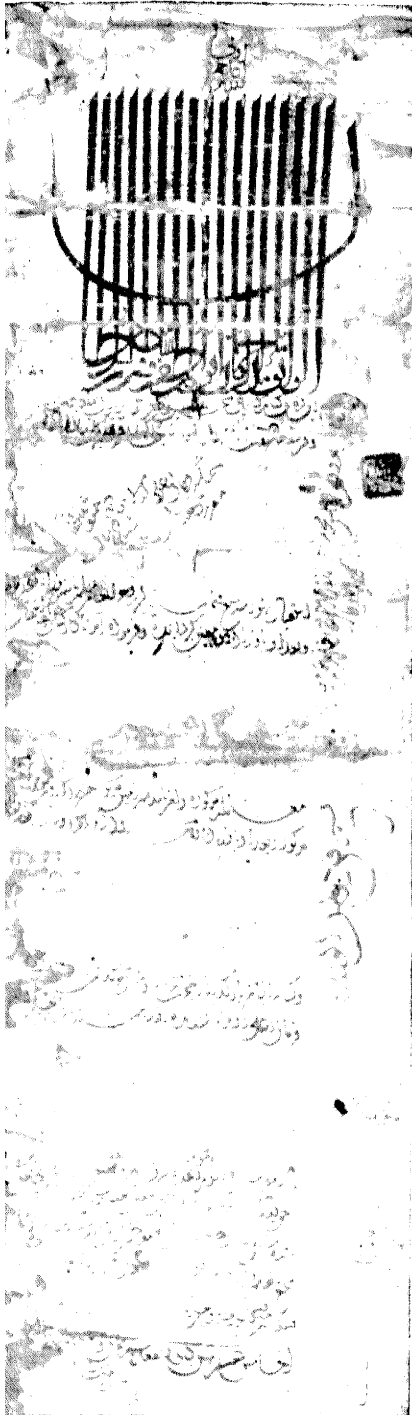
(c) Adhistana.



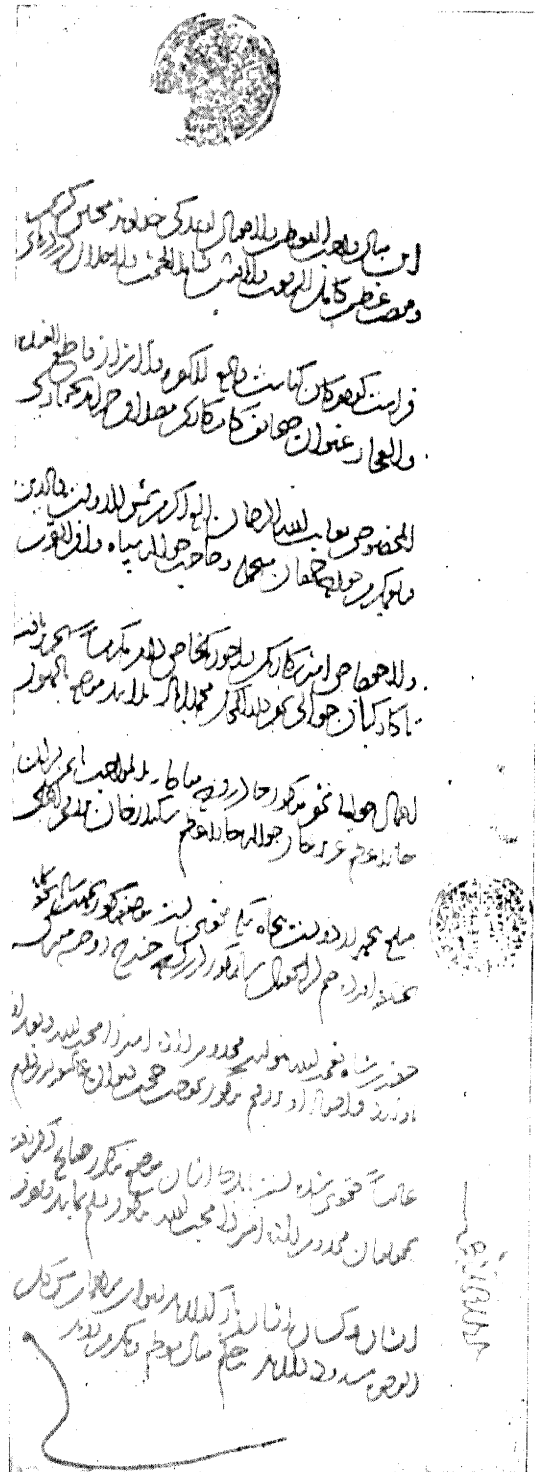
Portion of an engraved Kannada Inscription. 13th century, Bidar district,  
now in the Bidar Museum.



Inscription of Bahman Shāh, originally fixed on the wall of a mosque at Gulbarga,  
now in the Hyderabad State Museum; 1353-54.

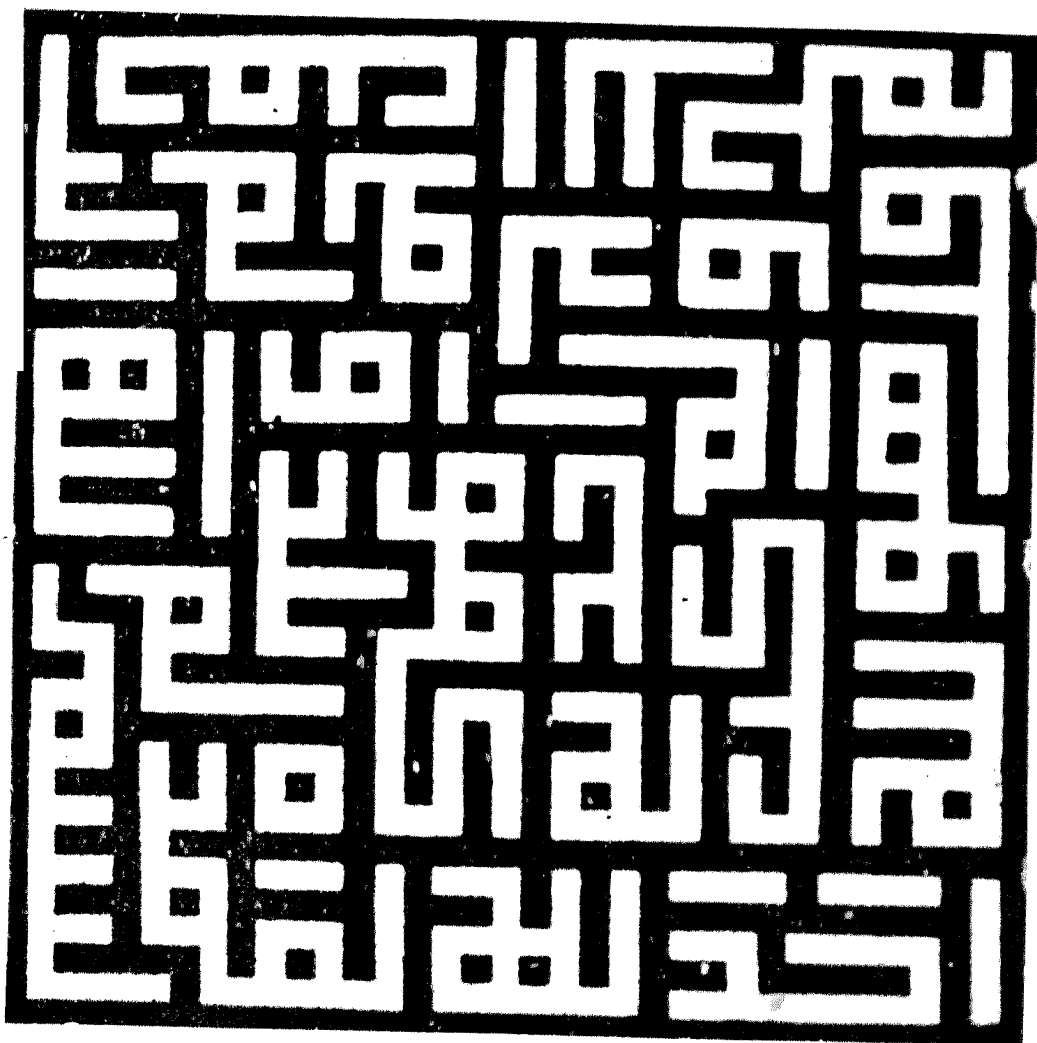


(a) Gulbarga : Farmān of Firōz Shah Bahmanī, dated 14-5-1406.



(b) Document with Khwāja Maḥmūd Gāwān's seal: c. 1460.

PLATE LXXX



Inscription on the grave of Prince Muḥammad Amīn, died 1596.



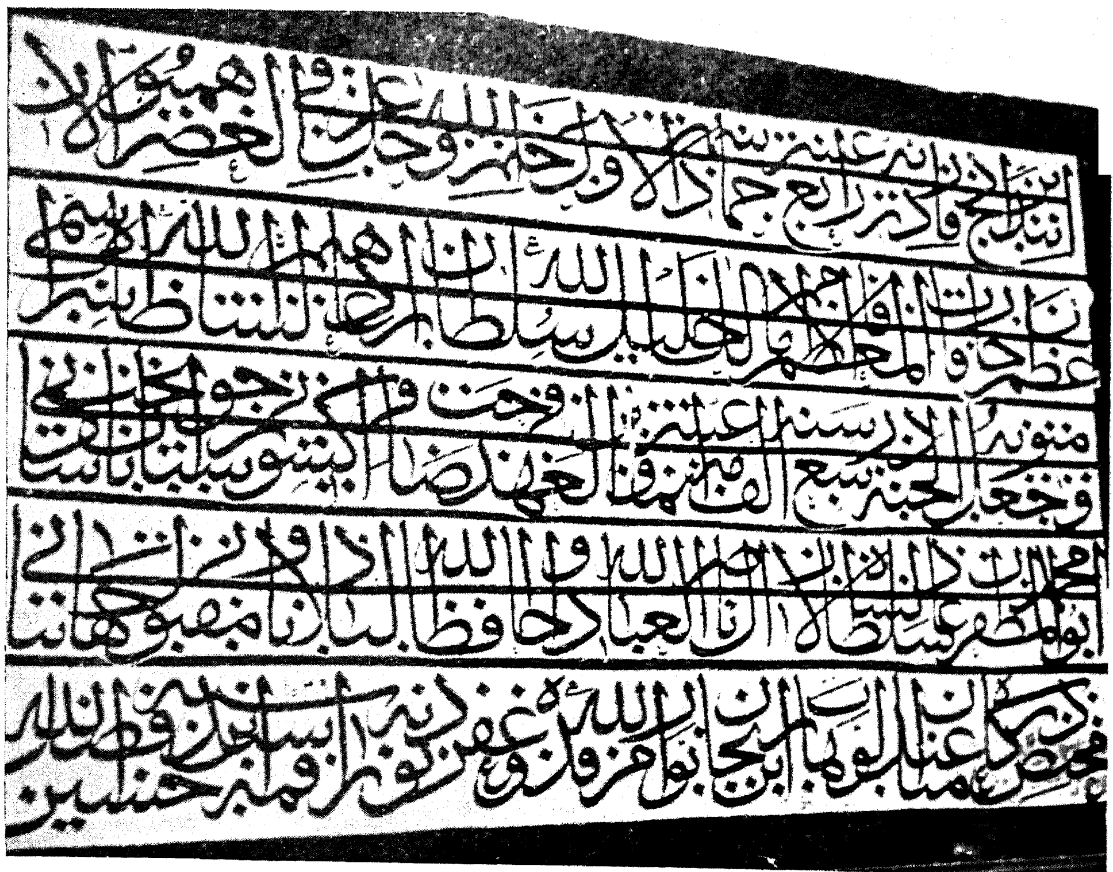
(a) Gulbarga : Inscription on a grave ; 1599-1600.



(b) Gulbarga : Inscription of Jami' Masjid Gate ; 1597-8.

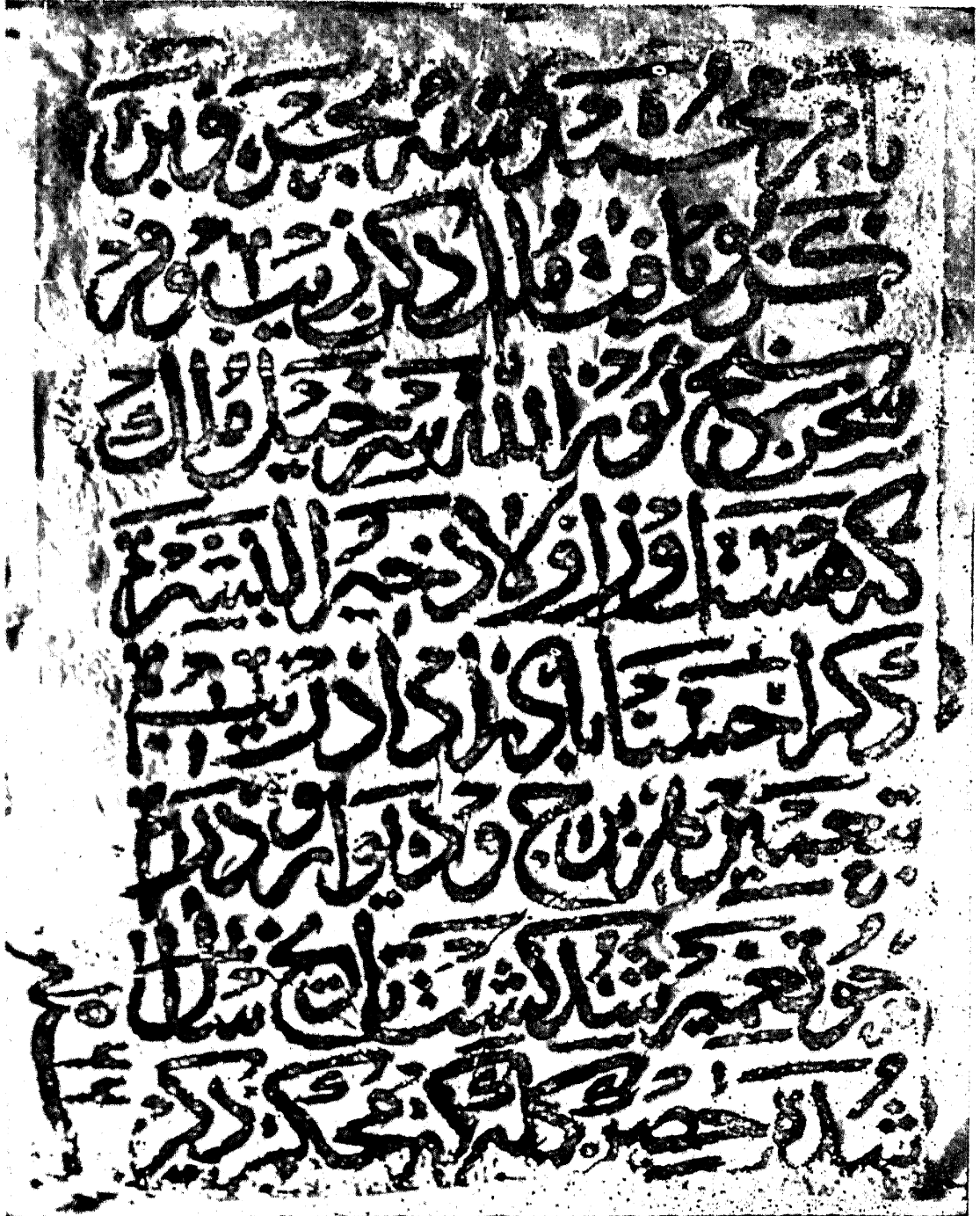


(a) Calligraphic exercise by Muḥammad, temp. Muḥammad Qutb Shāh (1612-1626.)

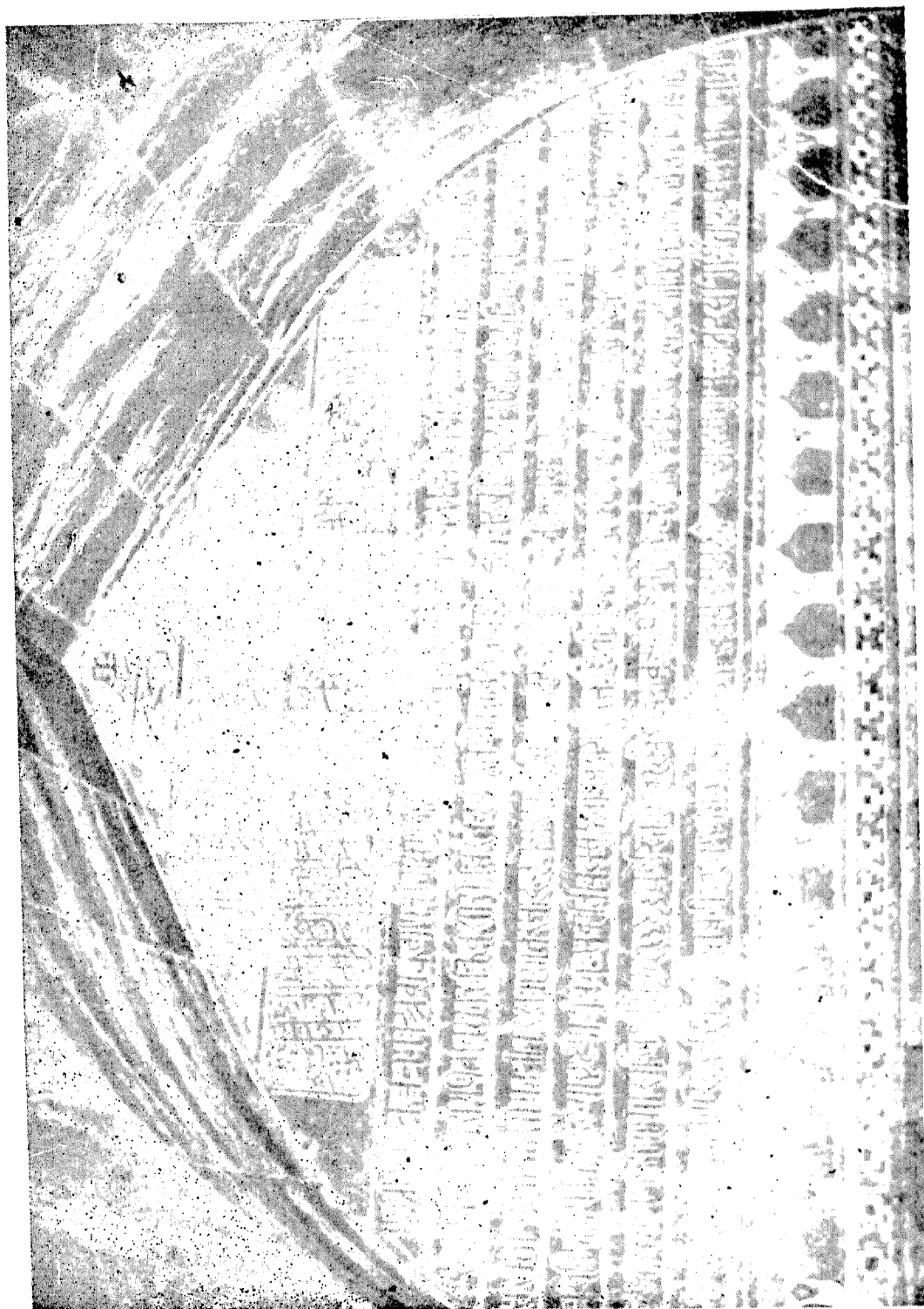


(b) Inscription on a bastion, Rāichūr Fort, temp., Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh, 1620; now in the State Museum, Hyderabad

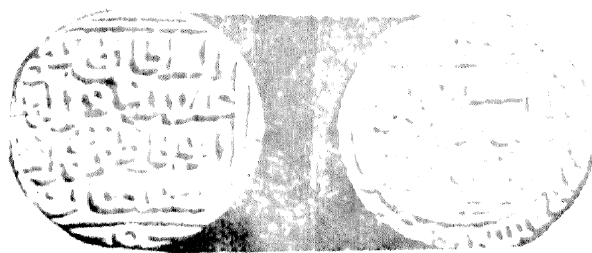




Inscription on Gulbarga Fort, temp. Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh; 1655-56.



Burhānpūr : Bilingual Inscription— Arabic and Sanskrit—on the northern side of the western wall of Izzat Ma'ad . tombs . Ādil Shah Fārūqī IV. 997 1588-89.



(a)



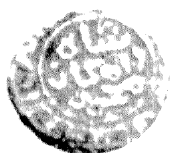
(b)



(c)



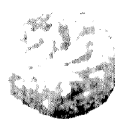
(d)



(e)



(f)



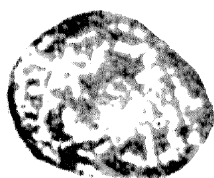
(g)



(h)



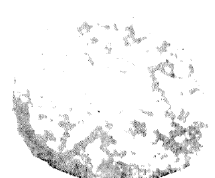
(i)



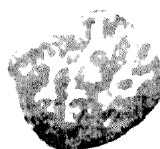
K(i)



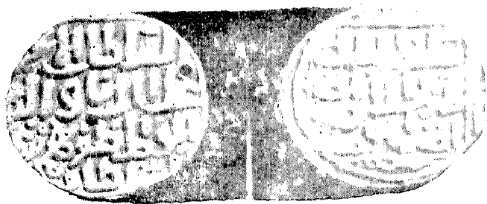
(j)



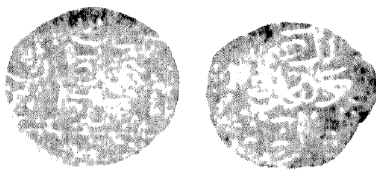
k(ii)



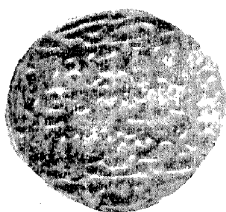
(l)



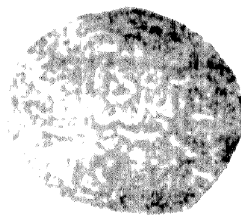
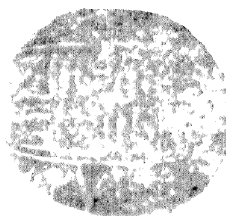
(a)



(b)



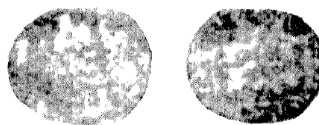
(c)



(d)



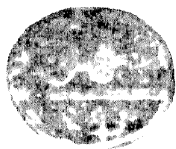
(e)



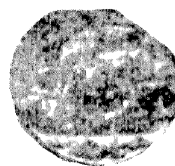
(f)



(g)



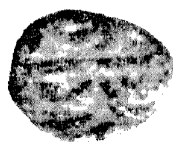
(h)

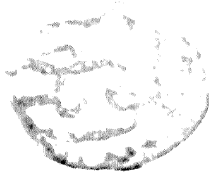
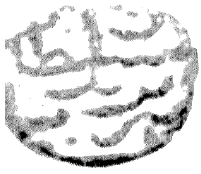


(i)

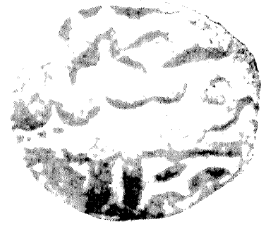
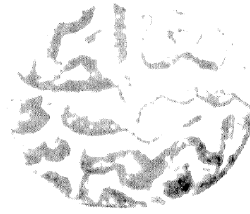


(j)

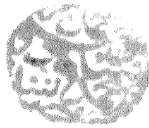




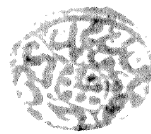
(a)



(b)



(c(i))



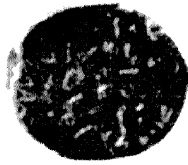
(c(ii))



(d)



(e)



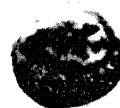
(f)



(g)

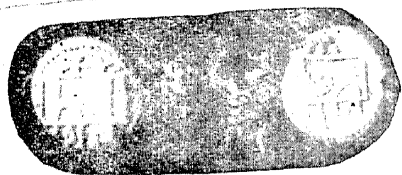
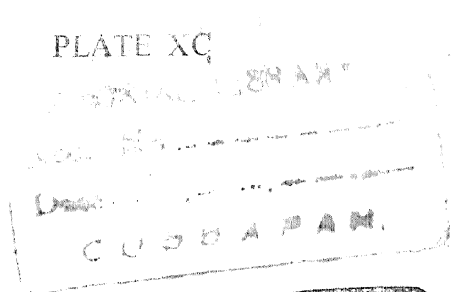


(h)



(i)

PLATE XC



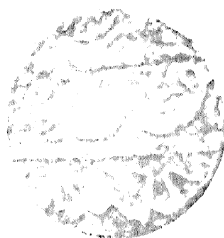
(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)



(g)